AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. I.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καταιδοῦ, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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To his GRACE, the

Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

THE Nature and Deſign of this Work may, in ſome Degree, atone for the Liberty we take in prefixing to it the immortal Name of MARLBOROUGH. For whoſe Protection ſhould we court in publiſhing an *Univerſal Hiſtory*, wherein are diſplayed the Atchievements of all the Heroes of former Ages, if not your GRACE's, who are Grandſon to the greateſt Hero of our Age? Whoever impartially peruſes the following Hiſtory, and compares the ſo much exalted Heroes of Antiquity with the late Duke of *Marlborough*, will find, that their mighty Acts now ſerve but as Foils to ſet off his more glorious Enterpriſes and Succeſſes. Moſt of thoſe great Conquerors were, we may ſay, but licenſed Thieves, Subverters of States and Empires, Plunderers of the Subſtance, and Enemies to the Rights, of Mankind; whereas the generous Duke of *Marlbo-*

rough drew his Sword in the noble Cauſe of Liberty, againſt the ambitious Attempts of a powerful and inſulting Nation, defeated its beſt-concerted Meaſures, and delivered not *Britain* only, but all *Europe*, from impending Slavery.

NOR have Arms alone reflected an extraordinary Luſtre on your GRACE's Family; Letters too have greatly contributed to its Splendor. The Earl of *Sunderland* Your Father, altho' engaged in the moſt arduous Scenes of publick Life, hath enriched this Nation with a Monument of his Love and Value for the liberal Arts, which other Nations may well envy, but few can equal. No Wonder then, that Your GRACE, in whom the eminent Prerogatives of two ſuch illuſtrious Families have centred, ſhould be ſo much the Darling of this happy Nation. But it is not the Luſtre alone, which is derived on You from Your noble Progenitors, that entitles You to the Love and Eſteem of Mankind. The Excellency of Your own Virtues heightens the Glory which You received by Inheritance: Among the many good Qualities, which we might here

here take occaſion to celebrate, without riſquing the uſual Cenſure incurred by Dedicators, we ſhall only ſingle out that truly noble and generous Spirit, which is ſo becoming Perſons of Your eminent Station. Providence ſeems to have put Wealth in Your Hands merely that You might deſpiſe it, and ſhew by Your Example, in theſe Times of Corruption, that the Value of Gold is to be meaſured only by the Opportunities it gives of exerting Good Nature. That Greatneſs of Mind, which You happily join to Greatneſs of Fortune, will make the Duke of *Marlborough* live, when mean Men, of the ſame Rank, are, in ſpite of their Treaſures ſo carefully hoarded up, buried in Oblivion. The Humanity of Your Temper, Your obliging Affability and Condeſcenſion, might be a noble and juſt Subject of Panegyric: But it is not our Intent here to enter into a Detail of Your Grace's Virtues and Perfections. We are too conſcious of our own Inabilities to attempt it. We ſhall therefore only add, that if Your Grace's Patronage can recommend this our Performance, to all who love and honour the

Duke of *Marlborough*, its Reception will be Univerſal. What we lay before You has been hitherto kindly received by the Public, both at Home and A-broad; which, we hope, will in ſome meaſure excuſe the Liberty we take in ſuing for Your GRACE's Protection. To have entirely depended on Your Good Nature, without any kind of Merit in the Work itſelf would have been unpar-donable.

BUT we have already treſpaſſed too much upon Your GRACE's Patience; wherefore we ſhall only beg leave to aſ-ſure You, that our greateſt Ambition is, that this Addreſs, and the following Hi-ſtory, be acceptable to Your GRACE, and that we may be allowed the Honour of Subſcribing ourſelves,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt Obedient,

Moſt Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

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THE

THE

PREFACE.

HISTORY is, without all doubt, the moſt inſtructive and uſeful, as well as entertaining, Part of Literature; more eſpecially, when it is not confined within the narrow Bounds of any particular Time or Place, but extends to the Tranſactions of all Times and Nations. Works of this Nature carry our Knowledge, as *Tully* obſerves, beyond the vaſt and devouring Space of numberleſs Years, triumph over Time, and make us, though living at an immenſe Diſtance, in a manner Eye-witneſſes to all the Events and Revolutions, which have occaſioned aſtoniſhing Changes in the World. By theſe Records it is that we live, as it were, in the very Time when the World was created; we behold how it was governed in its Infancy, how over-flowed and deſtroyed in a Deluge of Water, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have riſen, flouriſhed, and declined, and by what Steps they brought upon themſelves their final Ruin and Deſtruction. From theſe and other like Events occurring in Hiſtory, every judicious Reader may form prudent and unerring Rules for the Conduct of his Life, both in a private and publick Capacity. But, as the eminent Advantages accruing to us from this valuable Branch of Learning have been ſufficiently diſplayed by many others, we ſhall not trouble our Readers with a minute Detail of them, but haſten to what is peculiar to the Work, which we now offer to the Public.

WE promiſed, in our firſt Number, to prefix to this Volume, when it was compleated, a Preface, wherein, after ſome Account of the Method we have obſerved, and the Authors we have chiefly followed in

the Work, we ſhould examine the different Computations of Time, the Coins, Weights, and Meaſures uſed by the ſeveral Nations whoſe Hiſtories ſhould be therein delivered, with ſuch other Particulars as we ſhould judge uſeful and neceſſary. This Promiſe is what we now intend to diſcharge, and to begin with a ſuccinct Account of the Method we have purſued.

OUR Intent was to write a General Hiſtory of Mankind, from the earlieſt Account of Time to the preſent. Purſuant to this Deſign, before we enter upon the Hiſtory itſelf, we have thought it neceſſary to premiſe, by way of Introduction, an Account of the Coſmogony, or Production of the Earth, as being the Theatre on which the Scenes of the enſuing Hiſtory were to be acted. In this preludious Diſcourſe, after having related, without omitting any thing that was really curious or entertaining, the various Opinions both of the ancient and modern Philoſophers, concerning the formation of the animate and inanimate World, we proceed to the only authentick and genuine Hiſtory of the Creation, that which has been left us by *Moſes*. The Opinions of the Philoſophers are, for the moſt part, abſurd, incoherent, and contradictory; whereas the *Moſaick* Account, if rightly underſtood, carries with it all the Marks of Truth and Probability, even though it be regarded only as a human Compoſition, abſtracted from divine Authority. Having attended the Earth through its ſeveral Degrees of Formation, ſeen it perfected, cloathed with Trees and Plants, repleniſhed with Animals, and at laſt Man, for whom the Whole was deſigned, and to whom the Dominion of it was expreſly given by its Maker, introduced and placed in it; we take ſome Notice of the Opinion of thoſe who think Mankind were in being before *Adam*, whom they ſuppoſe to have been the Progenitor of the *Jews* only; we touch upon ſeveral Inquiries that have been made concerning the Time and Seaſon of the Creation, the Place where *Adam* was created, *&c.* and cloſe the Introduction with ſome Account of the Creation of the Angels, of the Nature, Power, Employments,

Employments, &c. of thoſe Spiritual Beings, that ſo eminently concerned themſelves in the Affairs of Mankind, at leaſt in the firſt Ages of the World. The Introduction, we hope, will not be thought of a diſproportionable Length; ſo copious a Subject, as the Origin of the World and Mankind, could not be well reduced into a narrower Compaſs. If there ſhould be ſome little Obſcurities or Inconſiſtencies, where we have delivered or explained the Opinions of the old Philoſophers, we need not ſay much to excuſe ourſelves to thoſe who know in what Uncertainty and Confuſion the Hiſtory of thoſe Philoſophers and their Opinions have been left by the Antients.

FROM the Coſmogony, or Formation of the Earth and Things that were made for the Uſe of Man, we proceed to the General Hiſtory of the World till the Flood, but premiſe ſeveral curious Inquiries touching the Situation of the Garden of *Eden*, the State of Innocence and its Continuance, the two Trees, the Prohibition laid on the firſt Pair, the Tempter and his Puniſhment, the Fall of Man, and the Effects it had on human Nature, and on the Earth, with the different Opinions touching the manner in which the Change in the Conſtitution of Man and of the Earth was effected. The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge is what we likewiſe thought neceſſary to ſettle, before we entered upon the Hiſtory of the Antediluvian World. As *Moſes* hath not ſet down the particular Time of any Tranſaction before the Flood, except only the Years of the Patriarchs, all we can do in this Period is to determine that Point, which might have eaſily been done, were there no Varieties in the ſeveral Copies we now have of *Moſes*'s Writings. But as the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, and *Greek* Verſion of the *Septuagint*, vary very much from one another, and ſome Writers prefer one Copy and ſome another, we have exhibited theſe Varieties in ſeveral Chronological Tables of the Years of the Patriarchs, adding to the Computation of the *Hebrew*, of the *Septuagint*, and of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, the Numbers of the

Years of the Patriarchs, as delivered by *Joſephus*, and corrected by Dr. *Wills* and Mr. *Whiſton*, the Numbers in the preſent Copies of that Hiſtorian being greatly corrupted. Having thus ſtated the Chronology before the Flood, we deliver the Hiſtory of the Antediluvian Patriarchs, as tranſmitted to us in the Writings of *Moſes*, which are the only to be depended upon in thoſe early Times. However, we have thought it not amiſs to collect the moſt material Pieces of Hiſtory to be found in profane Authors, relating to the Times preceding the Flood; among which though there be ſome which bear apparent Marks of Truth, yet we believe the greater Part will be judged to deſerve little Credit: However, as every thing, which has the leaſt Pretence to ſo great Antiquity, cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our Labour in collecting them will not be condemned as uſeleſs.

From the Hiſtory of the Antediluvian World, we paſs to that of the Flood, where we produce profane Teſtimonies of that wonderful Cataſtrophe, relate various Conjectures of antient and modern Writers, as to the Manner in which that dreadful Devaſtation was brought on the Earth, give ſome Account of the Ark, whereby *Noah* and his Family, with ſuch Kinds of living Creatures as he took in with him, were delivered from this Deſtruction; and laſtly before we diſmiſs the Hiſtory of the old World, take a tranſient View of the Antediluvian State of Mankind, of their Religion, Policy, Arts and Sciences, of the Alterations which have been wrought in Nature by the Flood, of the Longevity of the Antediluvians, and the Cauſes of it, as well as of the prodigious Fertility of the firſt Earth. To theſe we add an Inquiry touching the Situation of Mount *Ararat*, and the various Opinions about it.

Having thus collected, in the beſt manner we could, what we have found worth Notice, from Writers of various Times, Religions, and Countries, relating to the Antediluvian World, we proceed to the General Hiſtory from the Deluge to the Birth of *Abraham*; but

but first settle the Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of *Abraham* from *Haran*. This is one of the most difficult Periods to settle in all Chronology, not only because we have no Assistance therein from profane History, but also on Account of the great Diversity between the several *Mosaick* Writings. However, it is no small Satisfaction, that the great Differences between the several Copies end here, and that, being once got below the Birth of *Abraham*, we enter upon a more certain Series of Time, about which Chronologers do more generally agree; the Variety of the Copies making a Difference of but few years, not of several Ages, as we find before this Period: For the better exhibiting of which we have inserted Chronological Tables of the Years of the Postdiluvian Patriarchs to the Call of *Abraham*, according to the Computation of the *Hebrew*, of the *Septuagint*, and of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. Having stated the Chronology, we come to the History of *Noah* after the Flood, and of his Descendants to *Abraham*, presenting the Reader with whatever we find curious or entertaining, not only in sacred, but profane, Writers, namely, in the small Remains which are left us of the *Phœnician* Antiquities collected by *Sanchoniatho*, and which are supposed to relate to the earliest Times. As the planting of Nations in the two first general Migrations, the forming of Societies and Governments, the Rise of Arts and Sciences, the Beginning of States and Monarchies, fall within this Period, we give the Reader as distinct an Account of these important Facts, as the Records which have reached us will allow of.

From the general History of the Migrations of the Children of *Noah*, of the peopling of the Earth by them, and the settling of the first Governments, we descend to the particular Histories of each Kingdom; beginning with that of *Egypt*, which is without doubt one of the most antient Nations of the World, having been peopled either by *Ham*, or his Son *Mizraim*, with his own Issue, which inhabited several Parts of it under the Names of *Mizraim*, *Pathrusim*, *Casluhim*, and *Caphthorim*. This History

tory we purſue from the firſt Original of the *Egyptian* Nation to its Conqueſt by the *Perſians*, when the ſevere Prediction of the Prophet [a] was fulfilled, *There ſhall be no more a Prince in the Land of Egypt*. And here to acquaint the Reader, in a few Words, with the Method we have followed in delivering the particular Hiſtories of each Nation; we begin with accounting, in the beſt Manner we can, for the Name or Names which each Nation bears; then we proceed to a Deſcription of the Country, containing an Account of its Situation, Extent, Climate, Diviſions, Fertility; of its animal and vegetable Productions, of the natural and artificial Curioſities it contains; of its Cities, Rivers, Mountains, Lakes, and whatever elſe worthy of Notice is to be found in each Province. Next we inquire into the Original and Antiquity of the Inhabitants, conſider their Laws, Government, Religion, Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, Language, Commerce, Learning, Trade, Navigation, and alſo endeavour, as far as ſo intricate a Subject will allow, to ſettle the Chronology of each Nation. Laſtly, we deliver the Series and Hiſtory of their Kings, which comprizes the Wars, Treaties, Revolutions, and all the moſt remarkable Events of each Country. Thus we may ſay, without Vanity or Oſtentation, that no Hiſtory hath hitherto appeared in any Language, which can with more Juſtice challenge the Title of an Univerſal Hiſtory than the preſent, ſince it comprizes not only the Hiſtory of all Nations and Countries, but of all Religions and religious Ceremonies, of all Arts and Sciences, of the Laws that have been any where obſerved, of Trade, and Navigation, and, in ſhort, of whatever has been invented for the Uſe and Convenience of human Race. But to return to the Sequel of our Hiſtory.

After delivering the Succeſſion of the kings of *Egypt*, according to the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, we thought it might be deemed an Omiſſion, if we ſhould take no Notice of the Series of the *Egyptian* Kings

[a] Ezek. xxx. 13.

Kings given us by the Oriental Writers. Wherefore we have ſet down their Names, and briefly mention their principal Actions, as related by the Eaſtern Hiſtorians, leaving the Reader to judge what Credit ought to be given them.

NEXT to the Hiſtory of the *Egyptians* we give that of thoſe Nations, with whom the Children of *Iſrael* waged War before, or upon, their ſettling in the Land of *Canaan*, namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philiſtines*. From theſe we proceed to the Hiſtory of the antient *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and that of the *Jews*, from *Abraham*, Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation, to the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. We have inlarged ſomewhat on the latter, giving a diſtinct Account of their Patriarchs from *Abraham* to *Moſes*, of their *Egyptian* Bondage, Deliverance, and 40 Years wandering in the Wilderneſs; of their Wars with the Inhabitants of *Canaan* and the neighbouring Nations; of their Religion, Government, Laws, Cuſtoms, Learning, Arts, Commerce, with an accurate Deſcription of the Land of Promiſe, *&c.* We have alſo ſettled the *Jewiſh* Chronology, from the Call of *Abraham* to the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and then proceeded, firſt to the Hiſtory of the Judges that governed *Iſrael*, from the Death of *Joſhua* to *Saul* their firſt King, and thence to the Reign of *Zedekiah*, when the City of *Jeruſalem* was burnt, and the whole Nation carried into Captivity by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Having thus delivered the Hiſtories of the moſt antient Kingdoms, till they were ſeverally ſubdued by the great Empires, and became Parts or Provinces of them, we enter upon the Hiſtory of the ſaid Empires, and go on with the Hiſtories of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to its Conqueſt by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and of the *Babylonian* Empire to its Deſtruction by *Cyrus*.

NOW to ſay ſomething of the Authors we have chiefly followed in the Work, for we have advanced nothing without quoting our Authors, that the Reader may, for his fuller Satisfaction, recur, if he pleaſes,

to

to the Originals; *Moſes* is the only authentick Writer of what happened before, and for ſeveral Ages after the Flood. He is by univerſal Conſent allowed to be the moſt antient Hiſtorian now extant; for, whether he was contemporary with *Inachus*, as *Juſtin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Julius Africanus*, *Joſephus*, *Tatian*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Porphyry*, and others ſuppoſe, or lived in the Time of *Cecrops*, the firſt king of *Athens*, as *Euſebius* affirms, it is certain, that his Hiſtory was compoſed, not only before all the Hiſtories, but even before the Fables of the *Greeks*; ſince, according to the Calculation of the former, he wrote 675 Years before the *Trojan* War, and according to that of the latter 275 Years before that Æra. His Hiſtory as well as the *Jewiſh* Laws, whereof he was Author, are comprized in five Books, known under the Title of the *Pentateuch*, which is univerſally received both by the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* as penned by him, if we except *Abenezra* and *Spinoſa* among the former, and ſome modern Criticks among the latter, if their avowed Principles can permit us to call them Chriſtians, who denied him to be Author of it, and who have been learnedly confuted by a late Writer [b]. Beſides the *Pentateuch*, there have been ſome other Works aſcribed to *Moſes*, though without any Certainty, ſuch as the Book of *Job*, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been compoſed by him, during his 40 Years Abode in *Midian*, and have this Argument on their Side, that it appears to have been written before the Deliverance of the *Iſraelites* from the *Egyptian* Bondage; otherwiſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that either *Job* or his Friends, conſidering what Kindred and Country they were of, could be ſo ignorant of the Wonders which God had wrought in Favour of that oppreſſed People, or ſo forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the ſtrongeſt Terms, during their long and intricate Controverſy about the various Diſpenſations of Providence. *Moſes* is alſo ſuppoſed to have wrote eleven Pſalms, *viz.* the 90th, 91ſt, and ſo on to the 100th.

[b] Abbadie. Verit. de la Relig. Chreſtienne.

100th. *Origen* [c]. believes him to have tranſlated the Book of *Job* out of the *Syriack* into *Hebrew*. Some few Fragments of other Books are likewiſe quoted by ſeveral of the antients as wrote by him; ſuch as, 1. his *Apocalypſe*, out of which St. *Paul* is by them ſuppoſed to have taken theſe Words, *For in Chriſt Jeſus neither Circumciſion availeth any thing* [d]. &c. 2. his *Leſſer Geneſis*; 3. his *Aſcenſion*; 4. his *Aſſumption*; 5. his *Teſtament*, and *Myſterious Books*. St. *Jerom*, who quotes a Paſſage or two out of his *Leſſer Geneſis*, tells us, that they had it in *Hebrew* in his Time [e]. The *Sethites*, an antient Sect of Hereticks, quoted his *Teſtament* and *Myſterious Books*, or *Diſcourſes*; but all theſe were ſo far from bearing any Authority in the Church, that they fell into Contempt and Oblivion, in Proportion as Chriſtianity prevailed.

THOUGH the Writings of *Moſes* be the only Records to be depended upon in the early Times, yet we have not omitted to give ſome farther Accounts, relating to the ſame Period, tranſmitted to us by profane Writers, namely by *Sanchoniatho*, *Manetho*, and *Beroſus*. *Sanchoniatho*, a *Tyrian* according to *Athenæus* and *Suidas*, according to others of *Berytus*, is ſaid by *Porphyry* the Philoſopher [f], *Euſebius* [g], and *Theodoret* [h], to have lived about the Time of the *Trojan* War: Whence *Bochart*, *Huetius*, and others ſuppoſe him to have been contemporary with *Gideon*. But theſe Writers are certainly miſtaken in their Chronology, and *Sanchoniatho* muſt be of a much later Date, ſince he ſpeaks of *Tyre*, which was built but 91 Years before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, as a very antient City. He muſt therefore have lived, as *Suidas* thinks, ſome conſiderable Time after that War, but the number of Years we cannot preciſely determine. If what is ſaid of *Sanchoniatho* be true, *viz.* that he dedicated his Book to *Abibal* King of *Tyre*, who was *Hiram*'s

[c] Origen, in Job. [d] Gal. vi. 15. [e] Epiſt. 127. ad Fabiol. [f] Lib. 4. adverſus Chriſtian. [g] Lib. 1. Præparat. Evangel. [h] Lib. 2. de curat. Græcar. affect. p. 28.

Fath. r,

Father, and *Solomon*'s Ally, he muſt have been Contemporary with *David*, who did not begin his Reign till ſeveral Years after the *Trojan* War. He compiled the *Phœnician* Hiſtory, according to *Porphyry*, from the antient Monuments and Memoirs which were imparted to him by one *Hierombalus* a Prieſt, whom *Bochart*, *Huetius*, and ſome others take to be *Gideon*, he being in the Book of *Judges* ſometimes named *Jerobaal*. But this Conjecture is refuted by others[1]. He is ſaid to have likewiſe made uſe of the Regiſters of the Cities of *Phœnicia*, which he found lodged in the Temples, and to have carefully ſought out, as *Philo Biblius* informs us, the Writings of *Taaut*, knowing him to have been the firſt Inventor of Letters, and the ſame whom the *Egyptians* call *Thoth*, the *Greeks Hermes*, and the *Latins Mercury*. He wrote alſo the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, and another Book of the Coſmogony and Theogony of the *Phœnicians*. Theſe Works were tranſlated out of the *Phœnician* into the *Greek* Tongue by *Philo Biblius*, a famous Grammarian, who lived in the Reigns of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, and *Adrian*. *Philo* digeſted them into nine Books, though *Porphyry* mentions but eight, perhaps not counting, as *Bochart* conjectures, his Coſmogony and Theogony. He begins his Hiſtory with the Origin of the World, and of Mankind: but, his Work being apparently written with a Deſign to apologize for Idolatry, inſtead of deducing the Hiſtory, as *Moſes* hath done, from *Adam* in the Line of *Seth*, the Worſhippers of the true God, he has, according to the Hypotheſis of Biſhop *Cumberland*, given us that of the idolatrous Line of *Cain*, that the Religion which this Author, or thoſe he tranſcribed, patronized, might appear to be introduced by the elder Branch, a Circumſtance which, they might think, gave it no ſmall Luſtre and Reputation. In the few Fragments of his Works that are remaining, we might be juſtly ſurprized to find not ſo much as the leaſt Men-

[1] Vandal n. Diſſer. de Sanchoniath.

tion

tion of the Deluge, did we not conſider that Deſtruction was a Judgment on the idolatrous World, with which the Profeſſors of the true Religion probably reproached the Heathens, and which the latter were therefore deſirous to conceal, and to bury, if poſſible, the very Memory of ſo extraordinary a Monument of Divine Vengeance and their own Shame. Biſhop *Cumberland*, ſuſpecting, with a great deal of Reaſon, the *Phœnician* Records, where they deliver the Pedigree of *Cain*'s Line, to have been corrupted, propoſes an Amendment of them; for which we refer the Reader to that learned Prelate's Book on *Sanchoniatho*, or to Sect. III. Note C of the preſent Hiſtory. We muſt not forget to acquaint the Reader, that ſome Writers have, upon very ſlight Grounds, endeavoured to prove all that has been ſaid of *Sanchoniatho* to be an arrant Fable; and the Work, which goes under his Name, as well as the Name itſelf, to have been forged by *Philo Biblius*, in Oppoſition to the Books which *Joſephus* had wrote not long before againſt *Apion*. But their Arguments are ſo frivolous, that they ſcarce deſerve an Anſwer.

MANETHO, an *Egyptian* by Birth, High-Prieſt and Keeper of the ſacred Records of that Nation, flouriſhed in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, by whoſe Order he undertook the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, tranſlating out of the *Egyptian* Language, into the *Greek*, the ſacred Regiſters that were committed to his Care. This Work he divided into three Parts, whereof the Firſt contained the Hiſtory of the Gods; the Second that of the Demi-gods; and the Third the Dynaſties, which ended in *Nectanebus*, the laſt king of *Egypt*, who was driven out by *Ochus* in the 107th Olympiad, a few Years before the Conqueſt of *Perſia* by *Alexander*. Beſides his Hiſtory of *Egypt*, he wrote ſeveral other Books, *viz*, one of *the Theology of the* Egyptians, commonly ſtiled *the holy Book*; one of *the antient and religious Ceremonies of the* Egyptians, called by *Porphyry*, *the Book of Antiquity and Piety*; one of *Phyſic*; and one *concerning the Manner of preparing*

paring Incenſe to be uſed by the Egyptian *Prieſts.*: The two latter Books are aſcribed by *Suidas* to another *Manetho*, by Birth a *Mendeſian*; but his Authority in Matters of this Nature is little to be depended upon. He likewiſe wrote ſix Books in Verſe on *the Influence and Power of the Stars*, which he dedicated to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. This Piece is ſtill extant, and was publiſhed in the Original *Greek*, with a *Latin* Explanation and Notes by *Gronovius* in 1698, from the only Manuſcript that was remaining, and lodged in the *Medicean* Library at *Florence*. To this *Work Paulinus Nolanus* alludes in the following Verſes:

Nunc tria miremur texentem fata Platonem,
Aut Arati *numeros, aut picta* Manæthonis *aſtra.*

He publiſhed alſo a Book *of the Jews*, which *Joſephus* refutes in his firſt Book againſt *Apion*, as filled with fabulous Accounts. Of all his Works, except his Aſtronomy, there are now but a few Fragments remaining in *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus*. The Credit of this Author has been called in queſtion by ſeveral Writers, not only on account of the incredible Antiquity to which his Hiſtory is ſuppoſed to have aſcended, but from the Account which, it is ſaid, he himſelf gave of the Records from whence he took it, pretending to have extracted it from certain Pillars in the *Syriadic* Land, on which Inſcriptions had been made in the ſacred Dialect and Letters by *Thoth*, the firſt *Hermes*, and were tranſlated, after the Flood, out of the ſacred Dialect into *Greek*, and laid up by *Agathodæmon*, the Son of the ſecond *Hermes*, the Father of *Tat*, in the inner Receſſes of the *Egyptian* Temples. Now it is impoſſible, that the firſt *Hermes*, who lived in the earlieſt Years of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, could write a hiſtory of ſo many Generations, which came into the World after his Death; and if *Manetho* could aſſert this, it muſt neceſſarily have overthrown the Credit of his whole Work. But we do not think that Writer could mean any ſuch Thing; the Words cited from

from him do not ſay, he took his whole Hiſtory from thoſe Pillars; though he might probably quote thoſe Records to ſupport the antient Hiſtory, which preceded the Time of *Thoth*, and ſuch Pillars, or at leaſt ſome Pillars of great Antiquity, and by the Prieſts attributed to *Thoth*, muſt have been extant in the Days of *Manetho*, or he could never have appealed to them in ſo publick a Manner, eſpecially in writing to his Prince. The ſtronger Prejudice againſt the Credit of this Writer, ariſes from his Chronology. The *Egyptians*, it is true, pretended to an exceſſive Antiquity, and to have certain Records for a prodigious length of Time paſt. This appears not only from the old *Egyptian* Chronicle, but from the extravagant Numbers of Years their Prieſts impoſed upon *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and *Diodorus*; but *Manetho* ſeems to have been much more modeſt, though the Sum of his 32 Dynaſties, from *Menes* to fifteen Years before *Alexander*, (without taking the Reigns of the Gods and Demigods into the Account) if caſt up, will amount to above 5300 Years, which will reach higher than the Creation of the World; and *Joſeph Scaliger* has accordingly ſettled their Chronology in ſuch manner, that, by his own Way of reckoning, it exceeds the Epoch of the Creation 1336 Years. After *Cambyſes* had carried away the *Egyptian* Records, the Prieſts, in all Probability, to ſupply their Loſs, and keep up their Pretences to Antiquity, began to write new Records, wherein they not only neceſſarily made great Miſtakes, but added a good deal of their own Invention, eſpecially as to diſtant Times. From theſe Materials, for want of better, *Manetho* collecting this Hiſtory, muſt have intermixed a good deal of Fable, as there is indeed in the Antiquities of all Nations; ſince it cannot be expected, that People could have begun to keep Records till ſome Ages after their Settlement. It is unjuſt therefore to lay the whole Blame of the Confuſion and Uncertainty, we find in the *Egyptian* Hiſtory, at the Door of *Manetho*: He collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the Records he had, and we have ſo little genuine

Remains of him, and what we have has been ſo mangled by Tranſcribers and Pretenders to correct him, that they ſcarcely bear any Reſemblance of that antient and venerable Hiſtorian. Several antient Writers of good Judgment, as *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, *Euſebius*, and *Joſephus*, looked upon him as a Writer, whoſe Authority was to be depended on; and the curious Fragment tranſcribed from him by *Joſephus*, before his Copies had been corrupted, ſeems to confirm this good Opinion, being the moſt valuable and authentick Piece of *Egyptian* Hiſtory, of ſo great Antiquity, that is extant, and the Series of Kings, which we have thence exhibited Book I. Chap. III. Sect. III. is a pretty exact one, connecting the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Hiſtories, by acquainting us, that *Sethoſis* was *Ægyptus*, and his Brother *Armais Danaus*.

BEROSUS, by Birth a *Chaldean*, flouriſhed under *Antiochus Soter*, or his Son *Antiochus Theos*, and not in the Time of *Moſes*, as ſome, groſsly miſtaken, have imagined. For he dedicated his Work to *Antiochus*, the third King after *Alexander*, as *Tatian* informs us, that is, to *Antiochus Theos*; *Alexander* was ſucceeded by *Seleucus Nicanor*; *Seleucus Nicanor* by *Antiochus Soter*; and he by his Son *Antiochus Theos*. He tells us himſelf in his firſt Book of the Hiſtory of *Babylon*, that he was born during the Minority of *Alexander the Great*. He wrote in Three Books the *Chaldean* and *Babylonian* Hiſtory, which took in that alſo of the *Medes*. *Pliny* tells us [a], that his Hiſtory contains the events of 480 Years. But of that Work we have now remaining only ſome few Fragments quoted by *Joſephus* in his Books againſt *Apion*, and by *Alexander Polyhiſtor*; for the *Beroſus*, publiſhed by *Annius* of *Viterbo*, is, without all Doubt, a ſpurious Piece. *Joſephus* ſays, that he agreed with *Moſes* in his Accounts of the Deluge, the Fall of Man, the Ark, in which the Reſtorer of Mankind was ſaved; and adds, that he mentions the Deſcendants of *Noah*, and their reſpective Ages, to *Nabulaſſar*, King of *Babylon*;

[a] Hiſt. Natur. l. 6. c. 55.

bylon; and that, relating the Actions of that Prince, he ſpeaks of the taking and burning of *Jeruſalem* by his Son *Nebuchadonoſor*; on which Occaſion, ſays he, the *Jews* were carried Captives to *Babylon*; whence enſued the Deſolation of that City for 70 Years, till the Reign of *Cyrus*. He is quoted by *Pliny*, *Tatian*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Vitruvius*, and *Euſebius*, which ſhews him to have been a Writer of good Authority. In the Series he gives us of the ten Kings, whom he ſuppoſes to have reigned at *Babylon* before the Flood, there are ſome ſmall Variations in the Authors, who have tranſcribed that Hiſtorian, which has induced us to exhibit them to the Reader's View, Book I. Chap. I. Sect. V. of the preſent Hiſtory. As theſe ten Succeſſions exactly anſwer the ten Generations from the Creation to the Flood, the firſt King by Name *Alorus*, has been ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Adam*, as *Xiſuthrus*, the laſt in the Series, plainly appears to be *Noah*. The Reader will find his Account of the *Chaldean* and *Babylonian* Coſmogony in the Introduction, and the Subſtance of the few Fragments that are ſtill remaining, and relate to the earlieſt Times, Book I. Chap. I. Sect. V.

To *Beroſus* we may add *Abydenus*, who flouriſhed ſome Time after him, and, in many Things, follows him. *Abydenus* wrote the Hiſtory of the *Chaldean* Empire, whereof there are but few Fragments remaining in *Euſebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Syncellus*. In one of theſe Fragments he gives the Names and Reigns of the ten firſt Kings of *Chaldea*, copied with ſome ſmall Variation from *Beroſus*, as the Reader may ſee, Book I. Chap I. Sect VI. In another he ſpeaks of the Tower of *Babel*, and the Confuſion of Languages, agreeable to the Account we have in Holy Writ. Theſe Fragments *Scaliger* has illuſtrated with learned Notes in his Book, *De emendatione temporum*. Some confound this *Abydenus*, with *Palæphatus*, called alſo *Abydenus*, from the City of *Abydus*, the Place of his Birth. *Palæphatus* was contemporary with *Alexander*, a favourite

vourite Diſciple of *Ariſtotle*'s, and wrote the Hiſtories of *Cyprus*, *Delos*, and *Arabia*.

ERATOSTHENES the *Cyrenæan* was a Man of eminent Learning, Keeper of the famous Library of *Alexandria*, and greatly in favour with *Ptolemy Euergetes*, by whoſe Order he wrote the Hiſtory of the *Theban* Kings of *Egypt*, the Catalogue of which has met with a very favourable Reception among the Learned, not only as a Supplement to *Manetho*, who has entirely omitted that Succeſſion, but as a certain Foundation for fixing the *Egyptian* Chronology. His Authority has been by ſeveral Writers preferred to that of *Manetho*, in regard he was not an *Egyptian*, and took his Liſt from the ſacred Records of *Thebes*, or had it from the ſacred Scribes there. He has given, together with the *Egyptian* Names of the Kings, their Interpretation in *Greek*, which the ſkilled in the *Coptic* Tongue allow to be juſt in ſome Inſtances; but ſeveral of them are corrupted and unintelligible. This Author wrote a great Number of Books, whereof the Catalogue may be ſeen in *Fabricius*, *Galens*, *Voſſius*, &c. but the only Piece, now remaining entire, is his Deſcription and fabulous Account of the Stars. He ſtarved himſelf thro' Grief for the Dimneſs of his Sight in the 10th or 12th Year of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 196 Years before Chriſt.

In the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, beſides *Manetho*, we have chiefly followed *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*. *Herodotus*, or, as others call him, *Erodotus*, is the moſt antient Writer among the *Greeks*, whoſe Works have reached us. There is no Room left to doubt of the Place of his Birth, he himſelf having inſerted, at the Beginning of his Hiſtory, both his Name and Country: *This is*, ſays he, *the Book of* Herodotus *of* Halicarnaſſus. He was alſo ſurnamed the *Thurian*, having accompanied a Colony, which was ſent from *Athens*, to ſettle at *Thurium*, a City of *Magna Græcia* on the *Tarentin* Gulf. This happened the third Year of the 83d Olympiad, during the Archonſhip of *Callimachus*.

limachus. Here, if we believe *Pliny* [1], he wrote his Hiſtory, being then forty Years old, in the firſt Year of the 84th Olympiad, 310 Years after the Foundation of *Rome*, and 444 before Chriſt. Before he began his Hiſtory, he travelled all over *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Egypt*, to inquire into the Origin, Traditions, and Records of the Nations he was to write off. His main Deſign was to write the Wars of the *Perſians* againſt the *Greeks*, from the Reign of *Cyrus* to that of *Xerxes*; but he extended it to the Hiſtory of other Nations, namely, of the *Lydians*, *Egyptians*, and *Scythians*. This Hiſtory he divided into nine Books, giving to each of them the Name of one of the nine Muſes; wherein he has ſince been followed by *Cephalion*, *Bion*, the Rhetorician, and *P. Aurelius Opilius*; tho' ſome are of Opinion, that his Books were not by himſelf diſtinguiſhed with thoſe Titles, but by the Admirers of his Performance. He recited his Hiſtory, as *Lucian* informs us, on the publick Theatre at *Olympia* to a crowded Auditory of the chief Men of all *Greece*, met to celebrate the *Olympic* Games, and was more admired even than thoſe who carried the Prizes. *Euſebius* ſays, that this happened, not at *Olympia*, but at *Athens*, on the Feſtival of the *Panathenæa*. On this Occaſion it was that *Thucydides*, tho' then eighty Years old, was ſo touched with Emulation, that he reſolved to undertake the writing of an Hiſtory, and ſtrive to equal or excel *Herodotus*. The Hiſtory of *Herodotus* has been propoſed by *Tully*, *Hortenſius*, *Quintilian*, and all the beſt Judges of Antiquity, as a Pattern to all Hiſtorians. As for the Truth of his Accounts, we muſt own, that it has been called in queſtion by Men of no mean Character. *Cteſias* doubts the Truth of what he writes concerning the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians*; but we ſhall prove hereafter this Hiſtorian leſs worthy of Credit than *Herodotus*. *Manetho* cenſures him, for advancing many Falſities, with regard to the *Egyptian* Hiſtory; which Charge is not quite groundleſs,

1 *Lib.* 12. *c.* 4.

ſince he himſelf owns, that what he relates to have happened before the Reign of *Pſammitichus*, and on the Credit of others, is far from certain. But none ever attacked with more Virulency, if we may be alowed the Expreſſion, the Credit of *Herodotus*, than *Plutarch*, whoſe Judgment would be of great Weight, had he not himſelf declared, that the Reputation of his Country had engaged him in the Diſpute. *Herodotus* relates, that, in the Expedition of *Xerxes*, the *Thebans*, to conſult their own Safety, abandoned the Common Cauſe, and joined the *Perſians*. Tho' this was matter of Fact, and *Demoſthenes* afterwards reproached the *Thebans* with it, yet *Plutarch*, who was a Native of *Chæronæa*, a *Theban* City, could not bear the baſe Behaviour of his Countrymen to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, but vented his Reſentment againſt the Publiſher of their Cowardice in a Book wrote for that Purpoſe, and entituled, *Of the Malignity of* Herodotus. But his Exceptions are either trifling, or turn upon Facts, which *Herodotus* himſelf delivers as doubtful. Beſides, he betrays throughout the whole Work a great deal of Paſſion, Prejudice, and Ill-nature. On the other ſide, all *Greece*, by their ſolemn Approbation, gave an ample Teſtimony of his Veracity, at a Time when moſt of the Tranſactions, which he deſcribes, were very well known. In his whole Work there appears an Air of Sincerity, which even his enemies have been forced to acknowledge: He examines the Truth of the Facts which he relates, and for the moſt part acquaints his Readers with what others have ſaid on the ſame Subject. When he relates extraordinary Events, he tells us, that he copied them from others, and declares which he believes, and which he ſuſpects, adding, *as it is ſaid*; *as I have been told*; *this does not at all ſeem probable*; *thoſe, who feign ſuch Stories, relate*, &c. He often repeats, that what he relates ought not to be depended on, any farther than it appears probable; that the Character of an Hiſtorian obliges him to relate what he had heard, but that the Readers are not bound to believe whatever he has been told. As to

to the *Lydian* Hiſtory, which ſome look upon as fabulous, it cannot be denied, but that he was acquainted with the Tranſactions of that Nation, which bordered on the *Aſiatick Greek* Cities, in one of which *Herodotus* was born, not above 60 Years after the Deſtruction of the *Lydian* Empire. He ſeems very ſincere in his *Egyptian* Hiſtory; for he ingenuouſly owns, that all he relates before the Reign of *Pſammitichus* is uncertain, and that he reports the early Tranſactions of that Nation on the Credit of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, on which he did not much depend. His Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* does not at all agree with that which the modern Chronologiſts have followed; but moſt of the Antients have preferred *Herodotus* to all others. In his Hiſtory of *Perſia* he differs in many Particulars from *Xenophon's Cyropædia*; but we muſt obſerve with *Tully*, that the *Cyropædia* is rather an inſtructive Piece, than an Hiſtory. The Chronology of *Herodotus* is far from being exact, eſpecially with relation to the *Egyptian* Affairs, extravagant Numbers of Years having been impoſed upon him, as well as upon *Diodorus* and *Plato*, by the *Egyptian* Prieſts, who piqued themſelves mightily on the Antiquity of their Nation. *Herodotus* wrote other Books beſides the Hiſtory now extant; for *Ariſtotle* [m] finds fault with him for ſaying that an Eagle drank during the Siege of *Nineveh*, whereas no Bird with hooked Talons, as that Philoſopher affirms, ever drinks. This Paſſage is not to be found in his Works now extant, which has made ſome Authors imagine, that *Ariſtotle* quoted it from the Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*, which, in two Places of his firſt Book, he promiſed to write. But, if he had ever publiſhed it, we can ſcarcely believe, that none of the Antients would have ſo much as mentioned it. It is more likely, that his preſent Hiſtory was more compleat in *Ariſtotle*'s Time, than it is now; or even that *Ariſtotle* thro' Miſtake quoted *Herodotus* inſtead of ſome other Author, whereof we have Inſtances in other antient Writers. Some aſcribe to *Herodotus*

[m] Lib. viii. de Anima. c. 18.

dotus the Life of *Homer*, which in moſt Editions is annexed to his Hiſtory; but the Diverſity of Stile, and the Diſagreement between *Herodotus* and the Author of that Piece, plainly evince theſe two Works to have been penned by different Hands. We refer the Reader for farther particulars concerning *Herodotus*, to *Henry Stephens*, *Joachimus Camerarius*, and *Montfaucon* in his Book on *Judith*.

Diodorus Siculus was born at *Argyrium*, or *Agyrium*, a Town of *Sicily*, and thence called *Siculus*, or *the Sicilian*. He flouriſhed under *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, and began his Hiſtory after the Death of the former, as he himſelf informs us [n]. He travelled with no ſmall Danger over great Part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and all *Egypt*, to acquaint himſelf with the Geography of the Places, as well as the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Inhabitants. He wrote a General Hiſtory from the earlieſt Times to the 180th Olympiad, that is, to *Cæſar*'s War with the *Gauls*. This Hiſtory he intituled the *Bibliotheque* or *Library*, having copied his Accounts from the Writers of different Nations, who flouriſhed before. In his Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*, *Sicilians*, and *Rhodians*, he follows *Herodotus*, *Cteſias*, *Beroſus*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Philiſtus*, *Calliſthenes*, *Theopompus Chius*, &c. in what relates to the *Macedonians*, he depends on *Cardianus* and *Marſias*; in his Hiſtory of *Crete* he quotes *Epimenides*, *Dorſiadas*, *Soſicrates*, and *Laoſthenides*: Of the forty Books of his Hiſtory, fifteen only are now remaining, *viz.* the five firſt, the eleventh, and the following to the twentieth. The four firſt Books comprehend the Theology and Hiſtories, preceding the *Trojan* War, of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Chaldeans*, *Indians*, *Scythians*, *Arabians*, *Æthiopians*, *Africans*, and *Greeks*. This Part is interwoven with many Fables, which however were believed by thoſe Nations, whoſe Hiſtories he writes. In the 5th Book he gives an Account of the Origin and Antiquities of the greater Iſlands. The five

[n] Lib. 5. p. 208.

five following Books contained the Antiquities of all the Eaſtern Nations, the Origins of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and the moſt remarkable Tranſactions that happened in any Part of the World, from the taking of *Troy* to the Expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*. The 11th Book begins with the Expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, and ends in the Year which preceded the Expedition of the *Athenians* into *Cyprus* under the Conduct of *Cimon*. The five following Books continue the Hiſtory of all Nations to the Time of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe Exploits are related in the 16th, as thoſe of his Son *Alexander* in the 17th, and of his Succeſſors to the Death of *Antigonus* in the three next. In the other twenty Books our Author purſued the Hiſtory of all Nations, from the Death of *Antigonus*, which happened in the 119th Olympiad, to *Cæſar*'s War with the *Gauls*, that is, to the 180th Olympiad. The 11th Book and the following were written in the Nature of Annals, with the Names of the *Athenian* Archons and *Roman* Conſuls to each Year. But *Diodorus* is not ſo exact in his Computations, with regard to the *Roman* Affairs, as could be wiſhed; for he places the Beginning of *Xerxes*'s War in the firſt Year of the 75th Olympiad, which, according to him, concurred with the Conſulſhip of *Spurius Caſſius* and *Proclus Virginius Tricoſtus*; but theſe had been Conſuls ſix Years before, and thoſe of that Year were *Cæſo Fabius* the ſecond time, and *Spurius Furius Fuſus*; a Miſtake which is continued thro' the whole Sequel of his Annals. In the Affairs of *Egypt* he was likewiſe greatly impoſed upon, as to the Numbers of Years, by the *Egyptian* Prieſts.

In the Hiſtory of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, &c. we chiefly follow the Scripture and *Joſephus*, from whom however we diſſent, when he takes the Liberty, as he frequently does, to diſſent from holy Writ. *Joſephus* wrote his hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* War and Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* firſt in *Hebrew*, or, as ſome ſay [o], in *Syro-Chaldaic*, for the Uſe of his own

[o] Sam. Baſnagius, Exercit. in Baronium.

own Nation, and afterwards tranſlated it into *Greek* about the ſeventh Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, to whom he dedicated it. This Work was, by the Emperor's Order, placed in the publick Library at *Rome*, and the Author, as *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* inform us [f], diſtinguiſhed with a Statue, an Honour conferred upon very few. Beſides his Hiſtory he wrote twenty Books of the *Jewiſh* Antiquities, which he dedicated to *Epaphroditus* his great Patron. In theſe Books he gives us the Hiſtory of the *Jews* from their firſt Origin to the 12th Year of *Nero*, when they began to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. This Work, as *Joſephus* himſelf informs us, was compleated in the 13th Year of *Domitian*, that is, in the 93d of *Chriſt*. In his Chronology he often diſagrees both with the *Septuagint*, and the Writers of other Nations; nay, he is frequently inconſiſtent with himſelf, which we may impute to the Careleſneſs and Ignorance of his Tranſcribers, ſeeing there appears ſuch a Diſagreement between the antient Manuſcripts of the ten laſt Books of his Antiquities and the printed Copies, that ſome have imagined [g] him to have left two different ones. The Veracity of this Writer, eſpecially in the Books of his Antiquities, has been often call'd in queſtion; and truly, his Accounts ſometimes not only vary from holy Writ, but are diametrically oppoſite to what we read in the Hiſtory of *Moſes* and the Prophets, and this after having ſolemnly proteſted, that his Deſign was to add nothing of his own, but faithfully to tranſcribe, without the leaſt Alteration, what he found in the ſacred Records of his Nation. He wrote alſo two Books againſt *Apion*, who, in the third and fourth Books of his *Egyptian* Hiſtory, had defamed and traduced the *Jews*. In this Work he ſhews himſelf converſant not only in the Hiſtory of his own, but of all other Nations, and to have peruſed, as St.

[f] Euſeb. l. 3. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. & Hieron. c. 13. catalog.
[g] Emericus Bigot. epiſtolæ Reineſii ad Boſium, p. 381.

Jerom

Jerom expreſſes it [r], all the Libraries of the *Greeks*. This Book likewiſe *Joſephus* dedicated to *Epaphroditus*, whence it is manifeſt, that it was publiſhed before the 95th Year of *Chriſt*, for in that Year *Epaphroditus* was, by Order of *Domitian*, put to Death. Beſides his Hiſtory and Antiquities, he wrote the Hiſtory of his own Life; and, according to ſome, a Diſcourſe on the Empire of Reaſon, in Commendation of the ſeven *Maccabees*; a Book alſo againſt the *Greeks*, namely againſt *Plato*, is aſcribed to him; but it is uncertain, whether he was the Author of the two latter, ſome affirming, ſome denying, him to have wrote them.

In our Hiſtory of the antient *Syrians*, we have had always before our Eyes the Books of the Kings, the Chronicles, and the Prophets, and have left *Joſephus* and the profane Hiſtorians, where they ſeem to contradict holy Writ, but at the ſame time acquainting the Reader in our Notes with their various Opinions, and the Reaſons that are alledged to ſupport them. The Hiſtory of the *Phœnicians* we have taken chiefly from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Juſtin*, *Curtius*, *Pauſanias*, *Appian*, *Oroſius*, *Plutarch*, and from *Dius*, *Menander*, and *Philoſtrates*, as quoted by *Joſephus*. *Dius* and *Medander* wrote the Hiſtory of *Phœnice*, and are both commended by *Joſephus* as very exact in their Accounts, having compiled their Hiſtories from the antient Records that were lodged in the Temples. *Dius* was by Birth a *Phœnician*, and *Menander* an *Epheſian*; the Accounts of both perfectly agreed, as *Joſephus* often repeats, with Scripture. Beſides the Hiſtory of *Phœnice*, *Menander* wrote the Life of *Ithobal* King of *Tyre*, wherein he mentioned the Drought that happened in *Ahab*'s Reign. *Philoſtrates* likewiſe wrote the Hiſtory of *Phœnice*, and, as *Joſephus* informs us, gave an exact Account of the Siege of *Tyre*.

[r] Epiſt. 84. ad Mag. Orator.

THE Account we give of the *Phœnician* Kings, from the antient fabulous Hiſtory of the *Greeks*, is chiefly extracted from *Apollodorus*. This Writer was by Birth an *Athenian*, by Profeſſion a Grammarian, Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus* the Grammarian, and *Panætius* a *Rhodian* Philoſopher, who lived in the Reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes*. He wrote his Hiſtory, which he intituled *the Bibliotheque of the Gods*, in the Reign of *Attalus Philadelphus*, King of *Pergamus*, who died in the third Year of the 160th *Olympiad*, that is, 138 Years before *Chriſt*. Of this Work there are now but three Books remaining, tho' there is no doubt but it contained ſeveral others; for *Macrobius* quotes the 14th, *Hermolaus* the 16th; and *Photius* tells us, that *Sopater*, the Sophiſt, handling the ſame Subject, copied ſeveral Paſſages out of this Work, from the firſt to the 24th Book. This Piece, in *Scaliger*'s Opinion, is a very judicious Performance, and tho' moſtly fabulous, yet ſuch as may give us ſome Inſight into antient Hiſtory, the Fables being founded on hiſtorical Truth, and the Perſons ſuch as have exiſted, tho' their Actions be exaggerated or diſguiſed. The ſame Author adds, that we may extract from *Apollodorus* a more certain and better grounded Chronology, than from the Rhapſodies of *Beroaldus*; and *Voſſius* is of Opinion, that by ſeparating the fabulous Stories from real Events, we may form from his Writings a true Hiſtory. He begins with *Inachus*, who is believed to have founded the Kingdom of the *Argivi*, in *Abraham*'s Time, and brings his Hiſtory down to the Time of *Theſeus* Prince of *Athens*. The Books that are loſt reached to the 1040th Year after the *Trojan* War, or to the 258th Olympiad.

IN the Hiſtory of the *Jews* we have followed the Scripture and *Joſephus*, where he agrees with the Sacred Hiſtory, not neglecting to acquaint the Reader in our Notes with the Traditions of the Rabbies.

THE Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Babylonians* we have likewiſe delivered agreeable to what

we

we have found in Scripture relating thereto. We have rejected, as an arrant Fable, the *Aſſyrian* Hiſtory of *Cteſias*; but as it has been, we may ſay, from all Antiquity admitted into the Body of Hiſtory, we ſhall here give ſome Account of that Writer. *Cteſias* was a Native of *Cnidos*, and accompanied *Cyrus* in his Expedition againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, on which Occaſion he was taken Priſoner; but, having cured *Artaxerxes* of a Wound he received in the Battle, he became a great Favourite at the Court of *Perſia*, where he continued practiſing Phyſic for the Space of 17 Years. Thus far *Diodorus Siculus*. *Photius* likewiſe informs us, that he flouriſhed in the Time of *Cyrus*, the ſon of *Darius* and Brother of *Artaxerxes*, who poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom of *Perſia*. *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the great Men of *Cnidos*, mentions *Cteſias*, who, ſays he, cured *Artaxerxes*; and *Xenophon* who was his Contemporary, tells us, that *Cteſias* of *Cnidos* was a Phyſician, and, being taken Priſoner, dreſſed the Wound, which *Artaxerxes* received in the Engagement. He was employed, as he himſelf witneſſes, by *Artaxerxes* in Negotiations with the King of *Salamis*, with *Conon*, and the *Lacedemonian* Embaſſadors; which ſhews what Credit he was in at the Court of that Prince. *Cteſias* wrote the Hiſtory of *Perſia* in 23 Books, whereof the firſt Six contain the Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, the other Seventeen the whole Hiſtory of *Perſia*, from *Cyrus* to the Author's Death. He alſo wrote the Hiſtory of the *Indies*. But theſe Works are loſt, and all we have remaining of them is an Abridgment compiled by *Photius*, which is alſo imperfect, he having omitted the Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*. However, we have that Hiſtory too abridged in *Diodorus*, and the Names of the Kings, which *Diodorus* left out, carefully ſet down by *Euſebius* and *Syncellus*. *Cteſias* has always been looked upon, by the moſt judicious among the antients, as a fabulous Writer. *Ariſtotle*, who was almoſt his Contemporary, declares him a Writer unworthy of Credit. *Antigonus Cariſtius*, who lived in the Time of

of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, ſays, that he frequently lyes, and relates what is altogether incredible. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Artaxerxes*, calls him a vain Man, and a notorious Lyar. *Lucian* charges him with relating in his *Indica* what he had never ſeen or heard; and truly, whoever peruſes that Work, muſt immediately conclude him to have been a Man of no Sort of Sincerity. His Hiſtory of *Aſſyria* is moſt evidenly calculated to aſtoniſh, amaze, and to ſtrain Credulity beyond all poſſible Bounds. His Liſt of the *Aſſyrian* Kings ſeems to be a groſs Forgery, it being a Medley of *Greek*, *Perſian*, *Egyptian*, and other Names. Again, in all long Liſts of Kings, the ſame Names, or ſome bearing a near reſemblance to them, are obſerved often to recur. But the Names in *Cteſias* are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of Forgery; the Length of the Reigns may be urged as another Argument againſt him; except it be anſwered, that in thoſe very early Days, ſo nearly bordering on the Times of the Deluge, ſuch Length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no Anſwer at all; for at leaſt three fourths of them muſt have lived, when the Life of Man was reduced to its preſent Standard. But yet, ſeveral of the antient Hiſtorians, and, what is more ſurprizing, of the modern *Chriſtian* Writers, have blindly followed him in Oppoſition to Scripture, *Heroditus*, and other more undoubted Authorities. *Diodorus Siculus* tranſcribed him; *Cephaleon*, *Caſtor*, *Trogus*, *Velleius Paterculus* have copied ſeveral Accounts from him. *Julius Africanus*, *Euſebius* and *Syncellus* have adopted, in part, his Chronology of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, wherein they have been followed by moſt of the modern Chronologers.

We ſhall now give a ſuccinct Account of ſeveral Authors quoted by us, with whom perhaps every Reader may not be acquainted. Theſe are,

Zoroaſter, a *Bactrian*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been contemporary with *Nimrod*, and the King of the *Bactrians*. *Cluverius* takes him for *Adam*; *Procopius*, *Gazeus*,

Gazeus, and *Epiphanius*, for *Abraham*; *Huetius* for *Moſes*; *Gregory* of *Tours* for *Shem*, &c. We are in no leſs Uncertainty as to the Time wherein he flouriſhed; *Epiphanius* making him contemporary with *Nimrod*, *Eujebius* with *Semiramis*, and *Apuleius* with *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*. *Plato* calls him the moſt antient of all the *Perſian* Sages: *Eudoxus*, *Pliny*, and *Hermippus* tell us, that he lived five thouſand Years before the *Trojan* War: *Xanthus* of *Lydia*, according to the Teſtimony of *Laertius*, reckons but 600 Years from *Zoroaſter* to *Xerxes*. As to his Works, *Hermippus* ſays, that he wrote two Millions of Verſes. *Suidas* gives us the Titles of ſome of his Works, *viz.* Four Books of Nature, one of precious Stones, and five of Aſtronomical Predictions. *Euſebius* quotes a Paſſage from his Sacred Hiſtory of *Perſia*, containing an excellent Deſcription of the Divine Attributes. *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, treating of the Magic of the *Perſians*, produces *Zoroaſter*'s Hypotheſis, admitting two Principles. *Proclus* collected the pretended Oracles of *Zoroaſter* in 280 Hexameter Verſes. He is ſaid to have been the Inventor of Magic among the *Eaſtern* Nations; but by Magic nothing was meant in thoſe Days beſides Phyſic and Theology, as *Naudæus* proves with very convincing Arguments.

Mochus, or *Moſchus*, a *Sidonian*, lived before the *Trojan* War, as *Strabo* informs us, and wrote the Hiſtory of *Phœnice*. He is quoted by *Joſephus* in the firſt Book of his Antiquities, by *Athenæus*, and *Tatian*, who names two other *Phœnician* Writers, *viz. Theodotus* and *Hiſicrates*. His Hiſtory was tranſlated into *Greek* by *Chætus*, or *Lætus*; but we have now only a few Fragments of it remaining in the above-mentioned Writers.

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, a celebrated Writer in the Reign of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, and by *Sylla* carried Captive to *Rome*, wrote a great many Hiſtories, as his Name witneſſes, and among others thoſe of *India* and *Egypt*. *Clement* of *Alexandria* quotes a Book of his concerning the *Jews*, wherein were inſerted

ſerted *Solomon*'s Letters to the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* Kings, with their reſpective Anſwers. *Euſebius* alſo recites a Fragment of the ſame Author, relating to the *Jews* [r].

ORPHEUS, ſurnamed the *Librethian*, was a *Thracian*, and is famous among the Antients, not only for Poetry and Muſic, but alſo for Theology. He is ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the *Greeks* the *Egyptian* Myſteries. *Clement* of *Alexandria* ſays, that *Homer* borrowed ſeveral Paſſages from his Poems. The Antients mention many Pieces that were under his Name, ſome of which are ſtill extant, *viz.* an Epic Poem, entitled, *The Argonautics*; 86 Hymns; a Poem on precious Stones and their Virtues, and ſeveral Fragments of other Works, aſcribed to him by *Proclus*, *Tzetzes*, and other Writers. *Plato* mentions the Hymns of this Author in his eighth Book of Laws: *Stobæus* and *Suidas* aſcribe the Hymns to *Onomacritus*, and others, with *Clement* of *Alexandria*, to *Pythagoras*. We alſo find ſeveral Verſes cited by *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Euſebius*, and *Theodoret*, out of the *Teſtament of Orpheus*; but the bare reading of them will convince us, that they are the Performance of a more modern Writer.

NEITHER have *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, *Africanus*, and *Syncellus*, been excluded from our Hiſtory. In their Time the Libraries of *Greece* were furniſhed with excellent Manuſcripts, which have been ſince loſt. From them they made their Collections; and we may judge of their Sincerity by the Authors which remain, and which they have faithfully quoted; ſo that where other Writers were at a loſs, they have often put us in the way in our Purſuit of Truth.

IN the Deſcriptions of Countries we have chiefly followed, among the Antients, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Dionyſius Periegetes*. *Strabo* flouriſhed under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, and viſited moſt of the Places which he deſcribes; whence his Deſcriptions are very exact, if we except thoſe of *Germany*, wherein he depended on the Relations

[r] Euſeb. Præpar. Evang l. 9.

Relations of others. He publiſhed ſeveral Works; but his XVII Books of Geography are the only that have reached us. In theſe he not only deſcribes the Situation of the Places, but often the Manners, Cuſtoms, Laws, and Religions of the Inhabitants.

PTOLEMY was of *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, and flouriſhed in the Reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. In his Geography he followed *Marinus Tyrius* who was almoſt his Contemporary. He is often miſtaken as to the Degrees of Longitude and Latitude, and ſometimes ſpeaks of Cities, which had been deſtroyed many Years, not to ſay Ages, before his Time, as ſtill extant. Moſt of his Miſtakes have been carefully corrected by *Ortelius*, and *Gherardus Mercator*, *Cluverius*, *Velſerius*, and others. His *Canon* is ſo exactly agreeable to Scripture Hiſtory, that if this latter could poſſibly ſtand in need of Confirmation, ſo far as it relates to the Hiſtory of the great Empires of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, nothing could be ſo effectual towards it as this *Canon*, which has given birth to one of the moſt famous profane Æra's, that of *Nabonaſſar*, the firſt King in it, and without which there would be the greateſt Obſcurity in the Affairs of theſe People. Nothing is more ſurprizing, than that this moſt noble Monument ſhould have been ſo little examined by the Light naturally reflected on it from the ſacred Pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole Body of Chronologers and Hiſtorians from out of the Labyrinth, they have almoſt all bewildered themſelves in, miſled by the Extravagances of *Cteſias*, a fabulous Writer, who has been blindly followed by the Antients, and moſt of the Moderns. This *Canon* takes Date from about the 23d Year of *Pul*'s firſt Appearance on this Side of the *Euphrates*, about the Year 2252 after the Flood, according to our Computation, and 747 Years before Chriſt; which ſhews the Kingdom of *Babylon* to have been immediately of *Aſſyrian* Origin, according to the Prophet [r]: *Behold the Land of the* CHALDEANS; *this*

[r] Iſai. 23. 13.

People was not till the Aſſyrian *found it for them that dwell in the Wilderneſs; they ſet up the Towers thereof, they raiſed up the Palaces thereof.*

DIONYSIUS PERIGETES, born at *Charax*, a Town ſituated on the Gulph of *Arabia*, flouriſhed in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, by whom he was ſent, as *Pliny* informs us [t], to ſurvey the Eaſtern Countries, namely *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Arabia*. His Geographical Deſcription of the World was originally wrote in *Greek* Verſe, and tranſlated into *Latin* Verſe by *Rufus Feſtus*, *Avienus*, and *Priſcian*. *Euſtathius*, Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, wrote in *Greek* a learned Commentary on this Work.

Thus we have taken the Materials to compoſe theſe Volumes from the pureſt Sources of Antiquity. However, we muſt own that, as to the Hiſtory of antient Times, and the Original of particular Nations, we have not been able to give ſuch ſatisfactory Accounts as we could wiſh, not one of the Hiſtories of thoſe antient Nations, whom the *Grecians* called *Barbarians*, written by the Natives, or extracted immediately from their Records, having reached us. What Fragments of them have been preſerved here and there in other Writers, we have connected together, filling up the Chaſms of one Writer with the Teſtimony of another, and melting down together the moſt precious Metals of Antiquity, in order to form a new one leſs precious indeed, but, perhaps, more ſerviceable.

But as the Authors, that we have had Occaſion to follow, or even to tranſcribe, are ſuch as have tranſmitted to us Accounts of the earlieſt Times, we muſt here, in a few Words, remove the Prejudices which ſome Criticks have raiſed againſt the profane Writers in general, who have treated of the original and early Antiquities of Nations. In moſt Nations, ſay they, Poets were the firſt Hiſtorians, who of Courſe interſperſed their Accounts with a thouſand Fables. From ſuch infected Sources the Hiſto-

[t] Lib. 5. c. 27.

rians

rians in after-Ages, for want of better Materials, copied, and conſequently deſerve no more Credit than thoſe they tranſcribed.

To anſwer this Objection, we muſt with *Varro* divide the whole Series of Time into three Periods; the firſt, from the Beginning of the World to the Deluge; the ſecond, from the Deluge to the firſt Olympiad; and the third, from the firſt Olympiad to the preſent. The firſt Period he calls an Age entirely unknown; and truly we find nothing in profane Hiſtorians, relating to that Time, which has any Appearance of Truth, if we except two or three, quoted by *Joſephus*, whoſe Accounts of the Deluge, and the Times preceding it, agree, as he informs us, in many Particulars, with that of *Moſes*. The ſecond Period *Varro* ſtiles the fabulous Time, by Reaſon of the many Fables with which the Accounts of it, that have been tranſmitted to Poſterity, are interwoven: The laſt he calls the Hiſtorical Time. *Diodorus Siculus* extends the fabulous Age no farther than the *Trojan* War; and indeed from that Time the impenetrable Miſt, which had overcaſt the preceding Ages, begins to clear up, and ſome Rays of Truth to break out. Now to anſwer the Objection, we do not pretend to give any tolerable account of the firſt Ages from profane Authors. In After-Ages, when the Uſe of Letters was introduced, Poets, it is true, are ſaid to have been the firſt Hiſtorians; but we muſt not ſuppoſe whatever they wrote to be a mere Fable; their Groundwork was often Truth, tho' embelliſhed with various Fictions. Thus for inſtance, *Homer*'s Poems ought not to be regarded only as an excellent poetical Performance, but as the moſt antient Hiſtory of *Greece*; inſomuch that if we had no other Remains of Antiquity, than *Homer*'s Works, to convince us of the *Trojan* War and the taking of that City, we could not call in queſtion the Truth of that Event. *Homer*, tho' a Poet, diſcovers to us the State of *Greece* at that Time; he gives us an Account of their Kings and Generals; deſcribes their States, Cities, and Government; ſhews

us, that *Greece* was divided into ſeveral ſmall Dynaſties, each of which had their reſpective Sovereigns, of which *Agamemnon*, King of *Mycenæ*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, was the moſt powerful, *&c.* Theſe and a great many other Events are purely hiſtorical, and confirmed by creditable Hiſtorians; ſo that *Homer*'s Work is both a Poem and a Hiſtory. And what we have inſtanced in one Poet, may in the ſame Manner be applied to others: For tho' their Works were interſperſed with many fabulous Strokes, yet they might have furniſhed a judicious Hiſtorian, that could diſtinguiſh between Truth and Fiction, with good Materials for a Hiſtory: Beſides, it is not to be doubted, but that ever ſince the Uſe of Characters was firſt introduced, Men have left behind them Monuments of ſuch Things as might concern Poſterity; Fathers, what regarded their domeſtic Affairs; Princes and Magiſtrates, what related to the Public. Theſe were the firſt Hiſtories of Mankind, and the moſt antient Hiſtorians have done nothing elſe but digeſt them into a better Form. Thus *Manetho* compiled his Hiſtory from the Memoirs of *Jerombalus*, an *Egyptian* Prieſt; *Beroſus* from the Regiſters of the *Babylonians*; *Sanchoniatho* from thoſe of the *Phœnicians*, &c. And indeed there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that moſt Cities and States had Regiſters, in which from Year to Year they wrote down the moſt remarkable Occurrences, and Archives, wherein they lodged Letters, Treaties, and other Pieces, which might ſerve as Evidences to Poſterity. They alſo tranſmitted the Memory of Things by the Inſtitution of Feſtivals, the building of Cities, erecting of Stones, Pillars, Altars, Tombs, and the like Monuments. The Cuſtom of engraving on Stone is, without doubt, very antient, and the Number of theſe moſt faithful Monuments of Antiquity was almoſt infinite, as is plain from all the antient Hiſtorians, who often appeal to them. From theſe, as well as from the Poets, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the firſt Hiſtorians extracted their Hiſtories, and therefore they deſerve the ſame Credit; nay, the Poets themſelves

ſelves often worked upon Materials already prepared, and only put into Verſe what they found regiſtered in the Annals of their Country. But who can warrant that the Prieſts, who in moſt Nations were the firſt Annaliſts, did not through Superſtition inſert many Fictions? Prieſts, zealous for the Worſhip of their Gods, and whoſe Intereſt it was by falſe Prodigies to deceive People, may have ſcattered ſuch up and down in their Accounts, and made their Gods interpoſe in the principal Actions. And in this Point the beſt Hiſtorians have ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed on. But as to the Subſtance of the Narrations in Matters of War, Politicks, new Settlements, Treaties, Deaths of Princes, *&c.* what Motive could the Prieſts have to be guilty of Forgeries? The relating of Prodigies is an Abuſe, which Superſtition has brought into all the Hiſtories of the World. Has not Credulity inſerted even into the modern Hiſtories a thouſand Prodigies? and are theſe Hiſtories leſs true with reſpect to the great Events?

'Tis true, that moſt of the Monuments of Antiquity are now loſt; but they were in great part extant, when thoſe Hiſtorians wrote, whoſe Works have reached us. Beſides, tho' many of the public Monuments have been deſtroyed by Wars, Time, miſguided Zeal, and other Caſualties, yet they are not all loſt. What few Facts we have ſtill remaining in the moſt antient Writers, furniſh a Stock of Materials, which, with the Help of Criticiſm, whoſe Province it is to diſtinguiſh between Truth and Fiction, may be made uſe of, without Danger of our being impoſed upon. The Fragments of thoſe venerable Hiſtorians, preſerved here and there in other Writers, are like ſo many Rays, which, in the midſt of the Darkneſs thrown over the early Times, ſerve to diſcover a Way through the Ruins.

NEITHER is the Diſagreement of Authors among themſelves any certain Proof that they deſerve no Credit. Oftentimes, with reſpect to Things that have happened in our Days, and almoſt in our Sight, we

find a Differenc in the Accounts given by thoſe who were Eye-witneſſes to what they relate. The Particulars of a Battle are not always told the ſame way by thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it. The neareſt Objects appear differently, according to the different Views of the Spectators. Imagination, Prejudice, and Partiality often ſet a Bias on Mens Underſtandings, and hence ariſe all thoſe Variations we find in the Writings, which have ſerved as Memoirs to the firſt Hiſtorians of particular Nations. This Diſagreement among Authors has very much encreaſed the Labour of collecting them into one Body: We have often been in Suſpence about the Choice and Preference, and always taken care to relate, at leaſt in the Notes, the Variations we found among different Authors, it not being reaſonable to confine the Reader to our own Sentiments.

An exact Diſtribution of Time is, as it were, the Light of Hiſtory: Without this it would be only a a Chaos of Facts heaped together. An exact Chronology is like *Ariadne*'s Clue, which conducts our Steps through all the Windings of the Labyrinth. By the means of certain fixed Epocha's we perceive the Progreſs of States, the Variations of their Fortunes, and the Changes made in their Government. For this Reaſon we have thought it neceſſary to ſettle the Chronology, and refer the Facts we have collected to their proper Dates. Our general Æra's are, the *Creation*, the *Flood*, and the *Years before*, or *after*, *Chriſt*. The Mind being thus Conducted, the Ideas we retain from reading are more diſtinct, and more eaſily fixed in the Memory.

Geography is another eſſential Part of Hiſtory. Every Hiſtorian that neglects it muſt of neceſſity be confuſed in his Relations. We have therefore endeavoured to be exact in the Situation of the Towns, Rivers, Foreſts, Lakes, and Mountains, whither the Courſe of Events has led us. Our Guides in this were not only the Hiſtorians, who are not always very exact, but alſo the moſt eminent Geographers of Antiquity

tiquity, whom we have mentioned above; and in doubtful Caſes we have had Recourſe to the Moderns, particularly to *Cluverius*, *Ortelius*, *Cellarius*, and ſuch of the modern Travellers as have ſurveyed the Places, and are generally looked upon as exact and faithful in their Accounts. From all theſe together we have got Maps drawn by a ſkilful Hand, where we thought them neceſſary. Thus the Reader will be able with one Caſt of an Eye to run over the ſeveral Countries which he reads of. There are many Nations, which have not the ſame Limits at this Day, that they had formerly; neither are all Towns, which have antient Names, unqueſtionably ſituated in the very Places, where the Towns of the ſame Name ſtood heretofore. We have therefore choſe rather to deſcribe moſt of the Places, mentioned in our Hiſtory, by their antient Names; but at the ſame time we have conſtantly taken Care to reconcile the antient Geography with the modern in our Notes, and to mark the different Limits of the new Nations and the old.

It is not uſual to publiſh Hiſtories with Notes, or at leaſt to crowd them with ſo great a Number: But tho' no other Hiſtory, perhaps, has need of them, yet they are neceſſary to this which we have undertaken. The Manners, Cuſtoms, Religions, Arms, Dreſs, Governments, *&c.* of the various Nations we deſcribe, are not only ſo different among themſelves, but from any thing we now ſee, or are acquainted with, that it would have been hardly poſſible to give juſt Ideas of them without Explications, which could not have well been brought into the Text. The Thread of the moſt beautiful Story would have been often broke, and no Point of Hiſtory would have been brought to its Concluſion, but in a languid Manner. It was neceſſary therefore to throw into *Notes* the great Number of inſtructive Obſervations, without which the Hiſtory would have been imperfect. Beſides, abundance of Diſputes have been raiſed by learned Men upon ſeveral Events, which we are obliged to inform the Public of, in order to make our Work more com-

pleat. But this could not have been, if we had not taken Notice of the Variations of the ſeveral Authors, who have tranſmitted to us the ſame Facts. Hiſtorians often diſagree as to the Circumſtances, and, on the other hand, the Thread of the Hiſtory will not admit but of one way of relating the Event. We have therefore placed in the Body of the Hiſtory what ſeemed to us moſt probable, and the reſt in the Notes, leſt thoſe Readers, who peruſe but one Author, ſhould charge us with Falſhood, if we differed from his Hiſtorian. The Length of ſome of our Notes ought not to frighten the Reader: Every judicious Perſon will perceive, that we have taken Pains to be as conciſe as the Subject will allow us, having often brought, within the compaſs of a few Lines, Diſſertations, with which learned Men have filled large Volumes.

THE Knowledge of the Coins, Weights and Meaſures of the Antients, is neceſſary for the right underſtanding of their Writings, as well as of the preſent Hiſtory, where we could not avoid uſing now and then their Terms and Phraſeology. But as it cannot be expected, that we ſhould enter here into a minute Diſcuſſion of a Subject which has ſupplied Matter to whole Volumes, we ſhall only exhibit ſome Tables, wherein the Value of the antient Coins, Weights, and Meaſures is, with great Care and Exactneſs, reduced by Dr. *Arbuthnot*, to the *Engliſh* Standard. Several Writers of great Abilities, namely Biſhop *Cumberland*, Mr. *Graves*, and Dr. *Hooper*, have with great Learning and Accuracy, handled the ſame Subject: But we have given the Preference to Dr. *Arbuthnot*'s Calculations, by reaſon they are more adapted to the Capacity of every Reader: and, on the other hand, do not differ in any conſiderable Matter from thoſe of the learned Writers we have mentioned. In theſe Tables the Reader will find, 1. The *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Jewiſh* Meaſures of Length. 2. Their Meaſures of Capacity for Things both liquid and dry; and laſtly, Their Money reduced to the *Engliſh* Standard.

1.

ENGLISH Measures of Length.

Inch	Palm	Span.	Foot	Cubit	Yard	Pace	Fathom	Pole	Furlong	Mile
3										
9	3									
12	4	$1\frac{1}{3}$								
18	6	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$							
36	12	4	3	2						
60	20	$6\frac{2}{3}$	5	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$					
72	24	8	6	4	2	$1\frac{1}{5}$				
198	66	22	$16\frac{1}{2}$	11	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{3}{10}$	$2\frac{3}{4}$			
7920	2640	880	660	440	220	132	110	40		
63360	21120	7040	5280	3520	1760	1056	880	320	8	

2.

GRECIAN MEASURES of LENGTH, reduced to ENGLISH

											Paces.	Feet.	Inches.	Dec.
Dactylus											0	0	0	0,7554$\frac{11}{16}$
4	Doron or Dochme										0	0	3	0,0218$\frac{1}{2}$
10	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Lichas									0	0	7	7,5546$\frac{7}{8}$
11	$2\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{11}$	Orthodoron								0	0	8	3,3101$\frac{9}{16}$
12	3	$1\frac{1}{5}$	$1\frac{1}{11}$	Spithame							0	0	9	0,0656$\frac{1}{4}$
16	4	$1\frac{6}{10}$	$1\frac{5}{11}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Pous						0	1	0	0,0875
18	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{4}{5}$	$1\frac{7}{11}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Pugme					0	1	1	1,5984$\frac{1}{8}$
20	5	2	$1\frac{9}{11}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{9}$	Pugon				0	1	3	3,1093$\frac{3}{4}$
24	6	$2\frac{2}{5}$	$2\frac{2}{11}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$	Pechus			0	1	6	1,3125
96	24	$9\frac{1}{5}$	$8\frac{8}{11}$	8	6	$5\frac{1}{3}$	$4\frac{4}{5}$	4	Orguia		0	6	0	0,525
9600	2400	960	$872\frac{8}{11}$	800	600	$533\frac{1}{3}$	480	400	100	Stadium or Aulos	120	4	4	5
76800	19200	7680	$6981\frac{9}{11}$	6400	4800	$4266\frac{2}{3}$	3840	3200	800	8 Milion	967	0	0	

3. ROMAN

3.

ROMAN MEASURES of LENGTH.

										ENGLISH. Paces. Feet. Inches. Dec.
									Digitus tranſverſus	0 - 0 - 0,725$\frac{1}{2}$
$1\frac{1}{3}$									Uncia	0 - 0 - 0,967
4	3								Palmus minor	0 - 0 - 2,901
16	12	4							Pes	0 - 0 - 11,604
20	15	5	$1\frac{1}{4}$						Palmipes	0 - 1 - 2,505
24	18	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$					Cubitus	0 - 1 - 5,406
40	30	10	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{2}{3}$				Gradus	0 - 2 - 5,01
80	60	20	5	4	$3\frac{1}{3}$	2			Paſſus	0 - 4 - 10,02
10000	7500	2500	625	500	$416\frac{2}{3}$	250	125		Stadium	120 - 4 - 4,5
80000	60000	20000	5000	4000	$3333\frac{1}{3}$	2000	1000	8	Milliare	967 - 0 - 0

4.

SCRIPTURE Meaſures of Length. ENGLISH

								Ft. Inch. Dec.
Digit								0— 0,912
4	Palm							0— 3,648
12	3	Span						0—10,944
24	6	2	Cubit					1— 9,888
96	24	8	4	Fathom				7— 3,552
144	36	12	6	1½	Ezekiel's Reed			10—11,328
192	48	16	8	2	1⅓	Arabian Pole		14— 7,104
1920	480	160	80	20	13⅓	10	Schœnus's meaſuring line	145—11,04

Note. *The* Eaſt *uſed another* Span, *equal to* ⅓ *of a* Cubit.

5. The

5.

The LONGER SCRIPTURE Measures. ENGLISH.

Cubit					Miles.	Pac.	Ft.	Dec.
					0—	0—	1,824	
400	Stadium				0—	145—	4,6	
2000	5	Sab. days Journey			0—	729—	3,0	
4000	10	2	Eaſtern Mile		1—	403—	1,0	
12000	30	6	3	Paraſang	4—	153—	3,0	
96000	240	48	24	8	a Day's Journey	33—	172—	4,0

6.

ENGLISH SQUARE MEASURES.

Inches					
144	Feet				
1296	9	Yards			
3600	25	$2\frac{7}{9}$	Paces		
39204	$272\frac{1}{4}$	$30\frac{1}{4}$	10,89	Poles	
1568160	10890	1210	435,6	40	Rood
6272640	43560	4840	1742,4	160	4 Acre

7. ENGLISH

7.

ENGLISH MEASURES of CAPACITY.

Wine Meaſure.

Solid Inches.

$28\frac{7}{8}$	Pint						
231	8	Gallon					
4158	144	18	Rundlet				
$7276\frac{1}{2}$	252	$31\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	Barrel			
9702	336	42	$2\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Tierce		
14553	504	63	$3\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Hogſhead	
19279	672	84	$4\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Puncheon
29106	1008	126	7	4	3	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Butt
58212	2016	252	14	8	6	4	3 2 Tun

8.

ENGLISH CORN MEASURES,

Are raiſed from a *Wincheſter Gallon*, which contains $272\frac{1}{4}$ Solid Inches, and, as far as ſerves our Purpoſe, are,

Solid Inches

$34\frac{1}{2}$	Pint				
$272\frac{1}{4}$	8	Gallon			
544½	16	2	Peck		
2178	64	8	4	Buſhel	
17424	512	64	32	8	Quarter

9. GRECIAN

9.

GERMAN Square Measure.

Plethron, by ſome ſaid to contain 1444, others 10000 Square Feet; Arura, the Half of the Plethron.

The ÆGYPTIAN Arura was the Square of 100 Cubits.

ROMAN Square Measure.

The ROMANS divided their As, Libra, or any Integer, after the following Manner; ſo the Jugerum was reckoned the Integer.

	Unciæ.		Jugerum contained Sq. Feet	Scruples.	Engl. Roods.	Sq. Poles.	Sq. Feet.
I	As	12	As 28800	288	2	18	250,05
S	Deunx	11	Deunx 26400	264	2	10	183,85
ſ	Dextans	10	Dextans 24000	240	2	2	117,64
d	Dodrans	9	Dodrans 21600	216	1	34	51,42
b	Bes	8	Bes 19200	192	1	25	257,46
ſ	Septunx	7	Septunx 16800	168	1	17	191,25
S	Semis	6	Semis 14400	144	1	9	125,03
q	Quincunx	5	Quincunx 12000	120	1	1	58,82
t	Triens	4	Triens 9600	96	0	32	264,85
q	Quadrans	3	Quadrans 7200	72	0	24	198,64
s	Sextans	2	Sextans 4800	48	0	16	132,43
ſ	Uncia	1	Uncia 2400	24	0	8	66,21

NOTE. Actus Major *was* 14400 *Square Feet, equal to a* Semis-Clima 3600 *Square Feet, equal to a* Seſcuncia.
Actus Minimus *was equal to a* Sextans.

ATTICK Measures of Capacity for Things Liquid.
ENGLISH Wine Measure.

								Gall.	Pints.	Sol. Inch.	Dec.
Kochliarion								0	— $\frac{1}{120}$ —	0,035	$\frac{83}{120}$
2	Cheme							0	— $\frac{1}{60}$ —	0,071	$\frac{23}{60}$
$2\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	Myſron						0	— $\frac{1}{48}$ —	0,089	$\frac{11}{48}$
5	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	Konche					0	— $\frac{1}{24}$ —	0,178	$\frac{11}{24}$
10	5	4	2	Kyathos				0	— $\frac{1}{12}$ —	0,356	$\frac{23}{12}$
15	$7\frac{1}{2}$	6	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Oxybaphon			0	— $\frac{1}{8}$ —	0,535	$\frac{3}{8}$
60	30	24	12	6	4	Kotyle		0	— $\frac{1}{2}$ —	2,141	$\frac{1}{2}$
120	60	48	24	12	8	2	Xeſtes	0	— 1 —	4,283	
720	360	288	144	72	48	12	6 Chus	0	— 6 —	25,698	
8640	4320	3456	1728	864	576	144	72 12 Metretes	10	— 2 —	19,626	

II.

ATTICK Measures of Capacity for Things Dry.

							English Corn Measure. Pecks. Gall. Pints. Sol. Inch.
Kochliarion							0 - 0 - 0 - 0,276$\frac{1}{6}\frac{9}{0}$
10	Kyathos						0 - 0 - 0 - 2,763$\frac{1}{6}$
15	1$\frac{1}{2}$	Oxybaphon					0 - 0 - 0 - 4,144$\frac{3}{6}$
60	6	4	Kotyle				0 - 0 - 0 - 16,579
120	12	8	2	Xeftes			0 - 0 - 0 - 33,158
180	18	12	3	1$\frac{1}{2}$	Choinix		0 - 0 - 1 - 15,705$\frac{1}{4}$
8640	864	576	144	72	48	Medimnos	4 - 0 - 6 - 5,482

Note, 1. *Beſides this* Medimnus, *which is the* Medicus, *there was a* Medimnus Georgicus, *equal to ſix* Roman Modii.

Note, 2. *There are ſome other Meaſures (mentioned by Authors) of uncertain Value, eaſily reducible to thoſe of the Tables.*

ROMAN Measures of Capacity for Things Liquid.

										Engliſh Wine Meaſure. Gall.	Pints.	Sol.In. Dec.
									Ligula	0 -	$0\frac{1}{48}$ -	$0,117\frac{5}{12}$
								4	Cyathus	0 -	$0\frac{1}{12}$ -	$0,469\frac{2}{3}$
								6	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Acetabulum	0 -	$0\frac{1}{8}$ -	$0,704\frac{1}{2}$
								12	3 2 Quartarius	0 -	$0\frac{1}{4}$ -	1,409
								24	6 4 2 Hemina	0 -	$0\frac{1}{2}$ -	2,818
								48	12 8 4 2 Sextarius	0 -	1 -	5,636
								288	72 48 24 12 6 Congius	0 -	7 -	4,942
								1152	288 192 96 48 24 4 Urna . . .	3 -	$4\frac{1}{2}$ -	5,33
								2304	576 384 192 96 48 8 2 Amphora .	7 -	1 -	10,66
								46080	11520 7680 3840 1920 960 160 40 20 Culeus .	143 -	3 -	11,075

Note, 1. Quadrantal *is the ſame with the* Amphora, Cadus, Congiarius *and* Dolium, *and denotes no certain Meaſure.*
Note, 2. *The* Romans *divided the* Sextarius, *as the* Libra, *into twelve equal Parts, called* Cyathi ; *and therefore they denominated their* Calices, Sextantes, Quadrantes, Trientes, *according to the Number of* Cyathi *which they contained.*

13.

ROMAN Measures of Capacity for Things Dry.

							Engliſh Corn Meaſure. Pecks. Gall. Pints. Sol. In. Dec.
						Ligula	0 — 0 — $0\frac{1}{8}$ — 0,01
					4	Cyathus	0 — 0 — $0\frac{1}{2}$ — 0,04
					6	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Acetabulum	0 — 0 — $0\frac{1}{8}$ — 0,06
				24	6	4 Hemina	0 — 0 — $0\frac{1}{2}$ — 0,24
				48	12	8 2 Sextarius	0 — 0 — 1 — 0,48
				384	96	64 16 8 Semimodius	0 — 1 — 0 — 3,84
				768	192	128 32 16 2 Modius	1 — 0 — 0 — 7,68

JEWISH MEASURES of Capacity for Things LIQUID.

							Engliſh Wine Meaſure. Gall. Pints. Sol.Inch.
Caph							0 — $0\frac{5}{8}$ — 0,177
$1\frac{1}{3}$	Log						0 — $0\frac{5}{6}$ — 0,236
$5\frac{1}{3}$	4	Cab					0 — $3\frac{1}{3}$ — 0,944
16	12	3	Hin				1 — 2 — 2,832
32	24	6	2	Seah			2 — 4 — 5,64
96	72	18	6	3	Bath Epha	: :	7 — 4 — 16,992
960	720	180	60	30	10	Coron, Chomer	75 — 5 — 25,545

15.

JEWISH MEASURES of CAPACITY for Things Dry.

							English Corn Measure. Pecks. Gall. Pints. Sol. In. Dec.
						Gachal	0—0—0 $\frac{17}{120}$ — 0,033
20						Cab	0—0—2 $\frac{5}{6}$ — 0,672
36	1 $\frac{4}{5}$					Gomor	0—0—5 $\frac{1}{10}$ — 1,210
120	6	3 $\frac{1}{3}$				Seah	1—0—1 — 4,033
360	18	10	3			Epha	3—0—3 — 12,100
1800	90	50	15	5		Leteeh	16—0—0 — 26,500
3600	180	100	30	10	2	Chomer, Coron	32—0—1 — 18,969

16.

ENGLISH TROY WEIGHT.

Grains

24			Penny Weight
480	20		Ounce
5760	240	12	Pound

17.

The *Most Antient* GRECIAN and ROMAN WEIGHTS reduced to TROY WEIGHT.

				Pds. Oun. Penwt. Gr.
			Drachma	00—00—02—14 $\frac{22}{25}$
100			Mna	01—01—00 4 $\frac{4}{25}$
6000	60		Talanton	65—00—12— 5 $\frac{4}{25}$

The *Leſs Antient* GRECIAN and ROMAN WEIGHTS reduced to *Engliſh* TROY WEIGHT.

									Pounds.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains.
Lentes									0 -	0 -	00 -	$0\frac{85}{144}$
4	Siliquæ								0 -	0 -	00 -	$3\frac{3}{24}$
12	3	Obolus							0 -	0 -	00 -	$9\frac{3}{24}$
24	6	2	Scriptulum						0 -	0 -	00 -	$18\frac{3}{24}$
72	18	6	3	Drachma					0 -	0 -	02 -	$6\frac{2}{24}$
96	24	8	4	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Sextula				0 -	0 -	03 -	$0\frac{6}{7}$
144	36	12	6	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Sicilicus			0 -	0 -	04 -	$13\frac{3}{7}$
192	48	16	8	$2\frac{2}{3}$	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Duella		0 -	0 -	06 -	$1\frac{5}{7}$
576	144	48	24	8	6	4	3	Uncia	0 -	0 -	18 -	$5\frac{1}{7}$
6912	1728	576	288	96	72	48	36	12	Libra	0 -	10 -	18 -	$13\frac{5}{7}$

The Roman Ounce *is the* Engliſh Avoirdupois Ounce, *which they divided into ſeven* Denarii, *as well as eight* Drachms; *and ſince they reckoned their* Denarius *equal to the* Attick Drachm, *this will make the* Attick *Weights* $\frac{1}{8}$ *heavier than the correſpondent* Roman Weights.

Note. *The* Grecians *divided their* Obolus *into* Chalci *and* Lepta. *Some, as* Diodorus *and* Suidas, *divided the* Obolus *into ſix* Chalci, *and every* Chalcus *into ſeven* Lepta: *Others divided the* Obolus *into eight* Ohalci, *andevery* Chalcus *into eight* Lepta *or* Minuta.

19.

The GREATER WEIGHTS reduced to *Engliſh Troy Weight.*

			Pounds.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains.
		Libra	0	10	18	$13\frac{5}{7}$
$1\frac{1}{24}$		Mina Attica communis	0	11	07	$16\frac{2}{7}$
$1\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{7}{12}$	Mina Attica Medica	1	02	11	$10\frac{2}{7}$
$62\frac{1}{2}$	60	$46\frac{7}{8}$ Talentum Atticum comm.	56	11	00	$17\frac{5}{7}$

Note. *There was another* Attic Talent, *by ſome ſaid to conſiſt of* 80, by *others of* 100 Minæ.

Note. *Every* Mina *contains* 100 Drachmæ, *and every* Talent 60 Minæ: *but the* Talents *differ in Weight, according to the different* Standard *of the* Drachmæ *and* Minæ, *of which they are compoſed. The Value of ſome different* Minæ, *and* Talents *in* Attick Drachmæ, Minæ, *and* Engliſh Troy Weight, *is exhibited in the following Table.*

20.

MINA

		Pounds.	Ounces.	Penwt.	Grains.
Ægyptiaca	$133\frac{1}{3}$	01	05	06	$22\frac{26}{144}$
Antiochica	$133\frac{1}{3}$	01	05	06	$22\frac{26}{144}$
Cleopatræ Ptolemaica	144	01	06	14	$16\frac{3}{4}\frac{2}{5}\frac{2}{6}$
Alexandrina Dioſcoridis	160	01	08	16	$07\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{5}$

eſt Drachm. Atticar

TALENTUM

		Pounds.	Ounces.	Penwt.	Grains.
Ægyptiacum	80	86	08	16	08
Antiochicum	80	86	08	16	08
Ptolemaicum Cleop.	$86\frac{2}{3}$	93	11	11	00
Alexandriæ	96	104	00	19	14
Inſulanum	120	130	01	04	12
Antiochiæ	360	390	03	13	11

eſtMinarum Atticar

21.

JEWISH WEIGHTS reduced to *Engliſh* TROY-WEIGHT.

			Pound.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains
		Shekel	00	00	09	02_{7}
60		Maneth	02	03	06	$10\frac{2}{7}$
3000	50	Talent	113	10	01	$10\frac{2}{7}$

Note. *In reckoning* Money, 50 Shekels *made a* Maneh; *but in Weight*, 160 Shekels.

22.

The Value and Proportion of the GRECIAN Coins.

											l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
										Lepton				
7										Chalcos				
14	2									Dichalcos				
28	4	2								Hemiobolion				
56	8	4	2							Obolos				
112	16	8	4	2						Diobolon				
224	32	16	8	4	2					Tetrobolon				
336	48	24	12	6	3	1½				Drachma				
672	96	48	24	12	6	3	2			Didrachmon [Stater				
1394	142	96	48	24	12	6	4	2		Tetradrachmon				
1680	240	120	60	30	15	7½	5	2½	1½	Pentadrachm.				

Note 1. *Of these the* Drachma. Didrachm, *&c. were of* Silver, *the reſt, for the moſt part, of* Braſs; *the other Parts, as* Tridrachm, Triobolus, *&c. were ſometimes* Coined.

Note 2. *I have ſuppoſed, with the Generality of Authors, that the* Drachma *and* Denarius *were equal, tho' there is Reaſon to believe the* Drachma *was ſomewhat the weightier.*

23. The

23.

The GRECIAN GOLD COIN was

	l.	s.	d.
The Stater Aureus, *weighing two* Attick Drachms, *or half of the* Stater Argenteus, *and exchanging usually for* 25 Attick Drachms *of* Silver, *in our Money* - - -	00	16	1¾
According to our Proportion of Gold *to* Silver. - - - -	01	00	9
There were likewise the Stater Cyzicenus, *exchanging for* 28 Attick Drachms, or ¾ - -	00	18	1
Stater Phillippicus, *and* Stater Alexandrinus, *of the same Value*			
Stater Daricus, *according to* Josephus, *worth* 50 Attick Drachms, *or* Stater Crœsius, *of the same Value*	01	12	3½

24.

The GRECIAN Manner of reckoning Sums of Money was by

		l.	s.	d.
DRACHMÆ.	1 - - -	0	00	07¾
	10 - - -	0	06	05½
	100 equal to a Mina -	3	04	07
MINÆ.	1 - - -	3	04	07
	10 - - -	32	05	10
	60 equal to a Talentum	193	15	00
TALENTA.	1 - - -	193	15	00
	10 - - -	1937	10	00
	100 - - -	19375	00	00

25.

I have given the Value of the different Talents, *and* Minæ, *conſidered as Weights; but when they denote* Sums *of Money, they vary after the following Manner:*

MINA Syra	eſt Drachm. Atticar	25
Ptolemaica		33⅓
Antiochica		100
Eubœa		100
Babylonica		116
Attica major		133⅓
Tyria		133⅓
Æginæa		166⅔
Rhodia		166⅔
TALENTUM Syrum	Minarum Atticarum	15
Ptolemaicum		20
Antiochicum		60
Eubœum		60
Babylonicum		70
Atticum majus		80
Tyrium		80
Æginæum		100
Rhodium		100
Ægyptium		80

26. The

26.

The Value and Proportion of the ROMAN Coins.

						l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
					Teruncius	0	0	0	$0\frac{775}{1000}$
				2	Sembella	0	0	0	$1\frac{55}{100}$
			2	4	Libella, As	0	0	0	$3\frac{1}{10}$
		$2\frac{1}{2}$	5	10	Seſtertius	0	0	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
	2	5	10	20	Quinarius, Victoriatus	0	0	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$
2	4	10	20	40	Denarius	0	0	7	3

Note, *Of theſe the* Denarius, Victoriatus, Seſtertius, *and ſometime the* As, *were of* Silver, *the reſt of* Braſs.

There were ſometimes alſo coined of Braſs, *the* Triens, Sextans, Uncia, Sextula, *and* Dupondius.

27. The

27.

The ROMAN Gold Coin was the Aureus, which weighed generally double the Denarius;

	l.	s.	d.
The Aureus, *according to the first Proportion of* Coinage, *mentioned by* Pliny, Lib. XXXIII. Chap. 3. *was worth*	1	04	3 3/4
According to the Proportion that obtains now amongst us, worth - - -	1	00	9
According to the Decuple Proportion, mentioned by Livy *and* Julius Pollux, *worth* - - - - -	0	12	11
According to the Proportion mentioned by Tacitus, *and which afterwards obtained, whereby the* Aureus *exchanged for* 25 Denarii, *its Value* - - -	0	16	1 3/4

28.

Some Alterations *of the Value of the* ROMAN Coin, *mentioned by* Pliny.

In the Reign of *Servius*		
A. Urb. 490 - -	*the* As *weighed*	1 Pound
A. Urb. 537 - -	*of* Brass	2 Ounces
A. Urb. 586 - -		1 Ounce
		1/2 Ounce
A. Urb. 485 - -	1 Denarius *exchanged for*	10 Asses
A. Urb. 537 - -		16 Asses
A. Urb. 547 Scruple *of* Gold *worth* - -		20 Sestertii
Coined *afterwards of the* Pound *of* Gold -		20 Denarii
In Nero's *Time of the* Pound *of* Gold - -		45 Denarii

} Aurei

29. The

29.

The ROMAN Manner of reckoning Sums of Money reduced to the ENGLISH STANDARD.

SESTERTII NUMMI.	l.	s.	d.	q.
Seſtertius — — —	0	00	01	3½
Decem — — —	0	01	07	1½
Centum — — —	0	16	01	3
Mille *equal to a* Seſtertium. —	8	01	05	2
SESTERTIA.				
Seſtertium — —	8	01	05½	
Decem — — —	80	14	07	
Centum. *This Sum the* Romans *expreſs'd thus*, Debet mihi centum, debet mihi centum Seſtertia; *vel* debet centum millia Seſtertium.	807	05	10	
Mille — — —	8072	18	04	
DECIES SESTERTIUM, &c. *The Adverb* Centies *being underſtood.*				
Decies Seſtertium, *vel* Decies centena millia nummum —	8072	18	04	
Centies, *vel* Centies H. S. —	80729	03	04	
Millies H. S. — —	807291	13	04	
Millies Centies H. S — —	888020	16	08	

30.

The ROMAN Manner of reckoning INTEREST MONEY.

Aſſes uſuræ *vel* Centeſimæ uſuræ	1	per Cent a Month.	12 perCent a Year.
Semiſſes uſuræ — —	½		6
Trientes uſuræ — —	⅓		4
Quadrantes uſuræ — —	¼		3
Sextantes uſuræ — —	⅙		2
Unciæ uſuræ — —	1/12		1
Quincunces uſuræ — —	5/12		5
Septunces uſuræ — —	7/12		7
Beſſes uſuræ — — —	⅔		8
Dodrantes uſuræ — —	¾		9
Dextantes uſuræ — —	5/6		10
Deunces uſuræ — —	11/12		11

31 JEWISH

JEWISH MONEY reduced to the *Engliſh* Standard.

31.				*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
			Gerah	0	00	1 5/16
10			Bekah	0	01	1 1/16
20	2		Shekel . . .	0	02	3 3/8
1000	100	50	Maneh, Mina Hebraica	5	14	0 3/4
60000	6000	3000	60 Talent . .	342	03	9
			Solidus Aureus, *or* Sextula, *worth*	0	12	0 1/24
			Siclus Aureus, *worth* . .	1	16	6
			A Talent *of* Gold, *worth* .	5475	00	0

Note. *In all the* Tables of Money, *I reckon Silver at 5 Shillings, and Gold at 4 Pounds the Ounce.*

NOW to ſay ſomething of the different Computations of Time, *Beroſus* wrote his Chronology by the Computation of *Sari*, *Neri*, and *Soſi*; which being antient Meaſures of Time, and well known when the original Records were written, could not then have wanted Explanation. But *Beroſus*, or ſome later Writer, has, either out of Ignorance or Deſign, magnified theſe Meaſures beyond all imagination, and tells us, that the *Sarus* contained the Interval of three thouſand ſix hundred Years; the *Nerus* of ſix hundred, and the *Soſus* of ſixty. But other Authors have taken thoſe Years for Days only [u]; and indeed with a great deal of Reaſon; for not to inſiſt on the incredible Length of the Reigns of the *Chaldean* Princes in the firſt Hypotheſis, which no Writer of common Senſe could offer to impoſe on the Word, it plainly appears, that they were no more than Days, from the Reign of the ſixth King of *Chaldea*, which is expreſſed in the firſt Table of thoſe Kings exhibited Book I. Chap. I. Sect. V. to be ninety nine Years, but in the

[u] Syncellus, p. 17.

the others by the round Number of ten *Sari*, or 100 Years. The Word *Sarus*, throwing away the Termination, is no other than the *Chaldee*, or *Syriac Sar*, *ben*. The *Sarus* therefore contained three thouſand ſix hundred Days, or juſt ten old *Chaldean* Years, of three hundred and ſixty Days each; and that before the Deluge, not only the Civil, but alſo the Tropical, Solar, and Lunar Year conſiſted of twelve Months, of thirty Days a piece, or three hundred and ſixty Days in the whole, has been fully proved by a modern Writer [w].

THE *Egyptians*, who addicted themſelves to the Study of Aſtronomy in the earlieſt Ages, and were well acquainted with the Motions, Periods, and Stations of the Planets, were the firſt that adjuſted the Length of the Year to the annual Revolution of the Sun, by adding to their twelve Months of 30 Days a piece five additional Days and ſix Hours, while the *Greeks* and *Romans* uſed the more rude and inconvenient Form of Lunar Years, intercalating a Month every third Year. However, the five additional Days, as *Syncellus* [x] informs us, were not introduced till a thouſand Years after the Deluge, and never were looked upon as proper Parts either of the Year, or of any of its Months, but as Days belonging to the Nativity of five ſeveral *Egyptian* Deities, who, as it is obſerved in a famous Tradition related by *Plutarch* [y], were *to be born neither in any Year, nor in any Month*.

THE *Jewiſh* Year, as is plain from the Calculations which *Moſes* gives us of the Days of the Flood and elſewhere, conſiſted of 365 Days, and conſequently of 12 Solar Months, the laſt of which had 35 Days. As *Moſes* had been brought up in *Egypt*, it is very likely he learned that way of reckoning there; and beſides, it muſt have been the moſt known and eaſy Method to the *Jews*, who had been accuſtomed to it

[w] Allin's Diſc. on the antient Year, in Mr. *Whiſton*'s Theory, Book II. p. 144. [x] Syncell. p. 125. [y] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid.

during

during their long Abode in *Egypt*. *Scaliger* [z], and others after him, have indeed ſuppoſed, that they had an intercalar Month, once every 120 Years; but it is plain, that the Scripture hints nothing like ſuch an Intercalation, or Year of 13 Months; tho' it is not eaſy to gueſs how they diſpoſed of the ſix additional Hours of the *Egyptians*, without ſome ſuch Suppoſition. However, *Moſes*, by expreſs Command of God, did afterwards compute the Years by Moons.

THE antient Year of *Greece*, *Lydia*, and the *Grecian* Colonies in *Aſia*, as well as the firſt *Roman* Year, before the Correction of *Numa Pompilius*, conſiſted likewiſe of 360 Days, as the learned Writer, we have quoted above, fully proves [a].

BESIDES the Computation of Months and Years, the *Greeks* reckoned their Time by Olympiads, each Olympiad containing the ſpace of four Years. This Method of Computation had its Riſe from the Olympic *Games*, which were celebrated every 4th Year, and became ſo conſiderable, that the *Greeks* made them their Epoch. They commenced, according to ſome, the Year of the World 3208, 776 Years before *Chriſt*, and 22 before the Founding of *Rome*; according to others, in the Year of the World 3251.

THE *Romans* computed by *Luſtrums*, or purifying Sacrifices, which were inſtituted by *Servius Tullus*, about the Year 180 of *Rome*, and were to be renewed every five Years, immediately after the *Cenſus*; whence the *Luſtrum* contained the ſpace of five Years. But they muſt have been for ſome time diſuſed, as appears from the *Faſti Capitolini*, where the 50th *Luſtrum* is ſaid to have been made in the 574th Year of *Rome*.

As to the Chronology of the Antients, there is no depending upon it. That of the Eaſtern Nations has been ſtrangely depraved, by Contentions ariſing among them about their Antiquity, each claiming the Prefe-

[z] Scaliger, de emend. temp. l. 2. [a] Mr. Allin, ubi ſupra.

rence

rence in that Point. Thus *Herodotus* tells us [b], that the Prieſts of *Egypt* reckoned from the Reign of *Menes* to that of *Sethon*, who put *Sennacherib* to Flight, 341 Generations, as many Prieſts of *Vulcan*, and an equal Number of Kings of *Egypt*. He adds, that three Generations make an hundred Years; ſo that, according to this Computation, the whole Time from the Reign of *Menes* to that of *Sethon* was eleven thouſand three hundred and forty Years. The *Chaldeans* alſo piqued themſelves on their Antiquity, and pretended to have obſerved the Stars 473,000 Years; and *Calliſthenes*, the Diſciple of *Ariſtotle*, ſent Aſtronomical Obſervations from *Babylon* to *Greece*, ſaid to be of 1903 Years ſtanding. The Chronology of the antient *Greek* Authors is no leſs uncertain. Thoſe who wrote of Antiquities, as *Pherecydes*, *Epimenides*, *Hellanicus*, *Hippias* the *Elean*, *Ephorus*, &c. digeſted their Works by Genealogies, or the Ages, and Succeſſions of the Prieſteſſes of *Juno Argiva*, of the *Ephors*, of the Kings of *Sparta*, and the *Archons* of *Athens*, &c. nor did they begin to ſet down the Generations, Reigns, and Succeſſions in Numbers of Years, till ſome time after the Death of *Alexander*, which makes their Chronology very uncertain. And ſuch it was reputed by the *Greeks* themſelves, as is manifeſt from ſeveral Paſſages in *Plutarch* [c]. The Chronology of the *Latins* is ſtill more uncertain. *Plutarch* and *Servius* repreſent great Uncertainties in the Original of *Rome*. The old Records of the *Latins* were burnt by the *Gauls* about 64 Years before the Death of *Alexander*; and *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, the moſt antient *Latin* Hiſtorian, lived 200 Years after that King, and copied the greateſt Part of his Hiſtory from *Diocles Peparethius* a *Greek*. Not one of the *European* Nations had any Chronology at all before the Time of the *Perſian* Empire, and whatever Chronology they now have of antient Times has been formed ſince by Reaſoning and Conjecture: So that, on a ſtrict View

[b] Herod. l. 2. [c] Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. & Solon.

and due Examination of the Antiquities of Nations, and the Records which have been left us, thoſe of the *Jews*, excluſive of their Divine Authority, will evidently appear to be the moſt certain and authentick, and conſequently the ſureſt Foundation to build our Chronology upon.

HOWEVER, it muſt be confeſſed, that there is no certain Uniformity in the *Jewiſh* Computation, and that the ſeveral Copies of their Records, *viz.* the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, *Pentateuch*, and *Septuagint*, differ very much from one another. Which Diſagreement hath ariſen from two Things; 1. Corruption, or Errors of frequent tranſcribing; and 2. The Want of computing from ſome fixed Æra, and digeſting the Hiſtory as it was written, into a chronological Method: For beſides the great Diſagreement among the various Copies, with regard particularly to the Ages of the Patriarchs, there is a ſeeming Difference at leaſt betwixt the whole Numbers of ſeveral Intervals. Thus, for inſtance, the Interval from the *Exodus* to the founding of *Solomon*'s Temple, is expreſly mentioned [d] to be four hundred and eighty Years; whereas the Sum of all the Patriarchs given in the Book of *Judges*, *&c.* amounts to about five hundred and ninety two Years. Which Particulars not being adjuſted by the Years of ſome certain Æra, we are at a loſs for the true Diſtance of Time, not knowing by what Standard the Meaſure of the Intervals is to be taken.

THIS Variety of Computations hath left room for Chronologers to enlarge, or contract the Space of Time, betwixt the Flood and the Birth of *Chriſt*, by adhering to one Copy rather than another; or by rejecting, or retaining the whole Numbers, or the Particulars, juſt as it ſuited their Humour of making the Sacred Hiſtory agree with the Prophane; or otherwiſe of reducing the Prophane to the Sacred. And as the Diſagreement among the heathen Writers is great alſo, and every Author hath followed the Hiſtorian he liked

[d] 1 Kings vi. 1.

beſt

beſt, hence a wide Difference hath ariſen amongſt modern Chronologers, as appears by the various Computations ſeveral of them have made of the Years of the World to the Birth of *Chriſt*, which we here give, as collected by *Strauchius* [c], *Chevreau* [f], and others.

A TABLE of the Years of the World to the Birth of CHRIST, *according to the Computation of ſeveral Chronologers.*

	Yrs.	Mon.
Alphonſus King of *Caſtile* (in *Muller*'s Tables)	6984	
The ſame (in *Strauchius*)	6484	9
Onuphrius Panvinius	6310	
Suidas	6000	
Lactantius, Philaſtrius	5801	
Nicephorus	5700	
Clemens Alexandrinus	5624	
The Author of the *Faſti Siculi*	5608	9
Iſaac Voſſius, and the *Greeks*	5598	
The ſame (in *Chevreau*)	5590	
Theophilus Antiochenus	5515	
The *Conſtantinopolitans* and *Grabe*'s Septuagint	5508	3
Cedrenus (in *Chevreau*)	5506	
Julius Africanus, Theophanes Eutychius, &c.	5500	
The *Ethiopians*	5499	9
Cedrenus (in *Strauchius*)	5493	9
Panodorus	5493	
Maximus Monachus	5491	9
Sulpitius Severus	5469	
Victor Giſelius, in his Remarks on *Sulpitius*	5419	
St. *Auſtin* (in *Genebrard*)	5351	
Iſidorus Peluſiota	5336	
Abunazar	5328	
Rabanus Maurus	5296	
Iſidor. Hiſpalenſis (in *Strauchius*)	5210	
Paulus de Foſſembrona	5201	
Euſebius	5200	5
Beda (in *Strauchius*)	5199	
Philippus Bergamenſis, Oroſius, &c.	5198	
Philo the *Jew*, *Sigebert*	5096	
Epiphanius	5049	
Metrodorus	5000	
Ado, Archbiſhop of *Vienna*	4832	
Joſephus corrected	4698	
Odiato, or *Ebwico*	4320	

[c] Breviarium Chronologicum, lib 4. c. 1. [f] Hiſt. du Monde, l. 1. c. 1.

	Yrs.	Mon.
Marianus Scotus	4192	9
Laurentius Codomannus	4141	8
The ſame (*L. Godomeau* in *Chevreau*)	4140	
Ribera	4095	
Genebrard	4090	
Arnold de Pontac	4088	
Michael Mæſtlinus	4079	3
J. Baptiſt Ricciolus	4062	3
R. Moſes Maimonides	4058	
Jacobus Salianus (in *Strauchius*)	4053	9
The ſame (in *Chevreau*)	4052	
Henr. Spondanus	4051	9
Torniellus	4051	
Gul. Langius (in *Strauchius*)	4041	9
The ſame (in *Chevreau*)	4040	
Eraſmus Reinbold	4021	3
Jacobus Cappellus	4005	9
John Wickman	4004	9
Thomas Lydiat, and *Laurence Eichſtadt*	4004	
Edward Simpſon, and Archbiſhop *Uſher*	4003	9
M. Ant Cappellus, and Archbiſhop *Uſher* (in *Chevreau*)	4000	
Dionyſius, *Petavius*, *Decker*, *Kepler*, &c. (in *Chevreau*)	3984	
Petavius (in *Strauchius*)	3983	3
Krentzheim	3971	9
Abraham Bucholtzer (in *Strauchius*)	3970	9
The ſame, *J. Cluverius* (in *Chevreau*) *Pantaleon*, *Boxhornius*, *Janſenius*, *M. Dreſſer*	3970	
Chriſt. Matthias, and *J. Cluverius* (in *Strauchius*)	3968	9
Henry Bunting (in *Strauchius*)	3967	9
The ſame (in *Chevreau*) and *Andrew Soelmatter*	3967	
Chriſt. Longomontanus	3966	3
Peter Opeemer	3966	
Chriſt. Longovniontanus, in his *Hypotheſis in Aſtronomiam Danicam*, *Toſtatus*, *Philip*, *Melancthon*, *Funccius*, *and others* (in *Strauchius*)	3964	
Melancthon, *Funccius*, &c. (in *Chevreau*)	3963	
Jacobus Haynlinus	3963	3
Sixtus Senenſis	3962	
Joh. Lucidus, *Sculter*, *John Lightfoot*, and ſeveral others	3960	
Alph. Salmeron (in *Chevreau*) *John Picus* Count of *Mirandola*, and others	3959	
Lamberg, and *Salmeron* (in *Strauchius*)	3958	
J. G. Herwart ab Hohenburg	3955	
Beda, *Hermannus Contractus*, *George Herwart* (in *Chevreau*)	3952	
Cornelius a Lapide	3951	
Scaliger, *Calviſius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, *Behmius*, *and Helvicus* (in *Strauchius*)	3949	3

Origen,

	Yrs.	Mon.
Origen, Argoli, John Seyber	3949	
Chriſtianus Schotanus	3948	3
Johanes Micrælius	3948	
Scaliger, Calviſius, Helvicus, (in *Chevreau*) *Alſted,* &c.	3947	
Hermanus Contractus (in *Strauchius*)	3945	9
John Carrion	3944	
St. Jerom in his *Hebraic* Queſtions	3941	
Gerard Mercator	3928	
Matthæus Beroaldus	3927	3
B. Arias Montanus	3849	
Andreas Helvigius	3836	
Some *Talmudiſts*	3784	
R. *David Ganz* (in *Chevreau*)	3761	
The *Jewiſh* vulgar Computation	3760	3
R. *David Ganz* (in *Strauchius*)	3760	
Hieron à Sancta Fide, Paulus de S. Maria, Galatinus, Georgius Venetus	3760	
R. *Habſon,* in his Treatiſe of the Cycles of Paſſover	3740	
R. *Jaſon Noſen*	3734	
R. *Abraham Zaccuth*	3671	
The leſſer Chronicon of the *Jews*	3670	
R. *Lippoman*	3616	

It would be endleſs, as well as unneceſſary, here to examine into the particular Cauſes of this great Difference among Authors, every one ſtill pretending to ground his Syſtem on the Authority of the Scripture: It will be ſufficient, after we have ſtated the Times from the Creation to the Birth of Christ, according to the Computation obſerved in the three ſeveral Copies of the Scripture before-mentioned, to ſubjoin one or two Schemes of the ſame Intervals, according to the different Suputations of the beſt modern Chronologers, which, beſides illuſtrating our Subject, will be of Uſe to the Reader in peruſing the Hiſtorians, who make Uſe of one or other of thoſe Computations.

TABLE I. formed out of the whole Numbers of the Intervals.

	Hebrew.				*Samaritan.* According to Eusebius and the present Copies				*Septuagint.* Common Copies.			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		3944		0		4305		0		5270	
2. The Deluge	1656		2288	656	1307		2998	1307	2242		3028	2242
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2023	367	1921	367	2384	1077	1921	1077	3389	1147	1881	1147
4. The Exodus	2453	797	1491	430	2814	1507	1491	430	3819	1577	1451	430
5. The founding of the Temple	2933	1277	1011	480	3294	1987	1011	480	4259	2017	1011	440
—— Captivity												
6. The burning of the Temple	3357	1701	587	424	3718	2411	$587\frac{4}{12}$	423-	4683	2441	$587\frac{4}{12}$	$423\frac{3}{4}$
—— the first of *Cyrus*	3409	1753	535		[3770	2463	535		[4735	2493	535	
—— the second of *Darius Hyst.*	3427	1771	517	[70	[3788	2481	517	[70	[4753	2511	517	[70
7. The Birth of *Christ*	3944	2288	0	587	4305	2998	0	$587\frac{3}{12}$	5270	3028	0	$587\frac{4}{12}$

TABLE

TABLE II. formed out of the Particulars.

	Hebrew.				*Samaritan.*				*Septuagint.* According to Dr. *Grabe*'s Edition and the *Conſtantinopolitans.*			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Chriſt.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Chriſt.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Chriſt.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		4111		0		4424		0		5508	
2. The Deluge	1656		2455	1656	1307		3117	1307	2262		3246	2262
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2083	427	2028	427	2584	1077	2040	1077	3469	1207	2039	1207
4. The Exodus	2513	857	1598	430	2814	1507	1610	430	3894	1629	1614	425
5. The founding of the Temple	3093	1437	1018	580	3406	2099	1018	592	4495	2230	1013	601
Captivity			607				607					
6. The burning of the Temple	3523	1867	588	430	3836	2409	588	430	4919	2654	589	424
the firſt of *Cyrus*	[3575	1919										
the ſecond of *Darius Hyſt.*	[3583	1927							[4995			
7 The Birth of *Chriſt*	4111	2455	0	588	4424	3117	0	588	5508	3246	0	589

TABLE III. according to the Supputation of certain Authors.

	Hebrew. Usher.				Josephus.				*Septuagint.* Pezron.			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		4004		0		4658		0		5872	
2. The Deluge	1656		2348	1656	1556		3102	1556	2256		3617	2256
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2083	427	1921	427	2523	967	2135	967	3513	1257	2360	1257
4. The Exodus	2513	857	1491	430	2953	1397	1705	430	3943	1687	1930	430
Moses's Death	[2553				[1993							
5. The founding of the Temple	2992	1336	1012	479	3545	1989	1113	592	4816	2560	1057	8[illegible]3
Captivity	3397	1741	607						[5268	3012	605	[illegible]72
6. The burning of the Temple	3416	1760	588	424	4015	2459	643	[illegible]70	[5287	3031	586	[illegible]9
the first of *Cyrus*	3468				4085			[70	[5337	3081	536	69
the second of *Darius Hyst.*	3486			[70					[5351	3095	520	
7. The Birth of *Christ.*	4004	2348	0	588	4658	3102	0	643	5873	3617	0	

The Reader may perceive at one View of the preceding Tables, what Room the ſeveral Copies of the Scriptures we now have, give for varying the Chronology of the whole, and how many different Syſtems may be grounded on them. By the Calculation made uſe of in the firſt Table, which conſiſts of the Intervals, inſerted in the fourth, or right-hand Column of each Diviſion, from the Creation to the Birth of Christ, according to the whole Numbers mentioned in the Text of the reſpective Copies, the *Samaritan* Account exceeds the *Hebrew* by three hundred and ſixty one Years, while the *Septuagint* exceeds the *Samaritan* by nine hundred and ſixty five Years. Which Difference ſtill becomes greater in the ſecond Table, made out of the particular Numbers, which compoſe the Intervals, by an Addition of one hundred and nineteen Years to the *Samaritan*, and two hundred and thirty eight to the *Septuagint* Computation; which therefore exceeds the *Hebrew* Computation in the firſt Table, by no leſs than one thouſand five hundred and ſixty four Years.

The third Table exhibits three other Forms, the firſt of which, being that of the great Primate *Uſher*, is grounded on the *Hebrew* whole Numbers, and differs from that in the firſt Table but ſixty Years, which are added to the Interval from the Deluge to the Call of *Abraham*. The ſecond is compoſed from the Chronology of *Joſephus*, as cleared up by Dr. *Wills*[g], and Mr. *Whiſton*[h]; who, reckoning according to the Particulars, obſerves ſomewhat of a Mean between the *Samaritan* and the *Septuagint*, and is thought, in moſt reſpects, to have given us the true *Hebrew* Numbers, which, it is to be feared, the *Jews*, ſince his Time, have corrupted. And the third is that of *P. Pezron*, being an Enlargement of the *Septuagint*

[g] Pref. to L'Eſtrange's Edition of Joſephus. [h] Chronol. of the Old and New Teſt. and his Eſſay for reſtoring the true Text, &c.

and

and *Greek* Computation, in order to accomodate the Sacred to the Prophane Hiſtory.

Of theſe three different Copies of Scripture, the *Samaritan* Computation ſeems not only beſt to ſuit the Nature and Circumſtances of the Hiſtory of antient Times recorded in the Old Teſtament, as well as to be confirmed by the Concurrence of genuine Prophane Hiſtory, which by no means ought to be thrown out of the Queſtion; but alſo appears to be the old and authentic *Hebrew* Computation, preſerved by the *Samaritans* in their Character, while the *Hebrew* Copy has evidently been corrupted, in all Probability, to obviate the Prophecies concerning the *Meſſiah*, and on other Accounts; as *Pezron* [i], Dr. *Wills* [k], Mr. *Whiſton* [l], and others have ſufficiently proved.

For theſe Reaſons therefore, and many others, which will frequently occur in the Courſe of this Work, we have found ourſelves obliged to depart from the Example of the Generality of our modern Chronologers, who follow the *Hebrew* Chronology, and to adhere to that of the *Samaritan*, which preſerves a Mean between the Defect of the *Hebrew* on the one Hand, and the Exceſs of the *Septuagint* on the other. In adjuſting our Periods, we have ſtrained nothing to favour any Hypotheſis of our own, or to force the Sacred Hiſtory to agree with any Part of the Prophane, as too many unreaſonably have done; of which our conſtant confining ourſelves to the whole Numbers, which are always the ſhorteſt, is a Demonſtration.

The Reader may obſerve, that the whole Difference betwixt the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan* Computation (for we have no more than the *Pentateuch* in that Character) lies in the Interval between the Creation and the calling of *Abraham*, and ariſes from the different Ages aſſigned the Patriarchs, at the Birth of their Sons mentioned in *Geneſis*. The *Septuagint* Copy

[i] Vid. l'Antiquité des tems retablie & defendue. [k] In his Preface to L'Eſtrange's Engliſh Joſephus. [l] Eſſay for reſtoring the true Text, &c. Prop. 12. p. 220.

carries

carries this Difference down to the Founding of the Temple, which, according to that Text [m], happened in the four hundred and fortieth Year of the *Exodus*, forty Years ſhort of the *Hebrew*; but we have choſen to follow the whole Number, as it ſtands in the *Hebrew* [n], (for we have no *Samaritan* Copy here to guide us) thinking the Text too expreſs to admit of any Alteration. The Length of the Interval from the Founding to the Burning of the Temple, is limited within the four hundred and thirty Years of God's Patience towards the *Jews* [o]; and is collected out of the Years of the Reigns of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, as they have been collated and adjuſted by judicious Chronologers [p]: So that there is no room for allowing more than forty Years to the Reign of *Solomon*, as aſſigned him in all the Copies extant, the Scripture affording Means for reconciling the ſeeming Inconſiſtencies, with Regard to the Ages of him and his Son *Rehoboam*, at their reſpective Acceſſions to the Throne. But here we ſhould be at a great Loſs (the *Babyloniſh* Captivity interrupting the Courſe of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory), if it was not for the Opportunity we have of connecting this Period with the *Nabonnaſſarian* or *Babylonian* Æra, by means of the famous Aſtronomical Canon of *Ptolemy*; whereby we are enabled with Certainty to carry the Account of Time down to the Birth of *Chriſt*, which, according to our Supputation, falls in the Year of the World four thouſand three hundred and five, and of the Flood two Thouſand nine hundred and ninety eight, according to the *Samaritan* Computation in the firſt Table.

We have alſo taken the Liberty to depart from the general Method, obſerved hitherto by Chronologers in another Point, and inſtead of carrying down our Computation from the Creation, through the ſeveral Ages,

[m] Vid. Septuag. 1 Kings vi, 1. [n] 1 Kings vi. 1. [o] Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6. [p] See Uſher's Chronologia Sacra, Pars poſterior; and Whiſton's Short View of the Chronol. of the Old Teſt. p. 83. and in the Tables at the End.

to

to the Birth of *Chriſt*, to diſcontinue it at the Flood, and begin a new Reckoning from thence; and this we have been induced to do for ſeveral Reaſons.

1. BECAUSE the Period between the Creation and the Flood contains little memorable, beſides the Age and Death of each Patriarch. 2. Becauſe it is a particular Period cut off, as it were, from the reſt of Time, and hath little or no Connection with the Ages ſucceeding the Deluge. 3. Becauſe at the Deluge the old World was deſtroyed, and from thence a new Origination of Mankind began, whoſe Affairs have little or no Dependence on thoſe of the Antediluvians. 4. Becauſe it will help to give the Reader a more diſtinct Notion of the Diſtance of Time, as derived from a Period with which we are more immediately concerned, and beyond which no genuine Hiſtory of any Nation reaches. 5. Becauſe it will bring the ſeveral Scriptural Computations nearer to an Agreement among themſelves, the great Diſproportion among them ariſing chiefly from the Difference this Period creates. Thus in the whole Space of Time, from the Creation to the Birth of *Chriſt*, the *Septuagint*, according to the firſt Table, differs from the *Hebrew*, one thouſand three hundred and twenty ſix Years, and but ſeven hundred and forty, reckoning from the Flood. The Difference alſo between the *Septuagint* and the *Samaritan*, reckoning from the Creation, is no leſs than nine hundred and ſixty five Years; and no more than thirty, if you compute from the Flood. The *Septuagint* Chronology exceeds that of *Joſephus* ſix hundred and twelve Years, taking in the Times preceding the Deluge; but in the Space betwixt the Deluge and *Chriſt*, it is exceeded by that of *Joſephus* by ſeventy four Years, as will appear more clearly by the following Table.

According

According to the first TABLE.		According to the second TABLE.	
Years from the Creation to Christ.	*Years from the Flood to Christ.*	*Years from the Creation to Christ.*	*Years from the Flood to Christ.*
Sam. 4305	2998	4424	3117
Heb. 3944	2288	4111	2456
361	710	313	661
Sept. 5270	3028	5508	3246
Heb. 3944	2288	4111	2455
1326	740	1397	791
Sept. 5270	3028	5508	3246
Sam. 4305	2998	4424	3117
965	30	1084	129
Jos. 4658	3102	4658	3102
Heb. 3944	2288	4111	2455
714	814	547	647
Jos. 4658	3102	*Jos.* 4658	*Sam.* 3117
Sam. 4305	2998	*Sam.* 4424	*Jos.* 3102
353	104	234	15
Sept. 5270	*Jos.* 3102	*Sept.* 5508	3246
Jos. 4658	*Sept.* 3028	*Jos.* 4658	3102
612	74	850	144

Indeed,

Indeed, if we compare the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, the Caſe is otherwiſe; for the Difference betwixt thoſe two Computations is greater in the Interval from the Flood to *Chriſt* than from the Creation, the *Samaritan* falling ſhort of the *Hebrew* in the Interval betwеen the Creation and the Flood, at the ſame Time that it exceeds it in that betwixt the Flood and the Vocation of *Abraham*.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, we have thought fit, throughout the Courſe of our Hiſtory, to make uſe of the Year of the Flood, inſtead of that of the World, in our marginal Synchroniſms, and hope the Reader will conſider it rather as an Improvement, than an Innovation in Chronology. However, in our Tables at the End of each Volume, we ſhall add the Year of the World, to ſerve inſtead of a *Julian* Period; a Contrivance, which how uſeful ſoever it may be in the Technical Chronology, is, as we conceive, of no manner of uſe at all in the Hiſtorical.

To the Year of the Flood we have always added that before *Chriſt*, which, conſidering the Variety of Syſtems that are abroad, (every Author almoſt having one of his own) is the more neceſſary, as it always carries the Chronology of the Author along with it; for the two Sums, being added together, ſhew the Year before the *Chriſtian* Æra, according to that Computation, whether *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, or *Septuagint*, which the Author follows. For Inſtance, according to the *Samaritan* Account in the firſt Table, which we follow, *Solomon* began to build the Temple in the Year of the Flood 1987, and before *Chriſt* 1011; theſe two Sums added make two thouſand nine hundred ninety eight; which is the Year before the *Chriſtian* Æra by that Reckoning; and two thouſand nine hundred ninety eight being added to one thouſand three hundred and ſeven, the Number of Years betwixt the Creation and the Flood, the Sum, four thouſand three hundred and five, gives the Year of the World in which the Birth of *Chriſt* happened, according to the vulgar Computation. Indeed, was our Chronology

logy upon as fixed a Footing as it is among the *Greeks*, the *Ruſſians*, and ſome other Nations, who begin their Computation from the Creation, and never change their Opinions; to diſcover the Diſtance of any Tranſaction backwards from the preſent Time, there would be no need of knowing more than the Year of the World in which it fell out. For Inſtance, the Temple was begun, according to the *Ruſſians*, who follow the *Greek* and *Septuagint* Computation in the ſecond Table, in the Year of the World 4495. Now the preſent Year of our *Lord* 1730, being the ſeven thouſand two hundred and thirty eighth according to their Account, it is only deducting four thouſand four hundred ninety five, from ſeven thouſand two hundred thirty eight, and you have two thouſand ſeven hundred forty three, which is the Number of Years ſince the Founding of *Solomon*'s Temple to this Time, differing but two Years in Exceſs from our Reckoning: Whereas, before we could be able to diſcover it by that ſingle Character, we ſhould be obliged, perhaps, to ſearch a good while to find out the Syſtem which the Author goes upon; and when we had met with it, ſhould be at the Trouble of uſing Subſtraction, as well as Addition. So that the joining the Year before *Chriſt* to that of the World, or of the Flood, is one of the greateſt Improvements in Chronology; and as neceſſary for aſcertaining the true Time of every Event, as the Longitude and Latitude are in Geography, to determine the exact Situation of a Place. In a Word, theſe two Sorts of Reckonings ought to be made inſeparable; and whoever gives only one of them without the other, can afford his Reader no ſatisfactory Idea of Things; and indeed muſt write in Confuſion himſelf.

HAVING given the Reader this general Account of our Chronology, and ſtated the ſeveral Periods of it from the Creation, and the Flood, to the Birth of *Chriſt*; we ſhall hereafter give the Analyſis of each Period, as we proceed, to ſhew the Authority upon which our Syſtem is grounded.

IN

In the History itself we have endeavoured to execute our Proposals in the best Manner we could; and hope we have made no Slips therein, but such as are excusable. Some no doubt there are; for we have not the vanity to think ourselves able to write a perfectly compleat History, which, as a modern Author [p] expresses it, is not to appear, but in that Year which discovers the perpetual Motion, and the Philosopher's Stone.

In composing the following Work, we have all along taken the Liberty (to use the words of an ingenious Gentleman, whom we have followed in this respect) "To translate, to imitate, or even literally to introduce any Parts of the Authors, from whom we "have made our Collections, if we found them really conducing to the Use or Ornament of the Design, not being able to discover any Merit, or Cunning, in varying the Stile and Sense of an Author, "for no other Purpose, than to conceal the Ignorance "of the Transcriber, or to destroy an Obligation of "Gratitude, which ought to be confessed to all Mankind."[q]

We have added to this, as we shall do to each Volume, a compleat and copious *Index*, giving the Reader a View of the whole Work in Epitome, and referring him to all the Parts of it with great Exactness.

[p] Le Moyne. [q] Mr. Lewis in his Preface to his Origines Hebræ.

AN

AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

THE

INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

The Coſmogony, or Creation of the World.

The deſign of the work, and the difficulties which attend it.

OUR deſign is to write a General Hiſtory of mankind, from their original to our own time. An undertaking of vaſt extent, and which would, perhaps, be ſcarce practicable, were the hiſtories of all nations now extant, and their ſeries complete. But as many nations entirely neglected their hiſtory, at leaſt for ſeveral ages; ſo the hiſtories of many others, who kept ſome records of paſt actions, have been either totally, or in part, deſtroyed by wars, time, miſguided zeal, and other caſualties. Beſides, few nations have been able to give a tolerable account of their original, or early antiquities; the firſt memory of perſons, and facts, having been preſerved by the inſtitution of feſtivals, the building of cities, erecting of ſtones, pillars, altars, tombs, and the like monuments, from whence a true ſeries of hiſtory could not be accurately deduced and collected, any more than from the oral tradition which accompanied them.

BUT if the want of records has, on the one hand, reduced hiſtory into a cloſer compaſs, it has, on the other, occaſioned great confuſion and uncertainty. For the frequent interruptions, and defects, which occur in the antiquities of

nations, drive the hiſtorian ſo often to precarious conjectures, and oblige him to have recourſe to ſo many ſhifts, to connect and ſupply them, that his labour ſeems to be encreaſed by the ſcarcity of materials; and he is unable, after all, to give his reader ſatisfaction.

MANY other difficulties there are, which attend the execution of this undertaking, eſpecially as to the hiſtory of antient times: ſuch as the numbers of forged and ſpurious books; the fictions of poets, who were the firſt hiſtorians; the contradictions and partiality of authors; the different computations of time in uſe among the ſame, as well as different nations; the want of æras to compute from in ſome nations, and the multiplicity of them in others; the variety of proper names of the ſame perſon and place, and the corruption of them through ignorance, negligence, or deſign. What adds to the misfortune is, that if we except the *Jews*, not one of the hiſtories of thoſe antient nations, whom the *Grecians* called *Barbarians*, written by the natives, or extracted immediately from their records, have come to our hands; nothing remaining of them, beſides ſome few fragments, preſerved here and there in other writers, which ſerve only to make us lament their loſs, and to ſhew the inaccuracy of the *Greek* hiſtorians, with regard to foreign nations.

WE have thought proper briefly to premiſe thus much, with regard to the ſtate of antient hiſtory, in order to entitle ourſelves to the reader's candour, in paſſing his judgment upon a performance, wherein there are ſo many difficulties to ſtruggle with. But before we enter upon the hiſtory itſelf, we ſhall give ſome account of the coſmogony, or the production and formation of this earth; which ſeems to demand our firſt attention, as being the place from whence mankind derive their original, and the theatre whereon the ſcenes of the enſuing hiſtory are to be acted.

God the author of the world, both as to matter and form.

THAT the univerſe was created or produced out of nothing, by an infinitely powerful, wiſe, and good GOD, who being ſelf-exiſtent is the original cauſe of all things, is not only certain from revelation, but deducible, and has been clearly proved, from reaſon [a]. And tho' all atheiſts, both antient and modern, have conſtantly denied, that even infinite power can create matter, and the affirmative has been

[a] Dr. CLARKE, in his Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of GOD.

thought

thought to be embarraſſed with ſeveral conſiderable difficulties, as our having no idea how a nothing from all eternity can be made to exiſt, and the ſeeming contradiction in ſuppoſing the world to be created in time, becauſe then it would be ſeparated from eternity only by an indiviſible point, which cannot ſufficiently diſtinguiſh an eternal Being from a temporary production [b]; yet theſe are rather difficulties ariſing from our own imperfect, and finite reaſon and conception, whereby we are not able to form a diſtinct idea of creation, or eternity, than any real impoſſibility in the thing itſelf: for it is no contradiction to affirm, that ſomething, which once was not, may ſince have begun to exiſt; the true notion of creation being not a forming of ſomething out of nothing, as out of a material cauſe, but only a bringing ſomething into being, which before had no being at all, and which, without ſome cauſe, would not have exiſted; and this no man can reduce to a contradiction, any more than the formation of any thing, into a ſhape which it had not before, can be reduced to a contradiction [c]. And they who deny GOD's power to create matter, muſt fly to one of theſe ſuppoſitions, either that matter exiſted from eternity, as a paſſive ſubject of all the operations of GOD, and as a collateral principle, or elſe that matter is the only ſelf-exiſtent being; either of which involves us in the moſt impious abſurdities. The firſt ſuppoſition neceſſarily implies two ſelf-exiſtent principles, which is a direct contradiction; and the other, that it is impoſſible to conceive matter not to be, or to be in any reſpect otherwiſe than it now is, without a contradiction; than which nothing is more eaſy. For whether we conſider the form of the world, with the diſpoſition and motion of its parts, or whether we conſider the matter of it, as ſuch, without reſpect to its preſent form; every thing in it, both the whole, and every one of its parts, their ſituation and motion, the form, and alſo the matter, are the moſt arbitrary and dependent things, and the fartheſt removed from neceſſity, that can poſſibly be imagined [d].

The arguments uſed to prove the non-exiſtence of matter of ſmall force

As for thoſe who deny the actual exiſtence of matter and motion, (if there be any who do ſo in earneſt) it might be ſufficient to ſay, that there is in effect no difference in re-

[b] Mr. BAYLE, dans les Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, Tom. IV. p. 1301. [c] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 83, 84. See alſo Dr. NICHOLLS's Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part 1. p. 26. [d] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 23, &c.

ſpect to us, whether they be actually exiſtent, or no more than appearances; for if GOD immediately communicate all ſenſible perceptions to our mind, as he muſt do if there be no ſuch thing as ſenſible ſubſtance, he is ſtill the author of thoſe appearances, which have the ſame conſequences and effects, to our conception, as if they were real: not to urge the indecency of ſuſpecting GOD to have made the world a mere ſcene of deluſion. The impoſſibility of extenſion is attempted to be proved from the inextricable difficulties which follow, if matter be infinitely diviſible, as it neceſſarily muſt, and is eaſily demonſtrated [e]. And if there be no extenſion, the unavoidable conſequence is, that there can be no motion; which is alſo argued from the perplexing objections raiſed on the ſuppoſition of a vacuum; and yet a vacuum muſt be admitted, or elſe no motion can be conceived [f]. But theſe difficulties, though unanſwerable, as great maſters of reaſon have confeſſed, evince no more, than that human underſtanding is finite and imperfect; and being only raiſed from our want of having an adequate idea either of extenſion or ſpace [g], ought not therefore to be eſteemed real difficulties [h].

The ſeveral opinions concerning the origin of the world.

THE ſeveral opinions, which have been held by the antients, or moderns, as to the origin of the univerſe, may be comprehended under one, or other, of the following three; *viz.*

I. THAT the world is eternal, both as to matter and form, and had neither any origin, nor will be ſubject to any corruption [i].

II. THAT the matter of the world is eternal, but not the form. Or,

III. THAT the world had a beginning, and will ſuffer a diſſolution, being of its own nature periſhable.

The opinion of thoſe who held it eternal, both in matter and form.

AND to begin with the firſt of theſe opinions: None of the antients openly maintain'd it, except ſome Pſeudo-Pythagoreans, and *Ariſtotle* [k]; to whom we may add ſeveral of *Plato*'s followers. But few, if any, of them intended thereby to aſſert, as ſome moderns have done, that the material

[e] Vide BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt Art. Zenon, Remarq. G. [f] Vid. ibid. Rem. F. I. [g] Vid. ibid. Rem. I. and LOCKE on Human Underſtanding, B. 2. c. 13. [h] Vid. CLARKE's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of GOD, p. 11, 12. [i] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 6. [k] BURNET's Archæol. l. 2. cap. 1.

world

world was GOD, or the original, ſelf-exiſting, and independent Being, in oppoſition to the belief of a ſupreme all-governing mind; but either barely that ſomething muſt needs be eternal, which is all *Ocellus Lucanus* proves; or elſe that the world is an eternal, and neceſſary effect, flowing from the immutable energy of the divine nature, which ſeems to have been *Ariſtotle*'s opinion; or elſe that the world is an eternal voluntary emanation from the all-wiſe and ſupreme Cauſe, which was the opinion of many Platoniſts [l].

The opinion of Ocellus Lucanus.

OCELLUS LUCANUS, whoſe antiquity and authority have been oppoſed to thoſe of *Moſes* [m], though he lived not long before *Plato*, was one of the moſt antient aſſerters of the world's eternity; wherein he deviated from the true doctrine of his maſter *Pythagoras*. We have a ſhort treatiſe under his name, concerning the nature of the univerſe, wherein he affirms it to be utterly incapable either of generation or corruption, of beginning or end [n]; that it is of itſelf eternal, and perfect, and permanent for ever [o]; and that the frame and parts of the world muſt needs be eternal, as well as the ſubſtance and matter of the whole [p], and mankind alſo [q]. But his arguments for this opinion are either very abſurd and ridiculous; as when he attempts to prove that the world muſt needs be eternal, without beginning or end, becauſe both its figure and motion are circular, and therefore without beginning or ending [r]; or elſe they are ſuch arguments as tend to prove that ſomething muſt needs be eternal, becauſe it is impoſſible for every thing to ariſe out of nothing, or to fall into nothing; as when he ſays, that the world muſt have been eternal, becauſe it is a contradiction for the univerſe to have had a beginning; ſince, if it had a beginning, it muſt have been cauſed by ſome other thing, and then it is not the univerſe [s]: to which one argument all he ſays in his whole book is plainly reducible. And to ſay the truth, he himſelf ſeems perſuaded, that however eternal and neceſſary every thing in the world be imagined to be, yet even that neceſſity muſt flow from an eternal and intelligent mind, the neceſſary perfections of whoſe nature are the cauſe of that harmony which keeps the univerſe toge-

[l] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 32. [m] Vid. Oracles of Reaſon, p. 215. [n] OCELL. LUCAN. de Univ. p. 506. Inter opuſc. Mythol. edit. per T. Gale, 1688. [o] Ib. 510. [p] Ib. 528. [q] Ib. 530. [r] Ib. 514. Vid. alſo Oracles of Reaſon, ubi ſup. [s] OCELL. ibid, 506, 508.

ther, and prevents its falling into diſorder[t]. He allows God to have given men faculties, organs of ſenſe, and appetites, not for the ſake of pleaſure, but fitted for final cauſes [u]; and expreſly aſſerts, that the ever active Being governs, and the ever paſſive is governed; that the one is firſt in power, the other poſterior; that the one is divine, rational, and intelligent, and the other generated, irrational, and liable to change[x].

Of Ariſtotle.

ARISTOTLE alſo held this opinion, as is ſufficiently known; and, if he be to be believed, was the firſt, at leaſt of the *Greeks*, who aſſerted it; for he ſays, that before his time the temporary production of the world was univerſally entertained, though it was a queſtion whether it ſhould ever periſh or not [y]. His doctrine was, that not only the matter of the heavens and earth was ingenerate and eternal; but that even mankind and all the ſpecies of animals, male and female, have ſubſiſted from everlaſting by a perpetual courſe of generation, without any original beginning or production; and that the earth hath for ever been adorned with trees, plants, flowers, minerals, and other productions, as we now ſee it to be[z]. But how this is reconcileable with what he elſewere delivers of the natural gravity and levity of different elements, ſeems hard to ſhew: for if thoſe elements were ever in their natural places and diſpoſitions, according to their reſpective gravity, which nothing but ſome external violence could have hindred; it follows neceſſarily, that the earth once was in a very different form from what it now is, and could not poſſibly be inhabited from eternity [a]. The great reaſon, which induced *Ariſtotle* to aſſert the world to be eternal [b], was, becauſe he thought ſuch an effect muſt needs eternally proceed from ſuch an eternal cauſe as the divine Mind, which being all act and energy, could not reſt in a ſtate of inactivity. He acknowledes, that the firſt principle is neither fire, earth, nor water, nor any thing which is the object of ſenſe; but that a ſpiritual ſubſtance is

[t] OCELL. de Legibus Fragm. ibid. p. 537. [u] Idem. de Univ. 531. Vid. Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtration, &c. p. 33, &c. [x] OCELL. de Legibus Fragm. ubi ſup. p. 538. [y] ARISTOT. de Cœlo. lib. 1. cap. 10. [z] Ibid cap. 12. Vid. PHILON. JUD. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi, p. 940, BURNET's Archæol. l. 1. p. 180. CUDWORTH's Intellectual Syſtem. p. 250. [a] Vid. BURNET's Archæol. l. 1. p. 181. and his Theory of the Earth, V. I. p. 51.
[b] Several other Reaſons were given by his Followers, nearly agreeing with thoſe of OCELLUS, which may be read in PHILO JUD. ubi ſup. p. 943, &c.

the

the cauſe of the univerſe, and the ſource of all the order and beauty, as well as of the motions and forms, which we ſo much admire in it[c]. And he expreſly deſcribes GOD to be an intelligent Being[d], incorporeal, the firſt mover of all things, himſelf immoveable[e], eternal, indiviſible, and void of all quantity[f]; and affirms, that if there were nothing but matter in the world, there would be no original cauſe, but an infinite progreſſion of cauſes[g]; which is abſurd[h]. So that the true notion of this great philoſopher was, that though the world had no temporary generation, yet it was produced from one ſupreme Deity, after ſome other manner[i].

THESE ſentiments of *Ariſtotle*, as to the eternity of the world, have been embraced by many of his followers, and among the reſt by ſeveral learned *Mohammedans*, who were thence named *Dahrians*, or *Eternaliſts*. Of this opinion *al Farâbi*, *al Kendi*, *Ebn Roſhd*, and *Ebn Sina* (which two laſt we uſually call *Averroes* and *Avicenna*) were ſuſpected; and therefore their philoſophy was publickly, and even in the pulpit, inveighed againſt by the more orthodox, and themſelves branded with the invidious appellations of atheiſts and infidels[k].

THOUGH *Plato*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, did himſelf plainly acknowledge the world to be made by GOD, yet having uſed ſome expreſſions, as if he thought the time of its formation to be indefinite; as when he ſays, that the world muſt needs be an eternal reſemblance of the eternal idea[l], his followers, or the greateſt part of them, who adhered to *Ariſtotle*'s opinion in this matter, took advantage of theſe expreſſions, and explained them ſo, as if by the creation of the world was not to be underſtood a creation in time, but only in order of nature, cauſality, and dependance[m]: that is, that the will of GOD, and his power of acting, being neceſſarily as eternal as his eſſence, the effects of that will and power muſt be ſuppoſed coeval to the will and power themſelves; in the ſame manner as light would eternally

Of Plato's *followers.*

[c] ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. cap. 2, 3. [d] Νοῦς. [e] DIOGENES LAERT. in vita ARISTOT. p. 286. Ed. Amſt. 1692. [f] In Phyſ. l. 7. c. 1. &c. [g] In Metaph. [h] Vid. CLARKE's Demonſtration, &c. p. 35, and alſo CUDWORTH, p. 253. [i] SIMPLIC. in ARISTOT. Phyſ. l. 8. & l. 1. c. 1. [k] Vid. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orientale, p. 303. & ELENCH, Scriptorum præfix. Epiſt. Hai Ebn Yokdhan. [l] PLATO in Timæo, & apud. Cicer. de Univ. [m] PLOTINUS En. 3. l. 2. c. 1. & En. 2. l. 9. c. 3.

nally proceed from the sun [n], or a shadow from the interposed body, or an impression from an impoſed seal, if the respective causes of these effects were supposed eternal [o]. Existence from eternity, and being caused or produced by another, were not therefore by these philosophers apprehended to be contradictory or inconsistent. And as they were led into this opinion, no otherwise than from the sole consideration of the deity; *viz.* its benevolent will, and generative power [p]; so they allowed, that the world, notwithstanding its being from eternity, might in some sense be said to be made, as being produced from another cause, and not self-originated. And the generation of the inferior gods, and the world, in this sense, *Proclus* himself, that grand champion for the world's eternity, plainly acknowledges, when he says, that they called it the generations of the gods; meaning thereby, not any temporary production, but their ineffable procession from a superior first cause [q].

THE later Platonists were so fond of this notion of the world's eternity, that being on the one hand unwilling to abandon it, and on the other desirous to save appearances, they endeavoured by forced constructions, to wrest their master's words, especially his *Timæus*, to their purpose; and, as has been long since observed, turned themselves every way, using all manner of violence to the text, as conceiving they ought, by all possible means, to conceal and deny the generation of the world, and of its soul, as if it were some horrid thing, and not to be spoken of [r]. It is well known, that Platonism was very early introduced into the church; and even this dogm favourably received by some, and *Origen* in particular [s], and as zealously opposed by others. It may however be worth observing, that this doctrine of the world's co-eternity with GOD, was, in the sixth century, suffered to be publickly taught in *Alexandria* by *Ammonius*, the scholar of *Proclus* [t], and not without success.

[n] Idem, En. 5. l. 8. c. 12. SALLUST. de Diis & Mundo, cap. 7. PROCLUS in Timæum. l. 2. p. 111 [o] Dr. CLARKE's Demonstration, &c. p. 37. See also the authors there cited, & PHILO JUD. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi. [p] PROCL. in Tim. p. 116. [q] PROCL in Tim p. 85. Vid. etiam SALLUST. c. 13. CUDWORTH, p. 253. [r] PLUTARCH. de Psychog. Plat. p. 1013. [s] Vid. METHODIUM. de creatis, apud Photium, p. 932. [t] ZACHARIAS MITYLENENSIS, in Biblioth. patrum, Vol. II. p. 331. Ed. Paris, 1644.

To

To the argument made uſe of by the Platoniſts for the eternity of the world, drawn from the nature and attributes of GOD, it has been anſwered; that though GOD be eſſentially and neceſſarily good, yet the communications of his goodneſs are the effects of his will, and not merely of his nature. For GOD, being a free agent, could have refrained from making the world, or could have made it otherwiſe; and therefore thoſe who make the expreſſions of the divine bounty neceſſary, in order to ſettle the world's eternity, and that he might always have an object whereon to exerciſe his goodneſs, take as much from his ſelf-ſufficiency, as they would ſeem to flatter his goodneſs. For GOD cannot be himſelf without his goodneſs; and therefore, if his goodneſs cannot be without ſome creature to ſhew and diſplay itſelf upon, God cannot be perfect, or happy without his creatures; becauſe theſe are the neceſſary iſſues of his goodneſs, and conſequently the being of the creature becomes neceſſary to the being of GOD, which is the higheſt derogation imaginable from the abſolute perfection of the divine nature [u]. All which is very true, and we do not ſee what reply a Platoniſt could make, if it were the real doctrine of the ſect, that the world was an involuntary effect of his mere nature. But they plainly taught otherwiſe, and expreſly declared, that one of the reaſons why they maintained the world not to be a temporary production, was, the conſideration of his *beneficent will* [x], as well as his productive power; both which being ſuppoſed, the effect may neceſſarily follow, without any derogation from GOD's abſolute perfections. It is not therefore without due conſideration, that very able diſputants have acknowledged, that the time when the world was created, or whether its creation was, properly ſpeaking, in time, is not ſo eaſy to demonſtrate ſtrictly by bare reaſon, but the proof of it can be taken only from revelation; and therefore they, who, wanting that light, have denied the world to have had a beginning, are ſomewhat excuſable [y].

An Anſwer to the Platonic argument for the world's eternity conſidered.

BUT, on a nicer diſcuſſion, this controverſy about the eternity of the world will appear to be, in a great meaſure, a diſ-

This controverſy ſet in a clearer light.

[u] Vid. Biſhop STILLINGFLEET's Origines Sacræ, p. 275, &c.

[x] Ἀγαθοειδὴς βούλησις. PROCL. in Timæum, p. 116. which Words Dr. CUDWORTH has tranſlated, ſomewhat freely *Eſſential Goodneſs*. Intell, Syſtem, p. 253. [y] Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtr. &c. p. 39. & POIRET, Cogitationes rationales de Deo anima & mundo, lib. 3. c. 16. num. 9. p. 439. Ed. 1685.

a diſpute about words only. All chriſtians in general (except thoſe who believe the eternity of matter, and therefore deſerve not that name) agree, that GOD alone hath always exiſted; but ſeveral maintain, that he might have actually created the world, as ſoon as he formed the decree of producing it; whence they conclude, that the world might have exiſted eternally, ſince there is no doubt, but that the decree to produce it is eternal. On the other hand ſeveral maintain, that it is impoſſible for a creature to be eternal [z]. But when they come to argue, the ſtrength of each party lies rather in making objections, than ſolving them. This diſpute, which is rendered ſo tedious and perplexing, would end preſently, if they would but explain themſelves clearly on each ſide, and forego the equivocal acceptation of *eternity*; and then the queſtion ſhould be thus ſtated: *Is it poſſible, that* GOD *and his creatures may have always exiſted together?* The negative would not ſo readily be taken; for the expreſſion of the eternity of the world, that expreſſion, I ſay, which ſhocks ſo many people, would not ſtrike the mind. To remove this ſtumbling-block ſtill more effectually, it ſhould be declared, that a creature which ſhould have always co-exiſted with GOD would not be eternal, for this reaſon; becauſe the duration of creatures is ſucceſſive, and that eternity is a ſimple duration, which eſſentially excludes both paſt and future. By this eſſential diſtinction between the duration of GOD and that of creatures, the whole conteſt almoſt would ceaſe, and each ſide find their account. It would be granted to thoſe who deny the poſſibility of the creature's being eternal, that they are in the right; and it would not be denied to be poſſible, that GOD and his creature might have always exiſted together; ſince it is certain, that the cauſe includes not in its idea a priority of time, with reſpect to its effect, and that this is more nicely true as to an almighty cauſe, which needs only will to produce actually whatever it pleaſes. Again, they who ſay, that the creatures have not always co-exiſted with GOD, muſt grant, that GOD exiſted before they did. There was then a *before*, when GOD exiſted alone; therefore it is not true, that GOD's duration is an indiviſible point; whence it follows, that time preceded the exiſtence of creatures: which conſequences drive thoſe who argue in this manner to contradict themſelves; for if the duration of GOD be indiviſible, with-

[z] Vid. JOH. PHILOPON. contra Proclum, p. 4. & CUDWORTH, p. 887.

out

out paſt or future, time and creatures muſt have began together; and if ſo, how can it be ſaid, that GOD exiſted before the exiſtence of his creatures [a]?

THE two ſeemingly inſuperable arguments then for the eternity of the world are drawn from the eternity of GOD's decree for its creation, and the indiviſibility of the real duration of GOD: which yet have been anſwered in this manner; It is ſuppoſed that among the poſſible beings which GOD knew before he made the decrees of creation, one was a ſucceſſive duration, which hath neither beginning nor end, and whoſe parts are as diſtinct from one another, as thoſe of poſſible extenſion, which GOD likewiſe knew before his decrees, as infinite according to the three dimenſions. He has left in the ſtate of poſſible things one part of this infinite duration, and has decreed the exiſtence of the other. He choſe ſuch moment as he pleaſed, in this ideal duration, for the firſt which ſhould exiſt, and annexed thereto the act by which he decreed the creation of the world: ſo that the eternity of that act does not prove the eternity of the world; nor does the indiviſibility of GOD's real duration prove the world had no beginning [b].

BUT after all, the diſtinction of the ſchoolmen between the manner of the duration of GOD, and that of his creatures, whereon the preceding argumentation is built, though it has been generally received by the beſt pagan, as well as chriſtian philoſophers, and is at leaſt as old as *Parmenides* [c], has yet been rejected, and oppoſed by many men of great learning and judgment, as inconſiſtent and unintelligible; it being very hard to conceive eternity to be an inſtant, or how that can be together, or at once, which muſt neceſſarily be imagined to be co-exiſtent to ſucceſſions [d]. And whatever force the above-mentioned arguments may be ſuppoſed to carry for the eternity of the world, underſtanding thereby the univerſe, with its ſeveral changes and viciſſitudes; they are far from proving, that the diſpoſition of the ſolar ſyſtem, much leſs the form of the earth, has been for ever the ſame as we now ſee it: the imagining of which

[a] BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Zabarella, Jaques, Rem. H. See alſo Epiſt. Abi Jaafar Ebn Tofail de Hai Ebn Yokdhân Edit. à POCOCK. p. 105, 106. and Mr. Ockley's Engliſh Tranſlation, p. 83. [b] BAYLE, ubi ſupra. [c] See CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſtem, p. 388. [d] GASSEND. Phyſic. l. 1. Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, Vol. 7. Serm. 13. See alſo Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtr. &c. p. 45. and CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſtem, p. 644.

ſeems

ſeems to have been the great error of the old Eternaliſts, and has been ſtrongly oppoſed by ſeveral arguments, as well from reaſon, as human teſtimony, ſeparate from the evidence of divine revelation, as will be ſeen hereafter.

The opinion of thoſe who held the univerſe to be God.

SOME modern aſſerters of the world's eternity have gone on very different principles from theſe antients, and ventured to affirm the material univerſe to be ſelf-exiſtent, and the ſupreme Deity itſelf. This is the doctrine of *Spinoza*, the firſt, as is ſuppoſed, who reduced atheiſm into a ſyſtem, by regular deductions, after the method of the mathematicians. But as the fundamental opinion, whereon he erected that ſyſtem, was not new, it may be proper, before we ſpeak of him, to ſay ſomething of thoſe who led him the way, though he has departed from them in ſome reſpects.

The opinion of Xenophanes, *and his followers;*

THAT the univerſe is but one ſubſtance, and that GOD and the world are but one and the ſame thing, hath been an opinion of ſome ſtanding, and is ſuppoſed to have been firſt taught by *Xenophanes*, the founder of the ſect afterwards called the *Eleatic*. He is ſaid to have held not only the eternity and immutability of the world [e], but alſo, that whatever exiſted was one being; that there was neither any generation nor corruption; that this one being was immoveable, and remained always the ſame [f], and was the true GOD [g]; which doctrine was not only defended by his ſucceſſors, *Parmenides*, *Meliſſus*, and *Zeno* of *Elea*, but by *Stilpo*, and the *Megaric* philoſophers alſo. And to obviate the objection, which might be brought againſt the unchangeable nature of the univerſe, from the continual alterations made therein, by new generations and corruptions, they maintained, that whatever changes it ſeemed to ſuffer, were no more than illuſions of our ſenſes, and mere appearances. Which laſt retreat they are eaſily beaten from: for ſince they cannot deny, but there are changes in the world in appearance at leaſt, it even thence follows, that nature is not immutable, but muſt neceſſarily be changed in the ſubject which produces, or receives our ſenſations; and thoſe ſenſations, being paſſions, imply both an efficient cauſe,

[e] PLUTARCH. apud Euſeb. de Præparat. Evang. l. 1. cap. 8. & l. 15. cap. 35. [f] ARISTOCLES de Philoſoph. apud Eund. l. 14. cap. 17. Vid. etiam ARISTOT. de Xenophane, Zenone, & Gorgia, in initio, & CICER. in Lucullo. [g] CICER. Quæſt. Acad. lib. 2. Vid. etiam SEXTUM EMPIRIC. in Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. l. 1.

and

and a paſſive principle, which overthrows at once their pretended unity of all things [h].

NEVERTHELESS this opinion of *Zenophanes* and his followers, that all things are one, which ſeems ſo impious and abſurd, has been ſo explained by ſeveral learned men [i], and themſelves defended, as if by the univerſe or *all*, they meant not the material principle of which all things are compoſed, but that one ſimple principle, from whence all things had their original, that is, the true GOD, whom they expreſly affirm to be incorporeal [k]; and therefore could not poſſibly be, in their opinion, the material world. But the writings of theſe philoſophers being not without obſcurity, ſome of the antients, who were leſs acquainted with metaphyſical ſpeculations, underſtood them phyſically; as if they had aſſerterd the whole corporeal world to be all but one thing, and that immoveable; thereby deſtroying, together with the diverſity of things, all motion, mutation, and action; which was plainly to make them not to have been philoſophers, but madmen. *Simplicius* [l], a man well acquainted with the opinions of antient philoſophers, aſſures us, that *Xenophanes* and *Parmenides* herein wrote not as naturaliſts, but as metaphyſicians, not concerning a phyſical element, or principle, but concerning the true Being, or the divine tranſcendency; adding, that though ſome of thoſe antient philoſophers did not diſtinguiſh natural things from ſupernatural, yet the *Pythagoreans*, and *Xenophanes*, and *Parmenides*, and *Empedocles*, and *Anaxagoras*, did all handle theſe two diſtinctly, however, by reaſon of their obſcurity, it were not perceived by many; for which cauſe they have been moſt of them miſrepreſented, not only by pagans, but alſo by chriſtians [m], And in fact, when theſe *Eleatics* come to treat of natural things, they plainly acknowledge them to be compounded of different principles. *Xenophanes* ſuppoſed, that the earth conſiſted of air and fire [n], and that all things were produced out of the earth, and the ſun and ſtars out of clouds [o]: he alſo held, that there were four elements [p]. *Parmenides* made a profeſſed diſtinction between

[h] Vid. ARISTOCLEM. ubi ſupra. [i] LESCALOPIER, in Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 44. Art de penſer, part III. cap. 18. & CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 377. & 383, &c. [k] CUDWORTH, p. 378, 383, &c. [l] SIMPLIC. in Phyſ. ARISTOT. p. 5, 6, &c. [m] CUDWORTH, p. 383. See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Xenophanes, Remarq. L. [n] PLUTARCH. apud. Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. cap. 55. [o] Idem, in Strom. apud. Eund. l. 1. cap. 8. [p] DIOGEN. LAERT. in Vita Zenoph. p. 558.

the

the doctrine concerning theological and metaphyſical things, called by him *truth*, and that concerning phyſical and corporeal things, which he called *opinion*. In the former of which doctrines he aſſerted one immoveable principle, but in the latter two moveable ones, fire and earth, or heat and cold, the firſt being the workman, and the other the matter [q]; he taught, that the earth was formed of a denſer air, which ſubſided [r], and that mankind was firſt produced out of mud [s]. Which notions concerning the origin of things he ſeems to have received from *Archelaus* the *Ionic*, whoſe auditor he is ſaid to have been. And with them *Zeno* alſo agreed, holding, that the nature of all things aroſe from a mixture of heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture; and that man was generated of the earth, being equally compounded of the aforeſaid principles, ſo that neither predominated [t].

Of Strato Lampſacenus.

WHETHER *Strato* of *Lampſacus* held the unity of all things or no, is a doubt; for though he made nature inanimate, and acknowledged no GOD but nature [u], yet it is not certain, that he taught the univerſe, or nature, to be one ſimple being. From his ridiculing the atoms of *Democritus* [x], it has been thought reaſonable to imagine, that he admitted no difference between the parts of the univerſe; but this is allowed to be no neceſſary conſequence. It may be only concluded, that his opinion approaches infinitely nearer to *Spinoziſm*, than the corpuſcular ſyſtem. There is likewiſe ſome room to believe, that he did not teach, as the Atomiſts did, that the world was a new work, and produced by chance; but, as the *Spinoziſts* do, that nature produced it neceſſarily, and from all eternity [y]. *Plutarch* indeed tells us [z], that he held that which was natural to follow that which was fortuitous, as if he allowed ſomething to chance, at firſt motion, or impreſſion at leaſt, which was afterwards perfected by nature, or the plaſtic life, ſuppoſed by him to be in every part of matter; making the mundane ſyſtem to depend upon a certain mixture of chance, and plaſtic or orderly

[q] SIMPLIC. ubi ſupra, & DIOG. LAERT. in Vita Parmenidis, p. 560. [r] PLUTARCH. apud Euſeb ubi ſup. l. 1. cap. 8. [s] DIOG. LAERT. loco citato. CICERO, in Lucullo. SIMPLIC. & THEMIST. in lib. 1. Phyſic. Ariſt. [t] DIOG. LAERT. in vita Zenon. p. 566. [u] CICERO, de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & Quæſt. Acad. l. 2. LACTANTIUS, de Ira Dei, cap 10. [x] CICERO, Quæſt. Acad. ubi ſupra. [y] BAYLE, Dict Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. [z] PLUTARCH. Adv. Colotem. p. 1115.

nature,

nature, both together[a]. But as his opinion is repreſented by *Lactantius*[b], he rejected all chance, which was the great difference between him and the *Epicureans*, and affirmed, that nature had in itſelf a generative and vital power, but had neither ſenſe nor figure; ſo that all things were, as he imagined, generated of their own accord, without the aſſiſtance of any Former, or Author.

Of Alexander the Epicurean, and ſome heretical chriſtians.

BUT whatever was the real notion of this greateſt of the peripatetic philoſophers[c], it is certain, that *Alexander* the *Epicurean*, who is ſuppoſed to have been contemporary with *Plutarch*[d], maintained, that GOD is matter, or not diſtinct from it; that all things are eſſentially GOD, and that forms are imaginary accidents, which have no real exiſtence; and therefore he held all things to be ſubſtantially the ſame[e]. Some heretical chriſtians have alſo embraced this extravagant opinion; as one *Amalric* in particular, whoſe dead body was taken up, and burnt in the beginning of the thirteenth century[f], for having in his life-time taught that all things were GOD, and GOD was all things, and the eſſence of all creatures; ſo that the creator and the creature were the ſame; and that GOD was therefore called the end of all things, becauſe all returned into him[g]. Which ſentiments of his were followed by his ſcholar *David* of *Dinant*, and ſeveral others[h]; the learned *Peter Abelard* having alſo been accuſed of holding the ſame opinion[i].

Of certain ſects among the Japaneſe, and Mohammedans.

NOR has this notion been confined to *Europe* only, it having alſo made no ſmall progreſs in the eaſt. A conſiderable ſect among the *Japaneſe* teach, that there is but one principle of all things; that this principle is ſimple, clear, luminous, incapable of encreaſe or diminution, without figure, perfect in the higheſt degree, wiſe, but void of reaſon or underſtanding, leading a life of perfect inaction, eaſe, and tranquillity, like a man, whoſe attention is ſtrongly fixed on one thing, regardleſs of all other. They hold, that this

[a] Vid. CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſtem, p. 108. and BAYLE's Dict. loco citato. [b] LACTANTIUS, de Ira Dei, loco citato. [c] So PLUTARCH calls him in the paſſage above quoted. [d] THOMASIUS, Diſſertat. xiv. ad Philoſoph. Stoic. p. 199. [e] ALBERTUS MAGNUS, in 1 Phyſic. Tract. 3. c. 13. [f] V. PRATEOLUM, in Elencho Hæreſ Voce Amalricus, p. 23. He adds, that, according to ſome authors, this heretic, and his adherents, were burnt alive. [g] THOMASIUS, loco citato, ex GERSON. Tractat. de Concordia Metaphyſ. cum Logic. [h] See the authors juſt cited, and BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. [i] BAYLE, ibid.

principle

principle is in all particular beings, and communicates his eſſence to them, in ſuch a manner, that they are the ſame thing with him, and are reſolved into him when they are deſtroyed[k]. The ſect called by the *Mohammedans al Zenâdika*, (the ſingular of which is *Zendik*) do alſo maintain, that whatſoever we ſee, or is in the world, is GOD[l]. And the famous *Abu Moſlem*, by whoſe conduct and ſucceſs the Khalifat was tranſlated, from the family of *Omeya* to that of *Abbâs*, is ſaid to have held the ſame opinion, and that all things returned at laſt into one common principle, or GOD; which opinion, ſome have ſuppoſed to be what the *Arabian* authors call the Metempſycoſis of reſolution[m], and differs little, if any thing, from that of a later ſect, who ſprang up among the *Mohammedans* about 300 years ago, and call themſelves *Ahl al tahkik*, or *people of certainty*: they believe, that there is no other God than the four elements, which, together with the world, and all its changes and viciſſitudes, they aſſert to be eternal; and that mankind, as well as other beings, are a compound of thoſe elements, of which they are formed, and into which they return, and are diſſipated. Of this ſect there are great numbers in the province of *Lar* in *Perſia*[n].

The dogm of the ſoul of the world.

THE dogm of the ſoul of the world, which is not only common at this time in the eaſt, but was ſo among the antients, and made the chief part of the *Stoic* ſyſtem, is at the bottom the ſame with that of *Spinoza*[o]: but as he differed from the *Stoics*, not only in contracting GOD's knowledge, which they allowed to be univerſal, and in denying his providence; but alſo in aſſerting the preſent diſpoſition of the world to have been neceſſary and eternal, and conſequently ſubject to no decay, contrary to their expreſs doctrine, it will be more proper to conſider that opinion under the next head. We ſhall only obſerve here, that ſome heterodox *Stoics*, as *Boëthius* in particular, did not only deny the world to be an animal, or intelligent being[p], ſubſtituting in the

[k] POSSEVIN. Biblioth. Select. Tom. I. lib. x. cap. 11. p. 411, &c. See alſo BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Japon, Rem. D.
[l] Viaggi di PIETRO DELLA VALLE, Tom. III. p. 324.
[m] الجامع لابن العميد EBN AL AMID, in vita Khalifæ al Mansûr. See a more preciſe account of this opinion in Mr. Sale's preliminary diſcourſe to his tranſlation of the Korân, p. 176, and 182. [n] DELLA VALLE, Tom. III. p. 392.
[o] V. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. [p] DIOG. LAERT. in Vita Zenonis Cit. p. 455.

room

room of its mind or ſoul a plaſtic nature; but alſo aſſerted the world's eternity and incorruptibility, or one conſtant and invariable courſe or tenor of things[q]. The elder *Pliny* ſeems alſo to have been of this opinion; for he declares, that the world, and that which by another name is called heaven, by whoſe circular motion all things are governed, ought to be believed to be an eternal and immenſe deity, ſuch as was neither made, nor ſhall ever be deſtroyed[r].

SPINOZA taught, that there is no difference of ſubſtances, but that the whole, and every part of the material world, is a neceſſarily exiſtent being, and conſequently infinite[s]; that there is no other GOD but the univerſe[t], and that extenſion is one of his attributes[u]: that ſince it is abſolutely impoſſible for any thing to be created or produced by another, and alſo abſolutely impoſſible for GOD to have cauſed any thing to be, in any reſpect, different from what it now is[x]; every thing that exiſts muſt needs be ſo a part of the divine ſubſtance, not as a modification cauſed in it by any will or good pleaſure, or wiſdom in the whole (for he expreſly denies GOD to act by any freedom of will[y]; or for the ſake of final cauſes[z]) but as of abſolute neceſſity in itſelf, with reſpect to the matter of the exiſtence of each part, no leſs than with reſpect to the ſelf-exiſtence of the whole. So that the opinion of *Spinoza* evidently comes to this; that the univerſe, or material world is GOD, or the ſelf-exiſtent being; and that all particular beings, corporeal extenſion, the ſun, moon, planets, animals, men, their motions, ideas, imaginations, and appetites, are all neceſſary modifications of him[a]

The opinion of Spinoza.

THIS monſtrous ſyſtem, tho' it has met with ſome patrons, has yet been ſufficiently expoſed, and confuted by even the weakeſt of its adverſaries[b], and indeed carries its antidote along with it. For *Spinoza*, to avoid the abovementioned inſuperable objection made to the *Eleatics*, who held the univerſe to be immutable, falls into a worſe extremity, and attributes a continual change, and corruption to

Confuted.

[q] PHILO JUD. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi, p. 947. Poſidonius and Panætius alſo maintained the World to be eternal Ibid.
[r] PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 2. c. 1. [s] SPINOZA, in Ethic. Part I. Prop. 6, 7, and 8. [t] Ibid. Prop. 14. [u] Ibid. in Schol. ad Prop. 15, & Part II. Prop. 2. [x] Ibid. Part I. Prop. 6, & 33. [y] Ibid. Prop. 32. Coroll. 1. [z] Ibid. in Append. ad Prop. 36.
[a] See Dr. CLARK's Demonſtr. &c. p. 28, &c. & BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. DD. [b] Vid. BAYLE, ibid. Rem. M. & P.

the divine nature, in reſpect of its various modifications: which doctrine ſhocks common ſenſe, it being horrible to ſuppoſe the Deity both the cauſe, and ſubject of all the moral, and phyſical evils, which are ſo frequent in the world; and what can be more abſurd, than to imagine matter, the vileſt of all things, the theatre of all changes, and the field of battle of contrary cauſes, to be that ſupreme, perfect being, *with whom is no variableneſs, neither ſhadow of turning*[c]? The very foundations of this hypotheſis are in a moment overturned, if we admit either a vacuum, or the diviſibility of matter, the one deſtroying the infinity, and the other the unity of GOD[d]; and therefore the *Spinoziſts* conſtantly deny both, ridiculouſly pretending, that there can be no diviſion of matter, unleſs one part be ſeparated from the other by empty ſpace. It ſeems alſo impoſſible, according to this ſyſtem, that the Deity can be an intelligent being: for perception and intelligence being really a diſtinct quality, or perfection, and not a mere effect, or compoſition of unintelligent figure and motion, as has been well proved[e]; it follows, that GOD could not poſſibly be poſſeſſed even of that imperfect underſtanding, allowed him by *Spinoza*, which however being wholly ſeparate from any power of will or choice, is, in any reſpect, of any excellency, or indeed to any common ſenſe, the very ſame thing as no underſtanding at all[f]. Mr. *Hobbes*, who alſo held, that there was no ſubſtance diſtinct from matter, being preſſed in his own mind with the difficulty ariſing from the impoſſibility of ſenſe, or conſciouſneſs being merely the effect of figure and motion, is forced to recur to that prodigiouſly abſurd ſuppoſition of the antient *Hylozoics*, that all matter, as matter, is indued not only with figure, and a capacity of motion, but alſo with an actual ſenſe or perception; and wants only the organs, and memory of animals, to expreſs its ſenſation[g].

The opinion of thoſe who held the matter of the world to be eternal, but not the form.

THE ſecond opinion, that the ſubſtance of the univerſe is eternal, tho' the form be not, was generally embraced by the antients, who from that eſtabliſhed axiom, *That nothing can be produced from nothing*[h], concluded the creation of

[c] Jam. i. 17. See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. ubi ſup. Rem. N. [d] Tho' Spinoza allows GOD to be one, yet he aſſerts, that GOD cannot be ſaid to be one, or a ſimple Being, in Propriety of Speech, Opera Poſthuma, Ep. 50. p. 557. [e] Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtr. &c. p. 61, &c. [f] Ibid. 55. [g] HOBBES Phyſic, cap. 25. Sect. 5. See Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſupra, p. 63. [h] Ex nihilo nihil.

matter

matter to be an abſolute impoſſibility; but at the ſame time thought, they had good reaſon to believe, the world had not always been in its preſent ſtate and diſpoſition. They who held this opinion may be divided into two claſſes. The firſt endeavoured to account for the generation of the world, or its reduction into the preſent form, from mechanical principles only, and the activity of matter, without having recourſe to the aſſiſtance of any divine power; the other introduced an intelligent mind, as the architect and diſpoſer of all things. But before we produce their ſeveral ſyſtems and notions, it may be proper to examine the principles they proceed upon more nearly.

THERE is no doubt, but that the creation of matter, on due weighing the arguments for and againſt it, will appear to be ſo far from impoſſible [j], that it muſt neceſſarily be admitted [k]. For if it be abſurd to imagine matter to be the only ſubſtance, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn, it is much more ſo to ſuppoſe two, or more, eternal beings; which yet was not by the antients thought to be contradictory. But this impious poſition, that GOD is not the creator of matter, being once laid down for truth, thoſe philoſophers who made GOD the former, preſerver, and director of the world, notwithſtanding their ſeeming orthodoxy, argued much more inconſiſtently, than thoſe who denied him to have any concern with it. For if matter was an eternal uncreated being, and diſtinct from GOD, it owed its exiſtence to its own nature only, depending on no other cauſe, either in reſpect of its eſſence, or its properties. And it is contrary to all rules of reaſon, that another being ſhould exerciſe ſo great a power over matter as entirely to change it, and form a world out of that which had been ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity without being a world. If GOD's right to act in this manner be founded on this ſuperior power, the ſame title would authorize all uſurpations, and confound all notions of right and wrong. If it be ſaid, that GOD dealt thus arbitrarily with matter out of a principle of goodneſs, on a ſuppoſition of its inſenſibility, and precedent imperfection; the anſwer which has been given is, that ſuch a work would not be ſo much an inſtance of GOD's goodneſs, as an effect of ſuperfluous diligence, in endeavouring to put in order what he had not created, as if any order or perfection could be wanting in a being which had eternally ſub-

The abſurdity of ſuppoſing matter to be uncreated.

[j] See before, p. 2, & 3. [k] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagoras, Rem. G. p. 212. & Art. Hierocles Philoſophe, Rem A.

ſiſted of itſelf; for all acceſſions to ſuch a being muſt be foreign to its nature, and conſequently a defect. GOD therefore muſt in ſuch a caſe have begun his work by an ill action, in going about to diveſt of its natural ſtate a ſubſtance, uncreated as well as himſelf, and his own ſifter [l].

ON the other hand, they who attribute the formation of the univerſe to mere matter and motion, without the intervention of a Deity, tho' they avoid the above-mentioned abſurdities, yet fall into other difficulties as inextricable, by ſuppoſing the *eternal motion of matter*; which they are obliged to do, if they will not contradict their own maxim, and admit motion at leaſt to be produced out of nothing. But if motion be eternal, it was either eternally cauſed by ſome eternal intelligent being, which would again introduce the Deity whom they had excluded: or it muſt be of itſelf neceſſary and ſelf-exiſtent; whence it would follow, that it muſt be a contradiction in terms to ſuppoſe any matter to be at reſt, or to ſuppoſe that there might poſſibly have been originally more or leſs motion in the univerſe, than there actually was; both which are conſequences too abſurd and ridiculous for any to admit: or elſe, without any neceſſity in its own nature, and without any external neceſſary cauſe, it muſt have exiſted from eternity by an endleſs ſucceſſive communication; which is alſo a plain contradiction: for an infinite ſucceſſion of merely dependent beings, without any original cauſe, is a ſeries of beings, which has neither neceſſity nor cauſe, nor any reaſon at all of its exiſtence, neither within itſelf, nor from without; that is, 'tis an expreſs impoſſibility. A late author [m] indeed has ventured to aſſert, and pretended to prove, that motion, that is the *conatus*, or endeavour to move, is eſſential to all matter: but how philoſophically, may appear from this one conſideration. The *conatus* to motion in any one particle of matter muſt be either a *conatus* to move ſome one determinate way at once, or to move every way at once: a *conatus* to move ſome one determinate way cannot be eſſential to any particle of matter, but muſt ariſe from ſome external cauſe; becauſe there is nothing in the pretended neceſſary nature of any particle to determine its motion, neceſſarily and eſſentially one way, rather than another: and a *conatus* equally to move every way at once, is either an abſolute contradiction, or at leaſt can produce nothing in matter, but an eternal reſt of all, and every one of its parts [n].

[l] HIEROCLES, apud Photium in Biblioth. Cod. CCCLI. p. 1380. See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Epicure, Rem. S. & Art. Hierocles, ubi ſupra. [m] Mr. TOLAND, Lett. 3. [n] See Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtr. p. 66, 14, and 25.

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THE ſtate, wherein theſe philoſophers conceived matter to have eternally been before the formation of the world, is alſo liable to ſeveral objections. They generally ſuppoſed the original of the earth to have been from a chaos, or dark, confuſed, fluid maſs, without diſtinction of elements, and made up of all variety of parts [o], but without order, or any determinate form. To this chaos they attributed a certain motion, ariſing from the action and reaction of the firſt four qualities, and the different tending of the particles of earth and water downwards, and their air and fire upwards. This motion they abſurdly enough imagined to have been irregular, and diſorderly [p], till it was ſtopped or changed into a regular and natural motion, either by chance, or divine power. But *Ariſtotle* has long ago obſerved, that the ſuppoſition of ſuch an irregular motion deſtroys itſelf; for it is impoſſible, that what is infinite and eternal ſhould be moved in a diſorderly manner, but muſt neceſſarily have a regular and natural motion; whence it follows, that the production of the world would rather have been an overturning, than introducing the true natural ſtate: for which reaſon he ſays, *Anaxagoras* ſeemed to have been in the right, when he began his formation of the world from matter entirely at reſt [q]. So that if we admit the motion of the chaotic particles to have been natural, and according to their ſeveral qualities and properties, the very poſſibility of matter's having continued in that ſtate from eternity is deſtroyed, becauſe we then introduce a principle, which will neceſſarily ſeparate the ſeveral kinds of bodies one from the other, and that in a certain limited ſpace of time. This principle alſo renders the aſſiſtance of a Deity unneceſſary; for if the chaos be acknowledged to have in itſelf all the internal power that is requiſite for the ſeparation of its parts, and the placing of every element in its proper ſituation,

Objections to the ſtate of matter before the formation of the world, according to this opinion.

[o] Mr. BAYLE ſuppoſes Ovid took the chaos to have been entirely homogeneous, becauſe in his fine deſcription of it, in the firſt book of his Metamorphoſis, he ſays, that there was then but one face of nature in the world: which is inconſiſtent with what he preſently adds of the diſagreeing principles of which the chaos conſiſted. But that expreſſion may rather be underſtood of the uniformity of the whole, as being equally, in every part, a promiſcuous compound of all the elements. Vid. Dict. Hiſt. Art. Ovide, Rem. G. [p] PLATO in Timæo, apud ARISTOT. de Cœlo, lib. III. cap. 2. p. 370. Ovid. Metam. l. 1. [q] ARISTOT. de Cœlo, loco citato.

there can be no occaſion for the intervention of any external cauſe.

To reaſon well therefore concerning the production of the world, we muſt conſider GOD as the author of matter, and as the firſt and ſole principle of motion. If we cannot raiſe our minds ſo high as to conceive a creation properly ſo called, which way ever we turn, we ſhall find ourſelves driven to aſſertions and ſuppoſitions directly contrary to reaſon, and be involved in an endleſs labyrinth of abſurdities and contradictions [r].

Theſe philoſophers right in ſuppoſing the world had a beginning.

BUT however they who held this opinion were miſtaken in accounting for the origin of the world, they had great reaſon to aſſert that it had a beginning, and was once formed out of a confuſed chaos. For though the preciſe time of this formation could not have been exactly known, without revelation; yet even at this day, there are remaining many conſiderable, and very ſtrong rational proofs, which make it exceeding probable, that this preſent frame and conſtitution of the earth, at leaſt, has been of no very antient date. The changes which muſt neceſſarily fall out naturally in the earth in a vaſt length of time, by petrification, the ſinking and waſhing down of mountains, the daily encroaching of the land upon the ſea, the conſumption of water by plants, and innumerable other accidents; the univerſal tradition of the moſt antient nations, both learned and barbarous; the number of men with which the earth is at preſent inhabited; the late original and invention of all uſeful arts and ſciences; the ſhortneſs of the hiſtory of the world, which reaches up but to a very few ages; the manifeſt abſurdities and contradictions of thoſe few accounts, which pretend to a greater antiquity; the impoſſibility that univerſal deluges, or other accidents, ſhould at certain long periods have oftentimes deſtroyed far the greateſt part of mankind, with the memory of all former actions and inventions, and yet never have happened to deſtroy them all; theſe, and many more arguments drawn from nature, reaſon, and obſervation, make it exceeding probable, that the formation of the earth was novel, and of no great antiquity. And it is not to be doubted, but that the doctrine of thoſe antient poets and philoſophers, who taught, that the world had a beginning, was founded on ſtill more antient

[r] See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Ovide, Rem. G.

traditions,

traditions, which were ſo many authorities to them, as their teſtimonies are at this day to us [r].

HAVING obſerved thus much, it is time to take a view of the different hypotheſes, which may be ranged under this head; and we ſhall begin with thoſe, who, excluding all divine interpoſition, accounted for the formation of the univerſe, from the properties and action of matter only.

AND with this doctrine the moſt antient profane accounts we have now remaining of the original of the world, *viz.* the *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, and *Babylonian*, have been charged; but whether juſtly or no, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader, after we ſhall have laid before him, firſt the accounts themſelves, and then the obſervations which have been made on them.

The Phœnician coſmogony.

THE firſt of them is that of the *Phœnicians*, which has been tranſmitted to us by *Sanchoniatho*, one of their own writers, and was originally taken, as he aſſures us, from the coſmogony of *Taautus*, who was the ſame with the *Egyptian Thoyth*, or *Hermes* [t]. He wrote, that the firſt principle of the univerſe was a dark and ſpiritual (or windy) air, or a ſpirit of dark air, and a turbid obſcure chaos; and that theſe things were infinite, and for many ages had no bounds. But when the ſpirit was affected with love towards its own principles, and a mixture followed, that conjunction was called *deſire*. This was the beginning of the formation of all things; but the ſpirit did not know (or acknowledge) its own production. From this conjunction of the ſpirit was begotten *Môt* [u], which ſome call *mud*, c-

[r] See Dr. NICHOLL's Conf. with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part I. p. 26, &c. Dr. BURNET's Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 4. p. 49. Dr. CLARKE's Diſcourſe concerning the evidences of natural and revealed Religion, p. 252. [t] SANCHONIATHO, apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. [u] *Môt*, BOCHART derives this word from the Arabic مادّ *Madah*, which ſignifies, as he ſays, the firſt Matter of Things. But as SANCHONIATHO makes the Chaos, and not *Môt*, to be the firſt material principle, Biſhop CUMBERLAND thinks it may better be accounted for from another Arabic Word, which needs no ſuch changes, as he is forced to preſume: and that is ماث *Matha*, which ſignifies to ſteep, or macerate in water; موث *Mawth*, the Noun, denotes ſuch a Confuſion, or Solution, as is thereby made; a Mucilage, as Phyſicians ſpeak. CUMBERL. Remarks on the Coſmogony of Sanchon. p. 4. By what is afterwards ſaid of *Môt*'s ſhining forth with the Sun, Moon, and Stars, it ſeems THOYTH conſidered the Earth as a Planet. Vid. ib. p. 18.

thers a corruption of a watry mixture; and of this came the ſeed of all creatures, and the generation of the univerſe. That there were certain animals which had no ſenſe, from which proceeded intelligent animals called *Zophaſemin* [x], that is, *the contemplators of heaven*, being formed alike in the ſhape of an egg: immediately *Môt*, with the ſun, moon, ſtars, and larger conſtellations, ſhone forth. That the air being intenſely enlightened by the violent degree of heat communicated to the ſea and earth, winds were generated, and clouds, and great deſcents and defluxions of the heavenly waters; and when they were ſeparated, and drawn from their proper place by the heat of the ſun, and then met all again in the air, and daſhed the one againſt the other, thunders and lightnings were engendered; and at the noiſe of the thunders the before-mentioned intelligent animals awoke, and were terrified with the ſound, and male and female moved in the earth and in the ſea [y].

Remarks thereon. EUSEBIUS of *Cæſarea*, to whom we are obliged for preſerving this fragment, obſerves, that this coſmogony of the *Phœnicians* directly brings in atheiſm [z], *Sanchoniatho* having thereing delivered no divinity or theology concerning the ſupreme GOD, nor concerning the inhabitants of heaven [a], or angels. Which animadverſion has been approved, and purſued by a late very learned man [b], who, with great reaſon, looked on this account of the origin of things as a profeſſed apology for the idolatrous worſhip paid to dead men, and the ſeveral parts of the univerſe; *Thoyth* having led his tranſcriber into the fouleſt ſink of heatheniſm, which his neglect of the ſovereign and only true GOD, in the making, and conſequently of the governing of the world; endeavoured to eſtabliſh the vain and fooliſh religion of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who worſhipped the creature more than the creator [c], by pretending to give a generation of the world, without any help from GOD, and ſuppoſing, that the heathen deities, the *Zophaſemin*, which were the planets and fixed ſtars, paſſed gradually from the

[x] ZOPHASEMIN. צופי שמים *Sophe Shamaim* in Hebrew, or Phœnician, ſignifies the Spies, or Obſervers of Heaven. Theſe Animals were not the Angels, as BOCHART imagines, but the Celeſtial Bodies, which SANCHON. ſuppoſes to be intelligent, and therefore were adored as Gods. Vid. ib. p. 21. [y] SANCHON. apud Euſeb. ubi ſupra [z] EUSEB. ibid. p 33. [a] Idem. l. 1. cap. 9. p. 31. [b] Biſhop CUMBERLAND, in his Remarks on the Coſmogony of Sanchoniatho. [c] Vid. Rom. i. 19, &c.

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life of planets, which have no ſenſe (and yet ſome of them were worſhipped) through the ſtate of ſenſible animals, which were more ſolemnly ſerved, till at length they came to be perfect intelligences [d], and ſo worthy to challenge the higheſt worſhip which they gave to them, in which their ſtate-religion reſted.

ON the other hand it has been remarked, that it is well known, *Euſebius* took all advantages poſſible to repreſent the pagans to the worſt, and render their theology ridiculous and abſurd [e]; and that if the beſt interpretation be put on the words of *Sanchoniatho*, it is not improbable, that the *Phœnicians* ſuppoſed two principles, of which one was a turbid dark chaos, and the other a ſpirit [f], or an underſtanding prolifical goodneſs, forming and hatching the corporeal world into perfection [g], the eternity of which ſpirit ſeems alſo to be aſſerted by what follows, that it knew not its own generation, that is, had no original at all. But this *Phœnician* coſmogony being confeſſedly taken from that of *Thoyth*, and conſequently agreeing in ſubſtance with the *Egyptian*, which is therefore under the ſame imputation of atheiſm, judgment may be ſuſpended, till that be conſidered alſo.

The Egyptian coſmogony.

THE account of the origin of the univerſe, given us by *Diodorus Siculus*, is generally ſuppoſed to be the coſmogony of the *Egyptians* [h], though *Diodorus* himſelf does not ſay ſo much; and is as follows: When the univerſe firſt coaleſced, heaven and earth were of one form, their nature being blended together; but afterwards, as bodies ſeparated, the world took on it the entire diſpoſition wherein we now behold it, and the air began to have a conſtant motion; upon which its fiery parts flew to the upper regions, being naturally carried upwards by their own levity; and hence proceeded the rapid circular motion of the ſun and other ſtars. The muddy and turbid matter, after it had been incorporated with the humid, ſubſided in one place by its own weight, and being agitated with continual internal volutations, of the watery parts the ſea became formed, and of

[d] Νοεραὶ. [e] CUDWORTH'S Intellect. Syſtem, p. 319.
[f] Πνεῦμα; which Biſhop CUMBERLAND tranſlates *Wind*.
[g] CUDWORTH, p. 21. [h] EUSEBIUS ſeems to be of the ſame Opinion, though he entitles the Chapter, wherein he tranſcribes this Paſſage from Diodorus, (being the 7th of his 1ſt Book de Præp. Ev. *Of the Coſmogony according to the* Greeks, in regard of their Agreement in general with it, the Grecian Philoſophers having, as is notorious, received their Phyſiology from the Egyptians.

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the more ſolid the earth, which was ſlimy and very ſoft at firſt, but ſtiffening by the rays of the ſun, the ſurface began to ferment, by reaſon of the heat; and ſome of the humid parts ſwelled, and roſe by degrees into putrid puſtules, covered with thin membranes. The humid matter, being thus fœcundated by the genial heat, by night received nutriment from the miſt falling from the ambient air, and by day grew more and more ſolid by the ſun's warmth, till at length the incloſed brood being arrived at perfect maturity, and the membranes burnt up and burſt, all kinds of creatures were produced. Of which thoſe which had obtained the greater degree of heat, became volatiles, and flew upwards; thoſe in which the earthy concretion prevailed, were placed in the rank of reptiles, and other terreſtial animals; and the creatures which chiefly conſiſted of a watery nature, repaired to a congenial element, and were called fiſh. At length the earth, continually hardening more and more by the heat of the ſun, and by the winds, could no longer produce any of the larger animals; but they began to propagate their ſeveral ſpecies by generation. And, to obviate any objection againſt the poſſibility of the earth's producing living creatures, our author inſtances in the vaſt number of mice, which are ſaid to be bred in the *Upper Egypt* out of the putrified mud, after the overflowing of the *Nile* [l].

Remarks thereon.

THIS coſmogony, as has been obſerved [k], agrees in ſubſtance with the former, but is more large (as later commentaries uſed to be) in particulars, and nice attempts to a mechanic explication of the generation of the world, without any help from GOD [l]: which conſent is an argument that they took their notions from the ſame fountain, *Thoyth*. And *Euſebius* makes the ſame animadverſion on this latter, as he does on the former; that the name of GOD is not ſo much as mentioned therein, but a kind of fortuitous and ſpontaneous formation of the univerſe introduced [m]. To confirm which judgment, he in another place recites a paſſage of *Porphyry*, who, in his epiſtle to *Anebo*, an *Egyptian* prieſt, writes, that *Chæremon*, and others thought, there was nothing prior to the viſible worlds, and began their diſcourſes with the *Egyptian* gods, which were no o-

[l] DIOD. SIC. lib. 1. p. 7, 8. The account of the coſmogony given in a ſpurious book, attributed to *Hermes*, entitled *Divine Sermons*, is purpoſely omitted, as of no authority or credit.

[k] Vid. GROTIUM de veritate Rel. Chriſt. l. 1, ſect. 16. in notis. [l] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 9. [m] EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 7. p. 21.

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ther than the planets, and ſtars which fill the zodiac, or thoſe which riſe with them; foraſmuch as they who made the ſun the Demiurgus, or *architect of the world*, interpreted their ſtories of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, and the reſt of their ſacred fables, altogether into the ſtars and planets, and the river *Nile*; and explained all things univerſally into natural or inanimate, and nothing into incorporeal and living ſubſtances. From whence *Euſebius* infers, that even the ſecret theology of the *Egyptians* deified no other than the ſtars and planets, and acknowledged no incorporeal principle of the univerſe, nor any demiurgic reaſon, GOD, or gods, or intelligent and inviſible powers, but the viſible ſun only, referring the production of all things to the material, ſenſeleſs, and periſhable elements [n]. Herewith agrees alſo that conciſe account of the *Egyptian* philoſophy given us by *Diogenes Laertius* [o] from *Manetho* and *Hecatæus*; that matter was the firſt principle, out of which the four elements were afterwards ſeparated, and all kinds of animals perfectly formed; and that the ſun and moon were their gods, the one being called *Oſiris*, and the other *Iſis*.

FROM this imputation of acknowledging no Deity beſides ſtupid matter, the *Egyptians* have been ſtrenuouſly defended by a very able man [p], who thinks what *Euſebius* urges againſt them to be of the leſs weight, becauſe he plainly contradicts it elſewhere, by declaring, that that nation profeſſed the belief of a demiurgic reaſon, and intellectual architect of the world, whom, he tells us, from the ſame *Porphyry*, they called *Cneph*, and ſymbolically repreſented in the ſhape of a man of a dark blue complexion, holding a girdle and a ſceptre, with a royal plume on his head, and thruſting forth an egg out of his mouth, from whence proceeded another god, whom they named *Phtha*, and the *Greeks Vulcan*. The reaſon of which hieroglyphic is thus given: becauſe this intellectual being is difficult to be found out, hidden, and inviſible, and becauſe he is the giver of life, and king of all things, and becauſe he is moved in an intellectual or ſpiritual manner, which is ſignified by the feathers on his head. The egg, which proceeds from the mouth of this god, is interpreted to be the world [q]. The firſt moſt divine Being was alſo ſometimes deſcribed as a ſerpent with a hawk's head, beautiful to look on; who,

[n] Idem, ibid. l. 3. c. 4. [o] In proœmio, p. 8. [p] Dr. CUDWORTH, in his Intell. Syſtem, p. 317, &c. [q] EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 3. c. 11. p. 115.

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if he opens his eyes, fills the univerſe with light in his firſt-born region; but if he winks, darkneſs is made [r]. And as for that paſſage in *Porphyry*'s epiſtle concerning *Chæremon*, where he only propounds doubts to *Anebo*, as deſiring further information from him concerning them, *Iamblichus* has given an anſwer to it, under the perſon of *Abammo*, another *Egyptian* prieſt, who ſays, that *Chæremon*, and thoſe others who pretend to write of the firſt cauſes of the world, declare only the laſt, and loweſt principles, as likewiſe thoſe who treat of the planets, zodiac, and other aſtronomical matters: for the *Egyptians* did not reſolve all things into nature, but diſtinguiſhed both the life of the ſoul, and the intellectual life, from that of nature, not in the univerſe only, but in man alſo; acknowledging an intellectual mind and reaſon firſt to have exiſted of themſelves, and ſo this whole world to have been made [s]. From which teſtimony of *Iamblichus*, who was but little junior to *Porphyry*, and contemporary with *Euſebius*, and who had made it his buſineſs to inform himſelf thoroughly of the *Egyptian* theology, it plainly appears, that the *Egyptians* did not generally ſuppoſe (as *Chæremon* pretended concerning ſome of them) a ſenſeleſs inanimate nature to be the firſt original of all things, but that as well in the world, as in ourſelves, they acknowledged ſoul ſuperior to nature, and mind or intellect ſuperior to ſoul, this being the maker of the world [t], and many paſſages to the ſame purpoſe might be produced from the ſame writer, and from the *Hermaic* books now extant, among which tho' much is forged and ſpurious, yet it ſeems very probable, that they contain ſome remains and tincture of the old *Egyptian*, and *Hermetic* doctrine. But we cannot omit obſerving, that it was thought to be ſo notorious and confeſſed a thing, that the *Egyptians* held the world not only to have had a beginning, but alſo to have been made by GOD; that *Simplicius*, a zealous contender for the world's eternity, affirms the *Moſaic* hiſtory of the creation of the world by GOD, to have been nothing elſe but a fabulous tradition, and wholly drawn from *Egyptian* fables [u].

BUT theſe different authorities may be perhaps reconciled, by diſtinguiſhing between the religion of the *Lower Egypt*, whoſe inhabitants were groſs idolaters, and that of *Thebais*, where the worſhip of *Cneph*, the immortal and ſupreme

[r] Idem, ibid. l. 3. cap. 10. p. 41. [s] IAMBLICHUS apud CUDWORTH, Intell. *Syſtem*, p. 318, &c. [t] CUDWORTH, ibid. [u] SIMPLIC. in Ariſtot. Phyſ. l. 8. p. 268.

GOD,

GOD, ſo much prevailed, that they were not taxed towards the charge of maintaining the ſacred animals worſhipped by the others [x].

BEFORE we diſmiſs the *Egyptians*, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that their prieſts alſo taught, that the earth had certain periods or revolutions, being deſtroyed alternately by water and fire, and renewed again [y].

The Babylonian *coſmogony.*

AS to the *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, *Diodorus* ſays, they held the nature of the world to be eternal, and that it had neither any original generation, nor is ſubject to any future corruption; yet that the order and beautiful diſpoſition of all things were cauſed by a divine providence, and that whatever are now in the heavens were not caſual, or ſpontaneous, but perfected by the determinate and eſtabliſhed decree of the gods [z]. But *Beroſus*, who ought to challenge the greater authority, both in reſpect to his antiquity, and his being himſelf of that nation, has left us the following account of their coſmogony, taken from what *Oannes* (of whom more hereafter) wrote concerning the origin of things. There was, ſays he, a time when the univerſe was darkneſs and water, wherein frightful animals of compounded forms were generated. That ſome men were born with two wings, others with four, and two faces: ſome having but one body and two heads, one of a man, the other of a woman, and double privities, of the male and of the female. That of other men, ſome had the legs and horns of goats, ſome horſes feet, others the hinder parts of horſes, and the fore parts of men, being in the form of *Hippocentaurs*. That bulls were generated having the heads of men; and dogs with four bodies, having in their hinder parts the tails of fiſhes; and horſes with Dogs heads: That there were alſo men, and other animals, which had the heads and bodies of horſes, but the tails of fiſhes; and other living creatures having the ſhapes of all kinds of beaſts. Beſides theſe, there were alſo generated fiſhes, and creeping things, and ſerpents, and many other animals very wonderful, and having the mixed ſhapes of one another; whoſe pictures are alſo kept in the temple of *Belus*. The governeſs of all theſe was a woman, named *Omorôca* [a], which in the *Chaldee* tongue is *Thalatth*

[x] PLUT. de Iſide & Oſirid. p. 359. See alſo CUMBERL. on the coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 12, &c. ORIGEN. contra Celſum, l. 5.

[y] PLATO, in Tim.

[z] DIOD. SIC. l. 2. p. 116.

[a] In Scaliger's edition *Omorca*. Our author having tranſlated this

Thalatth [b], but in *Greek* ſignifies the ſea, and with equal propriety the moon. This being the conſtitution of the univerſe, *Belus* came and divided the woman in the midſt, and the one half of her made the earth, and the other half the heaven, and the animals which were in her periſhed. But he ſays, that theſe things are delivered concerning the nature of the world in an allegorical manner. For the world being humid, and animals generated therein, the aforeſaid god took away the woman's head, and the other gods mixed her body, which fell down with the earth, and formed men, for which reaſon they are intelligent, and partake of divine wiſdom. That *Belus*, whom they interpret *Jupiter*, cutting the darkneſs in the midſt, divided the earth and the heaven from each other, and reduced the world into order; whereupon the animals, not bearing the force of the light, became extinct. But *Belus* ſeeing the country deſert, tho' fertile, commanded one of the gods to cut off his own head, and to mix the earth with the blood which iſſued thence, and to form men and beaſts that could endure the air: and that *Belus* perfected the ſtars, and the ſun, and the moon, and the five planets [c].

Remarks thereon.

FROM this paſſage we learn, that the old *Babylonians* expreſly attributed the orderly diſpoſition of the world, the perfecting of the heavenly bodies, and the formation of men and animals to their ſupreme god, *Bel*; tho' they ſeem to have held the pre-exiſtence of matter. It muſt therefore be ſome theology of the later *Babylonians*, which could with juſtice be charged, as it has been, with paſſing over in ſilence the one principle of the univerſe [d]; wherein they muſt have departed from the tradition of their anceſtors, the antient *Chaldeans*, who were celebrated for their acknowledging one ſovereign deity, or maker of the world, as appears

this name into Chaldee, it muſt be derived from ſome other language; but as he does not tell us what that language is, we ſhall not offer at an etymology of it.

[b] This word is ſo near in ſound to the *Greek* word *Thalaſſa*, the ſea, that one would ſuſpect it to be forged, at leaſt much corrupted. Perhaps it may have been written for the Chaldee, or Syriac ܬܠܝܠܘܬܐ *Thalilûtho*, which ſignifies moiſture, or humectation, and anſwers to the explication afterwards given. The ſea and the moon were reckoned the two ſources of moiſture. [c] ALEXANDER POLYHIST. ex Beroſo, apud CYNCELL. Chronogr. p. 29. & EUSEB. Chronic. Græc. Scaligeri, p. 6. [d] DAMASCIUS in fragment. MS. περὶ ἀρχῶν, apud CUMBERL. Review of the Coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 280.

from

from that oracle of *Apollo*, cited by *Euſebius*[e] from *Porphyry*, where the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews* are alone declared to be poſſeſſed of true wiſdom, as worſhipping GOD, the ſelf-begotten king, in a holy manner.

The account of the cosmogony in the Chaldaic oracles.

WE have indeed another account of the coſmogony in the *Chaldaic* or *Magic* oracles of *Zoroaſtres*; but they have ſo little pretence to genuineneſs or antiquity, are ſo confuſed a medley of ill-digeſted notions, taken chiefly from the *Platonics* and *Gnoſtics*, very unſatisfactory as to the origin of the univerſe, and talk ſo much of unknown matter, the orders of inviſible things, myſtical numbers, jynges[f], and other unintelligible jargon, that we might be excuſed taking any notice of them; but as a very learned man has thought it worth his while to extract the ſubſtance of what is moſt intelligible in them[g], we ſhall ſubjoin it in his own words: The *Chaldeans*, ſays he, believe, that the firſt of all things is eternal, the ſupreme GOD. That GOD, who is an intellectual light, or fire, did not ſhut up his fire within his intellectual power, but communicated it to all creatures: firſt and immediately, to the firſt mind, and to all other eternal and incorporeal beings, under which notion are comprehended a multitude of gods, angels, good dæmons, and the ſouls of men. The next emanation is the ſupramundane light, an incorporeal, infinite, luminous ſpace, in which the intellectual beings reſide. The ſupramundane light kindles the firſt corporeal world, the empyreum, or *fiery heaven*, which, being immediately beneath the corporeal light, is the higheſt, brighteſt, and rareſt of bodies. The empyreum diffuſes itſelf thro' the æther, which is the next body below it, and the fire leſs refined than the empyreum: but that it is fire, the more condenſed parts thereof, the ſun and ſtars, ſufficiently evince. From the æther this fire is tranſmitted to the material and ſublunary world; for tho' the matter whereof it conſiſts be not light but darkneſs, (as are alſo the material or bad dæmons) yet this vivificative fire actuates, and gives life to all its parts, inſinuating, diffuſing itſelf, and penetrating even to the very centre, paſſing from above to the oppoſite part, thro' the centre of the earth.

The opinion of the antient pagan poets,

THE old pagan poets, who greatly contributed to the depravation of theology in general, have more particularly countenanced this opinion of the world's being

[e] EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 9. cap. 10. [f] See BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 21, 22. [g] Mr. STANLEY, in his Hiſt. of the Chald. Philoſ. Book I. Sect. 1. c. 2. p. 8.

produced

produced from a chaos, without the influence of GOD. For tho' they make *love* to preſide, as it were, at the ranging of the confuſed matter, by which ſome would have us underſtand the Deity, or the active principle of the univerſe diſtinct from matter [h], yet it is moſt probable, they thereby meant no more than the agreement, or harmony, which enſued on the ceſſation of that inteſtine war of the elements: their *love* having his original from the chaos, as well as all the reſt of their gods, which were really no other than the heavenly bodies, elements, and other parts of nature, perſonated, and deified. For which reaſon the coſmogony of the poets was the ſame with their theogony, or generation of gods [i].

And of Orpheus *in particular.*

ORPHEUS, who was the great introducer of the rites of the heathen worſhip among the *Greeks*, being charged with having invented the very names of the gods, and declaring their generations, and their ſeveral actions, wherein he was for the moſt part followed by *Homer* [k], is yet ſaid to have been perfectly ſilent in his theology, as to any thing intellectual, as unſpeakable and unknown; and to have made one of his principles to be a dragon, having the heads both of a bull and a lion, and in the midſt, the face of a god, with golden wings on his ſhoulders [l]. But notwithſtanding the extravagancy of *Orpheus*'s fancy, the generality of the *Greek* pagans, looking on the man, not as a mere poet, but a holy and profound philoſopher, ſuppoſed all his fables of the gods to be deep myſteries and allegories, which had ſome hidden and ſecret ſenſe under them, and therefore had a high veneration for him, as one divinely inſpired; inſomuch, that *Celſus* would have had the *Chriſtians* rather take *Orpheus* for a god than CHRIST, as being a man unqueſtionably endued with a holy ſpirit, and one who alſo died a violent death [m]. And tho' he were the great propagator of polytheiſm, yet it has been thought, that he acknowledged one ſupreme unmade Deity, as the original of all things, not only from the great eſteem he was in, with thoſe two moſt religious philoſophic ſects, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*, he being commonly called by them the *Theologer*, but alſo becauſe

[h] Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſtem, p. 212. [i] Vid. eund. p. 334, &c. [k] ATHENAGOR. & JUSTIN. MARTYR, apud eundem, p. 298. [l] DAMASCIUS περὶ ἀρχῶν, MS. apud CUMBERL. Review of the Coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 280, & CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra. [m] CORN. CELS. l. 7. p. 367. apud CUDWORTH, ibid.

they

they were ſuppoſed, in great meaſure, to have owed their theology and philoſophy to him, as deriving the ſame from his principles and traditions[n].

THIS favourable opinion of *Orpheus* will yet be better founded, if we allow the epitome of the *Orphic* coſmogony, made long ago by *Timotheus* the chronographer, to contain the true doctrine of that poet: for he writes, that *Orpheus* gave an account of the generation of the gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man, profeſſing, that he delivered nothing from his own invention, but as he was informed, on enquiry, by *Phœbus*, *Titan*, or the ſun. Which account in brief is, that in the beginning the æther, or heaven, was formed by GOD, and that on each ſide of the æther was chaos and dark night, which covered whatſoever was under the æther, thereby ſignifying that night was prior. He declared alſo, that there was a certain incomprehenſible Being, which was the higheſt and moſt antient of all things, and the maker of the univerſe, both of the æther itſelf, and of things under the æther. That the earth was inviſible, by reaſon of the darkneſs which was upon it; but the light, breaking forth thro' the æther, illuminated the whole creation; this light, which ſo brake forth, being ſaid by him to be that higheſt of all things before mentioned, whoſe name, as revealed by the oracle, was *counſel*, *light*, and *the giver of life*. That theſe three names manifeſt one and the ſame power and might of that inviſible, and incomprehenſible GOD, who is the maker of all things, and who bringeth that which is not, into a ſtate of exiſtence. By which power were produced all incorporeal principles, and the ſun, and the moon, and the ſtars, the earth, and the ſea, and all things therein, both viſible and inviſible. He likewiſe declared, that mankind was formed out of the earth by the ſame Deity, and received from him a rational ſoul, agreeably to what *Moſes* has recorded. *Timotheus* adds, that the ſame *Orpheus* alſo wrote, that all things were made by one godhead of three names, and that this GOD is all things[o].

IF this teſtimony be admitted, we need not appeal to the *Orphic* verſes, which are very full as to the aſſertion of the ſupreme Deity. It is true, many of thoſe verſes are ſuppoſititious, and manifeſtly forged either by *Chriſtians* or *Jews*;

[n] CUDWORTH, ibid.

[o] TIMOTH. Chronogr. apud EUSEB. Chron. Græc. p. 4. & CEDREN. p. 57. Vid. etiam SUIDAM, in voce, Orpheus, & PROCL. in Tim. l. 2. p. 117.

but all of them cannot be proved to be ſo; ſeveral being cited by pagan authors, as written, if not by *Orpheus* himſelf, yet by perſons of great antiquity, and well acquainted with his doctrine and traditions; and therefore, by men of good learning and judgment, thought genuine, and worthy of ſome regard[p]. However *Orpheus*'s theology has been preferred to that of the other heathens by the chriſtian fathers[q]; and a late ingenious writer has ſurmiſed, that his eſtabliſhing of polytheiſm was owing rather to the neceſſity he was under of complying with the ſtupidity of the barbarous people, whom he firſt civilized, than his own approbation; being obliged to give them, not the religion which himſelf beſt approved, but ſuch a one as they were capable of receiving[r].

BUT to return to the *Orphic* coſmogony, *Syrianus* ſays, that *Orpheus* held two principles, æther and chaos[s]; to which *Simplicius* adds a third, as prior to the other two, *viz.* time, the meaſure of the fabulous generation of the gods; after which, according to *Orpheus*, the æther and chaos were produced[t]. By which it ſhould ſeem he thought the æther and chaos were co-eval: but it has been obſerved, that the antients, or the later authors, who have handed their opinions down to us, do frequently confound the univerſe with this ſublunary world, and apply what relates diſtinctly to one of the two, to the other, or both promiſcuouſly; and that of the æther here mentioned, the celeſtial, or firſt fabric of things was made; and of the chaos, the ſublunary world, or our earth, and others like it, at ſeveral diſtant intervals. Which things ought to have been ſeparately treated, as well with regard to the matter, as to the time; tho' unſkilful authors have often neglected that neceſſary diſtinction[u].

Remarks thereon.

IT is proper here to obſerve, that *Orpheus*, among other eaſtern learning, ſeems to have firſt introduced among the *Greeks* the doctrine of the mundane egg, which, in all probability, he learned from the *Egyptians*, who repreſented the world by that ſymbol[x], as many other antient nations did. The *Phœnicians*, as we have ſeen, made their *Zophaſemin*, which were the celeſtial bodies, oviform; and

[p] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. p. 295, & 300, &c. & BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 125. [q] BURNET, ibid. p. 127. [r] Idem, ibid. p. 120, &c. [s] SYRIAN. in ARIST. Metaph. c. 2. [t] SIMPLIC. in ARIST. de Auſcult. Phyſic. l. 4. [u] BURNET, ubi ſup. p. 130. [x] See before, p. 27.

worſhipped

worſhipped an egg, in the *Orgia* of *Bacchus*, as an image of the world [y]. And the ſame compariſon or reſemblance was made uſe of by the *Chaldeans*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, and *Chineſe*, as will be obſerved hereafter: and this not only for its external figure, but alſo for the inward compoſition of it; the ſhell repreſenting the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth [z]; tho' others make out this reſemblance in a different manner [a]. Hence *Plutarch* [b] obſerves, that the queſtion, which was the elder, the egg or the hen, was not a trivial enquiry; but according to the *Orphic* doctrine, comprehended the antient generation of all things: and the author of the hymns attributed to *Orpheus* makes the firſt-born god, named by the *Greeks Phanes*, to be produced from an egg [c]. This was the firſt-begotten god, mentioned by *Athenagoras* to have been hatched from the egg, as the followers of *Orpheus* taught [d].

ANOTHER opinion of the *Orphic* theologers, which muſt not be forgotten, was, that GOD was all things; but this is not to be underſtood in a groſs ſenſe, ſo as to take away all diſtinction between GOD and the creature; for they taught this doctrine chiefly on the two following accounts: Firſt, Becauſe all things coming from GOD, they inferred, that therefore they were all contained in him, and conſequently were, in a certain ſenſe, himſelf. The ſecond is, Becauſe the world produced by GOD, and really exiſting without him, is not therefore quite cut off from him, nor ſubſiſts alone by itſelf as a dead thing, but is ſtill livingly united to him, eſſentially dependent on him, always ſupported, quickened, and pervaded by him. In the latter of which ſenſes, ſome chriſtian divines alſo have made GOD to be *all*; as when they affirm the whole world to be nothing elſe but GOD expanded, and when they call the creatures, as St. *Jerom*, and others often do, the rays of the Deity. But tho' the ſcripture itſelf may ſeem to give ſome countenance to theſe expreſſions, yet they ought to be uſed with great caution, being eaſily liable to miſtake and abuſe; and the miſtake and abuſe of this one thing, might poſſibly have

[y] PLUT. in Sympoſ. l. 2. quæſt. 3. Vid. MACROB. Stat. l. 7. c. 16. [z] VARRO, apud Prob. Gram. in Ecl. 6. Virgil. [a] Vid. ACHILLEM TATIUM in Arati. Phænom. cap. 4. & BURNET. Theor. Sacr. Tellur. l. 2. c. 10. and Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 5. p. 86. [b] In Sympoſ. l. 2. quæſt. 3. [c] Hymn. Πρωτόγονον. Vid. LACTANT. de falſa Rel. l. 1. cap. 5. [d] ATHENAG. Legat. pro Chriſt.

been a chief ground of the both ſeeming and real polytheiſm, not only of the *Greek* and *European*, but alſo of the *Egyptian* and other pagans: they concluding, that becauſe GOD was all things, and conſequently all things GOD, therefore GOD ought to be worſhipped in all things, that is, in the ſeveral parts of nature [e].

WHETHER the preceding opinions, as to the original of the world, be acquitted of the charge of atheiſm, or not, it is certain, that the philoſophy which derives all things from ſenſcleſs matter, in the way of forms and qualities, without the aſſiſtance of a GOD, was of great antiquity, and as old as any records of time among the *Greeks*; the antient phyſiologers generally making the ocean, or water, to have been the original of all things: for which reaſon the oath of the gods is ſaid to be by water, called by the poets *Styx*, which, being moſt antient, deſerved the greateſt reverence, and was conſequently moſt proper to ſwear by [f]. And hence the ocean is by *Homer* called the progenitor of the gods, and ſource of all things [g]: and *Thales*, the prince of the *Ionic* philoſophers, held water to be the firſt principle, whereof all things conſiſted [h]; and they alſo ſuppoſed, that at laſt all things ſhould be diſſolved, and return into water again [i]. But it ſeems, that thoſe antients, when they made water to have been the firſt principle, did not thereby mean the elementary water, but the chaos, which was fluid ſubſtance, as the *Greek* word ſignifies. For which reaſon *Zeno* and *Plutarch* took the chaos of *Heſiod* to have been water [k].

The coſmogony of Heſiod,

THE theogony of this laſt mentioned poet, which, as has been obſerved, is alſo his coſmogony, is ſomewhat confuſed, beginning twice from the chaos, and relating things rather in a poetical, than philoſophical order. The ſub-

[e] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 307. [f] Vid. ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. c. 3. [g] HOMER. apud Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. [h] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſ. lib. 1. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in vita Thaletis, p. 17. CICER. in Lucullo, & de Nat. Deor. l. 1. This alſo agrees with a paſſage in ſcripture, the genuine ſenſe of which (according to the judgment of the beſt interpreters) is, that the material heavens, as well as earth, were made out of water. 2 Pet. iii. 5. Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 21. & BURNET, Archæol. l. 1. p. 138, and Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 4. p. 63, &c. [i] HOMER. Il. H. PLUT. in Stromat. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. [k] ZENO, apud Scholiaſt. Apollon. Argon. 4. & PLUT. in Tract. Aquáne an ignis ſit utilior, p. 955.

ſtance

ſtance of what he delivers is; That in the beginning the chaos firſt exiſted, then the wide-extended earth, and next love, the faireſt of the immortal gods; that the chaos produced *Erebus* and night, from the conjunction of which two proceeded *Æther* and day. After which he proceeds to give an account of the ſeparation of the heaven and ſtars from the earth, the raiſing of mountains, and ſinking of caves; and of the production of the ſea, from the heaven and earth together [l].

BUT there is a much more methodical, and complete deſcription of this antient coſmogony given by *Ariſtophanes* [m], whenceſoever he had it: He writes, that firſt were chaos, black *Erebus*, and wide *Tartarus*, but neither earth, nor air, nor heaven: that night, with ſable wings, laid the firſt egg of wind in the vaſt boſom of *Erebus*; from whence, in proceſs of time, iſſued amiable love, ſhining with wings of gold, like to impetuous whirl-winds; that love, coupling with the obſcure chaos, engendred animals and men; but that there were no gods before love mingled all things, from which mixture of things one with another, the heaven and the earth were generated, and the whole race of immortal gods. *and* Ariſtophanes

THIS paſſage, notwithſtanding it is ludicrouſly introduced in a comedy, is conceived, not without reaſon, to have been really a piece of the old atheiſtic ſyſtem, and may be thus explained; that chaos, or matter, confuſedly moved, being the original of all things, did from thence riſe up gradually from leſſer to greater perfection; firſt inanimate things, as the elements, heaven, earth, and ſeas, then brute animals, afterwards men, and laſt of all gods. As if not only the ſubſtance of matter and thoſe inanimate bodies of the elements, fire, water, air, and earth, were firſt in order of nature before GOD, as being themſelves alſo gods [n], but alſo irrational animals at leaſt, if not men too. And this is the atheiſtic creation of the world, gods, and all, out of ſenſeleſs and ſtupid matter, or dark chaos, as the only original deity [o].

WHETHER *Thales*, who was a *Phœnician* by extraction, acknowledged any divine or intelligent being, as aſſiſting in the formation of the world, is a great queſtion. *Cicero* indeed tells us, that he was the firſt who ſearched *The opinion of Thales.*

[l] HESIOD. Theog. verſ. 116. [m] In avib. [n] Vid. ARIST. de gener. & corrupt. l. 2. c. 6. [o] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 121.

after ſuch things, and affirmed GOD to be that Mind, which created all things out of water [p]. And *Laertius* reports, that he uſed to ſay, GOD was the oldeſt of all things, and that the world was the workmanſhip of GOD [q]. But on the other ſide, there are a cloud of witneſſes [r], among whom are *Cicero* and *Laertius* themſelves [s], who with joint conſent give *Anaxagoras*, one of his ſucceſſors, the honour of having firſt rejected all chance in the diſpoſition of the univerſe, and introduced a pure intelligent mind, to ſeparate and compoſe the ſeveral parts of it. So that all the philoſophers of the *Ionic* ſect, who preceded *Anaxagoras*, being mere materialiſts, or *Hylopathian* atheiſts, *Ariſtotle* ſeems juſtly to have called *Thales* the prince or leader of that philoſophy [t]. The occaſion of his being thus differently repreſented may poſſibly have been, becauſe he left no philoſophic writings, or monuments of his own behind him (*Anaxagoras* being the firſt of all the philoſophic writers [u]); whence probably it came to paſs, that in after-times ſome interpreted his opinions one way, and ſome another, and that he is ſometimes repreſented as a theiſt, and ſometimes as an atheiſt [x].

Of Anaximander.

BUT if *Thales* be acquitted, yet his next ſucceſſor, *Anaximander*, can by no means be excuſed from this imputation; for he ſuppoſed a certain infinite firſt matter, which he did not define to be either air, or water, or earth, to be the ſole principle of the univerſe [y]; that the celeſtial bodies,

[p] CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 36. [q] DIOG. LAERT. in Thalet. p. 21. [r] PLATO in Phæd. p. 72. PLUT. in Pericle, p. 154. ARIST. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 3. TERTULLIAN. de Anima. CLEMENS ALEX. Stromat. lib. 2. p. 364. EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 14. p. 750. THEMIST. Orat. XV. AUGUSTIN. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. PROCLUS in Timæum. SIMPLIC. in ARIST. de Phyſic. auſcult. THEODORET de Græc. affect. Serm. II. p. 489. [s] CICERO de Natura Deor. l. 1. c. 10. 39. LAERT. in Anaxagorâ, p. 82. [t] More concerning this Queſtion may be read in BAYLE's Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagor. Rem D. Art. Thales, Rem. A. Dr. CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſtem. p. 21, 124. [u] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxagor. p. 81. THEODORETUS (Orat. XX.) ſays, Anaximander was the firſt who publiſhed a Book of Natural Philoſophy. But THEOPOMPUS apud Laert. in Pherecyd. p. 74.) aſſerts, Pherecydes Syrus to have firſt written of Nature and the Gods to the Greeks, whoſe Treatiſe of the Beginning of Things was extant in the Time of Laertius, ib. 76. [x] CUDWORTH, ibid. 124. [y] PLUT. de Placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in Anaximandro, p. 78. SIMPLIC. in ARISTOT. Phyſ. l. 1. c. 6.

and

and infinite worlds, were made of it by ſecretion, and that generation and corruption proceeded from their moving circularly together from eternity. He alſo aſſerted, that the generative principles of heat and cold being ſeparated, when this world was made, a certain ſphere of the fire firſt aroſe, and encompaſſed the air which ſurrounds the earth, as the bark doth a tree; this being afterwards broken, and divided into ſmaller ſpherical bodies, formed the ſun, moon, and ſtars [z]. He held alſo, that the firſt animals were generated in moiſture, and encompaſſed with certain thorny barks, by which they were defended; which, after further growth, becoming more dry and cracking, they iſſued forth, but lived only a ſhort time [a]. That men were at firſt generated in the bellies of fiſhes, and being there nouriſhed till they grew ſtrong, and were able to ſupport themſelves, they were afterwards caſt out upon dry land. And the reaſon of this ſtrange opinion, as to the original of mankind, was, becauſe other animals ſoon after their birth betake themſelves to their food; but man alone in his infancy needs to be nurſed up for a conſiderable time, and therefore could not be preſerved at firſt in any other manner [b].

FROM *Anaximander*'s making this univerſal principle of his infinite, ſome late writers, and even *Clemens Alexandrinus* [c] among the antients, have groundleſly inferred, that he thereby meant GOD, according to the true notion of him, or an infinite mind, the efficient cauſe of the univerſe, and not ſtupid matter [d]. But it is plain, that the gods he acknowledged, owed their original alſo to that infinite matter, from which he ſuppoſed all things to be ſecreted, and into which they would return; for he held the gods to be generated, riſing, and vaniſhing again in long periods of time, and that theſe gods were innumerable worlds [e].

THE phyſiology of *Anaximenes* differed but little from that of his maſter *Anaximander*; for he held air to be the firſt principle, and infinite [f], but that the things which aroſe thereout were finite, and ſhould at laſt be reſolved into it again. He ſuppoſed, that all things were generated by a ſucceſſive condenſation and rarefaction of this air; the earth, water, *Of* Anaximenes.

[z] PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. [a] Idem de placitis Phil. l. 5. c. 19. [b] Idem, apud EUSEB. ubi ſup & in Sympoſ. l. 8. Quæſt. 8. [c] In protrept. p. 43. [d] Vid. CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſt. p. 124. [e] CICER. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. [f] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaximn. p. 80. ARISTOT. de Auſcult. Phyſ. CICER. Quæſt. Acad. l. 2.

and fire being firſt produced thereout, and then the other parts of the univerſe: he held alſo, that motion was from all eternity; that the ſun gained its heat from the ſwiftneſs of its courſe; and that air held the world together in the ſame manner as the ſoul, which he took to be air alſo, did the human frame [g]. He did not, it ſeems, deny there were any gods, but was ſo far from allowing them to have formed the world, that he believed them likewiſe to have their riſe from the air [h]. *Plutarch*, after delivering the opinions of theſe two philoſophers, obſerves, that they were both of them in the wrong, in ſuppoſing the world to have been generated from matter only, without any efficient cauſe; matter of itſelf being able to produce nothing, no more than a veſſel can be made out of a maſs of ſilver, without the help of an artificer [i].

amended by Anaxagoras, *and* Diogenes *of* Apollonia.

ANAXAGORAS and *Diogenes* of *Apollonia*, two ſcholars of *Anaximenes*, attempted to remedy this grand defect in the *Ionic* philoſophy, by amending their maſter's hypotheſis. The firſt, by admitting an intelligent being diſtinct from matter, as has been, and will be more fully obſerved; and the other, by ſuppoſing the air, the firſt principle of the univerſe, to be endued with a divine reaſon, without which he conceived nothing could be produced from it [k]. So that this opinion differed very little from *Spinoziſm*.

THE manner in which this latter philoſophizes, as to the production of the world, has ſo near a conformity with the *Carteſian* hypotheſis, that it would be wrong to omit it: All things, ſays he, being in motion, ſome became condenſed, and others rarified; in thoſe places where condenſation prevailed, a whirling motion, or vortex was formed, which by its revolution drew in the reſt, and the lighter parts flying upwards, formed the ſun [l].

The atomic ſyſtem, by whom invented.

THE next atheiſtic ſyſtem of philoſophy is the atomic, which is generally ſuppoſed to have been invented by *Democritus*, who was elder than *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*; but *Laertius* attributes it to *Leucippus* [m], who was ſomewhat ſenior to *Democritus*, though he wrote not ſo much concerning it as

[g] PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. & de placitis Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 3. [h] AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. cap. 2. [i] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſoph. loco citato. [k] AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. Vid. etiam CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & ARISTOT. l. 1. de anima, c. 2. [l] PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. [m] DIOG. LAERT. in Leucippo, p. 567.

Democritus

Democritus did. Others make this phyſiology much more antient: *Poſidonius* [n] avouched it for an old tradition, that the firſt inventor of it was *Moſchus*, a *Phœnician*, who lived before the *Trojan* war [o], and is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with *Mochus*, the *Phœnician* phyſiologer mentioned by *Iamblichus* [p], with whoſe ſucceſſors, prieſts, and prophets, he affirms, that *Pythagoras*, while he was at *Sidon*, had converſed. But as *Cicero*, though *Poſidonius*'s ſcholar, ſcruples not to queſtion his veracity in ſome things, and expreſly affirms *Leucippus*, or *Democritus*, to have been the author of this philoſophy [q], we think his authority of little weight; much leſs can we approve, as Mr. *Selden* does [r], of the conjecture of *Arcerius*, the editor of *Iamblichus*, that this *Mochus* was no other than *Moſes*, the celebrated prophet of the *Jews*. However, it is probable from ſome other conſiderations, that *Pythagoras* was not unacquainted with the atomical phyſiology; for *Democritus* himſelf was of the *Italic*, or *Pythagoric* ſucceſſion, and is reported to have taken all his philoſophy from them [s]: and the famous monads of *Pythagoras* are by ſome ſuppoſed to have been nothing elſe but corporeal atoms [t]. That *Empedocles*, who was alſo a *Pythagorean*, took the world to be compounded of minute particles, is expreſly aſſerted [u], and will appear more plainly, when we come to give an account of his phyſiology: and the natural principles of *Ecphantus* the *Syracuſian*, another of that ſect, were indiviſible bodies, and vacuum. Nor were they the only antient philoſophers who went that way; *Xenocrates*, *Heraclides*, *Aſclepiades*, *Diodorus*, *Metrodorus Chius*, and the generality of the old phyſiologers, having alſo ſuppoſed indiviſible particles to be the firſt principles of bodies. Notwithſtanding which, *Leucippus* and *Democritus* are reputed the firſt inventors of the atomic philoſophy, either becauſe they brought it to greater perfection, or elſe, becauſe they firſt made it a complete and entire ſyſtem by itſelf, ſo as to derive the original of all things in the whole univerſe from ſenſeleſs atoms, which had figure and motion only, and

[n] Apud SEXT. EMPIRIC. adv. Mathem. p. 367. & STRABON. lib. 16. p. 512. [o] STRABO, ibid. [p] De vita Pythag. c. 3. [q] CICER. de fato, & de Nat. Deor. l. 1. [r] SELDEN. de jure nat. & gent. juxta diſcipl. Hebr. lib. 1. cap. 2. See alſo La Vie de Pythagore, par Mr. DACIER, p. xxi. [s] DIOG. LAERT. in Democr. p. 570. [t] Vid. CUDWORTH's Intel. Syſtem, p. 13. [u] PLUT. de Placitis Philoſ. l. 1. cap. 24.

ſpace;

ſpace; from whence it would follow, that there could be no GOD, not ſo much as a corporeal one: for before them, the doctrine of atoms made not an entire philoſophy by itſelf, but was looked upon as a part, or member of the whole philoſophic ſyſtem, and that the meaneſt and loweſt part too; it being only uſed to explain that which was purely corporeal in the world; beſides which they acknowledged ſomething elſe, which was not mere bulk and mechaniſm, but life and ſelf-activity, that is, immaterial ſubſtance; the head whereof is a *Deity* diſtinct from the world. So that there have been two ſorts of atomiſts; the firſt, holding incorporeal ſubſtance, uſed that phyſiology in a way of ſubordination to theology: the other, allowing no other ſubſtance but body, made ſenſeleſs atoms, without any mind or underſtanding, that is, without any GOD, to be the original of all things: which latter ſyſtem is that vulgarly known by the name of the atomic philoſophy, which was founded by *Leucippus* and *Democritus* [x], and afterwards, with ſome alteration, taught by *Epicurus*, though he would not acknowledge that he had borrowed his hypotheſis from any [y].

Occaſioned a ſtricter method of philoſophizing.

BUT whoever firſt introduced it, this hypotheſis occaſioned a more ſtrict, and accurate method of philoſophizing, than had formerly been uſed. For the atomiſts, neglecting numbers, proportions, harmonies, ideas, qualities, and elementary forms, immediately proceeded to examine the bodies themſelves, and their phyſical and mechanical properties, their motion, figure, ſituation of parts, ſize, and the like; from whence they very rationally aſcertained their ſeveral powers, determined their actions, and explained their effects; though the notions they entertained of the indiviſibility of their atoms, their innate power of motion, inclinations to certain places, and the like, be not only without any foundation, but repugnant to reaſon [z].

The doctrine of Leucippus *and* Democritus.

THE doctrine of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, as to the origin of the world, was, that the firſt principles were an infinite number of atoms, or indiviſible particles of different ſizes and figures, which moving fortuitouſly, or without deſign, from all eternity in infinite ſpace, and encountring one another, became variouſly implicated and entangled, and produced firſt a confuſed chaos of all kinds of particles, which afterwards by continual agitation, ſtrik-

[x] CUDWORTH, p. 16, &c. [y] Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.
[z] BURNET, Archæol. l. 1. p. 167.

ing

ing and repelling each other, diſpoſed themſelves into a vortex, or vortices, where, after many convolutions and evolutions, molitions and eſſays, in which all imaginable ſhapes and combinations were tried, they chanced at length to ſettle into this preſent form and ſyſtem of things [a].

THIS hypotheſis, as to the formation of the principal parts of the world, agrees with that of *Epicurus*, as it is repreſented by *Lucretius* [b], excepting, that no mention is made of thoſe vortices, which yet were an eſſential part of the former. To the two properties, attributed to atoms by *Democritus*, magnitude and figure, *Epicurus* added a third, weight; without which he did not conceive they could move at all [c]. And one of the inevitable conſequences of the *Democritic* ſyſtem being abſolute fatal neceſſity, (for when they maintained, that the world was made by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms, it was not their meaning to deny the world to have been neceſſarily made, according to the eternal laws of motion of thoſe atoms, but only to exclude the direction of an intelligent cauſe) and ſuch neceſſity, in the opinion of *Epicurus*, overturning all morality, and reducing the human ſoul to be a mere machine; in order to account for freedom of will, beſides the twofold motion of atoms allowed by thoſe before him, perpendicular and reflexive, he introduced a third; ſuppoſing, that the atoms could of themſelves decline from the right line, and move obliquely, even in void ſpace, and without any colliſion at all [d]; from which, as he ſtrangely inferred, proceeded natural liberty. And this declination ſerved alſo another purpoſe, that is, to explain the meeting of the atoms; which if they all moved one way, would have been impoſſible [e]. But the moſt material difference between the two hypotheſes, though not often taken notice of, was, that *Epicurus* admitted no principle at all but the atoms themſelves; whereas *Democritus* believed them to be animated [f]; a ſuppoſition not a whit more abſurd than that of their exiſtence and ſpontaneous motion, and which would

Of Epicurus,

[a] Vid. DIOG. LAERT. in Leucippo, p. 567. and in Democrit. p. 573. PLUTARCH. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 4. & PLAT. de legibus, l. 10. [b] Vid. LUCRET. de Rer. Nat. l. 5. VIRGIL. Eclog. 6. PLUT. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 4. and STANLEY's Hiſtory of Philoſophy, part 13. p. 572, &c. [c] PLUT. ubi ſup c. 3. [d] Vid LUCRET. l. 2. v. 216, &c. [e] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Epicure, Rem. U. [f] AUGUST. Epiſt. 66.

yet

yet be of great uſe in obviating ſeveral objections to the atomic ſyſtem, otherwiſe unanſwerable [g].

As to the production of animals and mankind, the *Epicurean* philoſophy accounted for it in this manner: it was ſuppoſed, that the new formed earth containing in it the ſeeds of all things, the ſun, acting by its heat on the moiſter parts, raiſed ſmall bladders, like little wombs, in which the embryos, at firſt imperfect, were conceived, and through which they broke their way, when arrived at maturity; and that for their nouriſhment nature provided bags, like ſmall breaſts furniſhed with a milky juice. And it is pretended, that this fœcundity cannot ſeem ſtrange, in that juvenile vigour of nature, if we conſider, what numbers of ſmaller creatures and inſects are, at this day, bred in the ſame way. But at length, the ſeeds of the earth being exhauſted, ſhe like a woman paſt child-bearing, of courſe left off this way of producing the more perfect animals; whence it is, that every ſpecies is now propagated by copulation [h].

Reflections on this ſyſtem.

THIS atomic ſyſtem, which had been ſuperſeded by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, who brought in ideas, form and qualities, inſtead of the mechanical properties of matter, was raiſed by *Epicurus* to a high degree of reputation, and continued to flouriſh after his death, beyond any other philoſophy [i]; though it was juſtly decried by the other ſects, on account of the atheiſm which naturally flowed from its principles. Had *Democritus* only ſuppoſed GOD to be a mind, or intelligence, placed in a ſphere of fire, and the ſoul of the world [k], he would have been much more excuſable than in teaching, as he did, that the images of objects, which on every ſide preſent themſelves to us, and the nature which ſcatters round, or emits ſuch images, and even our own knowledge and underſtanding, were to be reckoned among the gods [l]. So that what *Democritus* called GOD, had neither the unity, nor eternity, nor immutability, nor other attributes, which are eſſential to the divine nature: and yet an opinion very like his was not long ago advanced [m], on the ſuppoſition that our ideas are in GOD, and that they cannot

[g] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Lecucippe, Rem. E. & Art. Epicure, Rem. F. As to the other Differences between the Doctrines of Democritus and Epicurus, conſult CICER. de Finib. l. 1.
[h] Vid. LUCRET. ubi ſupra [i] LACTANT. Divin. Inſt. l. III. cap. 17. [k] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſ. l. 3. cap. 7. [l] CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. [m] F. MALLEBRANCHE's Notion of ſeeing all things in GOD.

be

be a modification of a created mind; from which it ſeems to follow, that our ideas are GOD himſelf [n]. As to *Epicurus*, he acknowledged indeed, that there were gods, and that they deſerved to be worſhipped on account of the excellence of their nature, tho' no benefit was to be expected from them, nor any harm to be feared [o]: for he allowed them to be neither the makers, nor the governors of the world. And yet a very learned man has lately undertaken the defence of *Epicurus*, as to this latter point, and maintained, that he did not deny a divine providence [p]. He ſuppoſed the gods were immortal, and ſupremely happy, leading a life of perfect inaction and tranquillity; that they were of human form, yet had not real bodies and blood, but ſomething analogous to them [q]; and leſt he ſhould at once deſtroy their immortality, and ſubject them to deſtruction, he taught, that they were not compoſed of atoms, like other beings [r], though ſome have, by miſtake, affirmed the contrary [s]. It is well known, that this corpuſcular philoſophy has been revived by ſome moderns, who, rejecting the eternity of the atoms, and their fortuitous motion, but following, in almoſt all other reſpects, the old hypotheſis of *Leucippus*, have made a very fine ſyſtem of it. This is what *Gaſſendi* has done, who differs from *Des Cartes*, as to the principles of bodies, in nothing but the retaining a vacuum. The ſcholaſtic divines among the *Mohammedans*, who are very orthodox as to the creation of the world by GOD, do alſo admit both atoms and a vacuum: but their atoms are different from thoſe of *Leucippus*, for they have no magnitude, and are all like one another; and they ſuppoſe, as that philoſopher ought to have done, that every atom of a living body is alive, that every atom of a ſenſitive body is endued with ſenſe, and that the underſtanding reſides in an atom; though they differ as to the ſoul, and knowledge, whether they conſiſt in a ſingle atom, or a collection of ſeveral [t].

[n] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Democrite, Rem P. [o] Vid. CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. SENEC. de beneficiis, l. 5. c 19. & GASSEND. de vita & moribus Epicuri, l. 4. c. 3: [p] Monſ. du RONDEL, de vita & moribus Epicuri. Amſt. 1693. in 12mo. [q] CICER. ubi ſupra. DIOG. LAERT. in Epicuro, p. 634, 655, 661. PLUT. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c 7. SEXT. EMPIRIC. contra Math. p. 312. [r] CICER. ubi ſupra LACTANT de ira Dei, cap. 10. [s] TERTULLIAN adv. Gentes, cap. xlvii. AUGUST. Epiſt. lvi. [t] Vid. MAIMONID. in more Nevochim, cap 73.

THOSE,

The opinion of those who, holding the eternity of matter, admit an intelligent mind as the disposer thereof; and

THOSE who, allowing the eternity of matter, introduce an intelligent mind as the disposer thereof into the form the world now bears, may be again subdivided into two classes: one, who, allowing no substance but matter, supposed it to be endued with understanding and life, and consequently to be GOD; and another, who held GOD and matter to be two distinct, and independent beings.

THE first opinion, which, as has been said, differs but little from *Spinozism*, seems to have been that of *Diogenes* of *Appollonia*[u], and was certainly maintained by *Hippasus*, of *Metapontus*, *Heraclitus*, and the *Stoics*.

I. Of those who suppose matter to be the only substance, and endued with understanding.

HIPPASUS and *Heraclitus* held fire to be the first principle, of which all things were made, and into which, after the revolution of certain periods, they will be again resolved, and that this fire was GOD[x]; whom *Heraclitus* described to be that most subtile and most swift substance, which permeates, or passes through the whole universe[y].

The opinion of Hippasus, Heraclitus,

THE notions of *Heraclitus* seem to have been very confused, at least as they are now represented to us, which is no wonder at all, since he so much affected obscurity in what he wrote concerning natural philosophy, that he was thence surnamed *the obscure*[z]. He is said to have denied the world to have been made either by gods or men[a]; by which it is supposed he meant, that the world was not made by any whatsoever, after such a manner as an artificer makes an house, by machines and engines, acting from without upon the matter; but by a certain inward plastic nature of its own[b]. He asserted the fatal necessity of all things, but taught, that they were in a perpetual flux, nothing remaining at a stand. His account of the formation of the world was, that the fire being extinguished, the grossest parts of it coalescing, made the earth, which being loosened by the fire, produced water, and from the exhalation of water, the air was generated[c]. As the opinions of *Heraclitus* concerning the origin of things were adopted by the *Stoics*, (of whom immediately) we shall not enlarge here, but only observe, that the great physician *Hippocrates* had the same

and Hippocrates.

[u] See before, p. 40. [x] PLUT. de placit. Phil. l. 1. c. 3. CLEM. ALEXANDR. in protrept. Vid. etiam CICERON. Acad. Quæst. l. 4 & de Nat. Deor. l. 3. [y] PLAT. in Cratylo. p. 413. [z] Σκοτεινὸς. Vid. Cicer. de finib. l. 2. CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. 5. [a] PLUT. de Animæ Procr. p. 1014. [b] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syst. p. 152, &c. [c] PLUT. de placit. Phil. l. 1. c. 3. Vid. etiam DIOG. LAERT. in Heraclit. p. 551, &c.

notion

notion of the deity with *Heraclitus*, declaring his belief to be, that heat or fire was immortal and omniſcient, and that it ſaw, heard, and knew all things, both preſent and future [d].

THE *Stoics* held two firſt principles, GOD, and matter void of all quality, the one active, and the other paſſive, and that they were both corporeal [e]; for they did not acknowledge any ſuch thing as incorporeal ſubſtance [f]: by which means they ſtrangely confounded themſelves, and reduced their two principles, in effect, to one and the ſame. They affirmed GOD to be an immortal, rational, and perfect animal, conſcious of his own happineſs, ſubject to no evil, governing the world, and all things in it, by his providence; and the architect, and, as it were, the father of the univerſe [g]. But they more uſually deſcribed him to be a fiery ſpirit, void of all figure, yet changing himſelf into all things; or an artificial fire, methodically proceeding to the generation of the world, and containing within himſelf all ſeminal reaſons or models, according to which every thing is formed purſuant to fate [h]; which is alſo their deſcription of nature [i]. This ſpirit, they ſay, quickens, ſuſtains, and pervades the whole world, and every part of it, as the ſoul does the human body, being called by ſeveral names, according to the different form of the matter which it animates. For which reaſon they hold the world itſelf to be GOD, and every part of it a member of him [k]. So that this ſect, in appearance, have confounded GOD and nature together, though their genuine doctrine ſeems to have been, that there was not only an intellectual conſcious ſoul preſiding over the whole world, yet lodged more immediately in the fiery matter of it; but alſo a certain plaſtic, or ſpermatic nature, contained under, or within the former, and which was properly the fate of all things [l]. And the admit-

The opinion of the Stoics.

[d] HIPPOCRAT. de princip. aut carnib. Sect. 1. [e] ARISTOCLES, de Philoſ. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. cap. 14. DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. Cittieo, p. 449. SENEC. Ep. 65. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. [f] Vid. LIPSIUM de Phyſiol. Stoic. l. 2. cap. 4, & 5. [g] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſupra, p. 458. [h] PLUT. de plac. Philoſ. l. 1. cap. 6, & 7. [i] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſup. p. 465. Cic. ubi ſup. [k] Vid. eoſd. & PLUT. ubi ſupra. c. 7. SENEC. Quæſt. Nat. l. 2. c. 45. & Epiſt. 92. LUCAN. Pharſal. l. 9. v. 578. DIDYMUM, apud. EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. c. 15, &c. VIRGIL. Georg. l. 4. verſ. 221. & Æneid. l. 6. verſ. 724. [l] Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 133, &c. 423, &c.

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ting of ſuch a ſubordinate plaſtic nature or life, which acts in order to certain ends, though without any ſenſe or conſciouſneſs, has been thought very reaſonable by ſome, though exploded by others, and that for the avoiding of theſe two conſequences; either that, in the formation and organization of natural and animal bodies, every thing comes to paſs fortuitouſly, for the ſake of no final cauſes, and without the guidance and direction of any mind or underſtanding; to aſſert which ſeems irrational, and atheiſtical: or elſe, that GOD himſelf doth immediately form every the minuteſt thing, as it were with his own hands, which is very indecent to ſuppoſe [m]. There were ſome *Stoics*, it is true, who, rejecting all animality or conſciouſneſs in the world, made it to be governed by a vegetable or plaſtic nature only, as *Boethius*, whom we have already mentioned, in particular did; but their opinion ought by no means to be imputed to the whole ſect.

AS to the conſtitution of the world, the peculiar dogm of the *Stoics*, which *Zeno*, their maſter, ſeems to have borrowed from *Heraclitus*, was, that in certain periods, or alternate viciſſitudes of time, the univerſe is diſſolved by fire, and re-produced out of it; GOD withdrawing, or abſorbing all things into himſelf, by a general conflagration, and afterwards producing them out of himſelf again [n]. In which ſucceſſive conflagrations, they held, that not only the world, but all the inferior gods alſo are melted down into their ſupreme Deity, the intellectual fiery ſoul, or principle of the univerſe [o]; who, during that interval, reſts in himſelf, conſidering his providence, and entertained with thoughts becoming himſelf [p], till he again emits, and brings the world into being; the manner of which renovation *Zeno* thus deſcribes: GOD, being alone, changes all ſubſtance from fire, firſt into air, and then into water; and as the ſeed is contained in the plant, ſo GOD, being the ſeminal reaſon of the world, left ſuch a ſeed in the moiſture, as might afford proper matter for the generation of thoſe things which were to be produced; that the groſſer parts of this watery matter ſubſiding made the earth, the finer the air, and thoſe ſtill more ſubtilized the fire. The

[m] Vid. eund. p. 148, &c. [n] DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. p. 451. NUMENIUS, apud EUSEB. de Præp Ev. l. 15. c. 18, 19. [o] Vid. PLUT adv. Stoicos, p. 1075 & de defectu Oracul. p 420. [p] Idem. adv. Stoicos, p. 1077. SENEC. Epiſt. 6. ARRIAN. in Epictet. lib. III. cap. 13.

four

four elements being thus generated, from the mixture of them proceeded plants, and animals, and all other ſpecies [q].

Of the Pendets *in* India.

WITH theſe notions of the *Stoics*, agrees the doctrine which is ſaid to be almoſt univerſal among the *Pendets* [r], (who are *Indian* gentiles) and ſecretly entertained by the *Sûfis*, and learned men of *Perſia*, being the ſame in ſubſtance with the philoſophy of *Flud*, which *Gaſſendi* has taken the pains to refute. Theſe Cabaliſts pretend, that GOD, or the ſupreme, immoveable, unchangeable Being, has not only produced the ſouls of Creatures out of his own ſubſtance, but whatever is material, or corporeal in the univerſe alſo; and that this production is not made ſimply in the way of efficient cauſes, but by an actual extraction, or extenſion of his own ſubſtance, which is creation, as deſtruction is nothing elſe but the reſuming of that divine ſubſtance into himſelf; which they illuſtrate by the following ſymbol. They feign, that a certain immenſe ſpider was the firſt cauſe of all things; which drawing the matter from its own bowels, wove the web of this univerſe, and diſpoſed it with wonderful art: ſhe, in the mean time, ſitting in the centre of her work, feels and directs the motion of every part; till at length, when ſhe has pleaſed herſelf ſufficiently in ordering, and contemplating this web, ſhe draws all the threads ſhe has ſpun out, again into herſelf, and having abſorbed them, the univerſal nature of all creatures vaniſhes into nothing [s]. Another compariſon made uſe of by them is, that GOD is like an immenſe ocean, wherein ſeveral phials full of water are ſwimming; that theſe phials, whitherſoever they go, are always in the ſame ocean, and in the ſame water, and when they break, the water contained in them will be united to their whole, that is, to the ocean, of which they are portions [t]. But this laſt is by no means a ſtrict parallel; for the matter of the phials is a ſecond ſubſtance, which, by its interpoſition, ſeparates the water, incloſed in thoſe phials, from the ocean: but if there was ſuch a thing as a ſoul of the world, it would be expanded through all parts of the univerſe, nothing could hinder the union of

[q] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſup. p. 450, 454. Vid. STOBÆI Ecl. Phyſ. c. 20. [r] We take this word to be the *Malayan* ڤنديت *Pandit*, which ſignifies a man of letters. [s] BERNIER, ſuite des Memoires ſur l'Empire du Grand Mogol, p. 202. &c BURNET. in Append. ad Archæol. p. 354. KIRCHER, China illuſtr. p. 155. [t] BERNIER, ibid.

every particular ſoul with its whole, nor would death be a means of their re-union.

Of certain ſects among the Chineſe.

THERE is alſo a ſect among the *Chineſe*, who acknowledge nature to be the ſole deity, thereby underſtanding that natural power, or operation, which, being the efficient cauſe of motion and reſt, produces, maintains, and preſerves all things. They take her to be the ſoul which univerſally informs matter, and call her a principle, independent of all others; but as they ſeparate this principle from all corporeal and ſenſible matter, its imperfections and definitions, they do in this particular differ ſomething from the *Stoics*; tho' they who incline to this ſect do believe, as they did, that the world hath had a beginning, and ſhall have an end, but ſhall afterwards begin, and end again as before, and ſo perpetually be renewed, and periſh. And according to this opinion, numerous worlds have already exiſted, and others, to an infinite number, will hereafter ſucceſſively make room for one another [u].

BUT the opinion more commonly embraced at this time by the *Chineſe*, and wherein the atheiſm, which has ſo generally infected them, conſiſts, comes rather nearer to the *ſtoic* doctrine, tho' not without ſome conſiderable differences; and it is this: That GOD is the material ſoul of the whole world, or rather only of its moſt excellent part, the heaven; and that his providence and power are finite and limited, tho' much excelling the prudence and power of man. That there are diſtinct ſpirits in the four parts of the world, the ſun, ſtars, mountains, rivers, plants, cities, houſes, and in a word, in all things: ſome of which ſpirits they ſuppoſe to be evil, making them the immediate cauſe of all the miſchiefs and diſaſters, to which human life is ſubject. By this diſtribution of ſouls throughout all nature, they are not at a loſs to account for its whole œconomy, and to ſupply the want of an almighty power, and infinite providence, which they allow to no one ſpirit, not ſo much as to that of the heaven. They ſuppoſe, indeed, that the ſoul of the heaven acts on nature with a power and prudence, incomparably greater than what man is endued with; but, at the ſame time, acknowledge in the ſoul of every other thing an inward power, naturally independent on that of the heaven, and which ſometimes acts even in contradiction to the deſigns of heaven. So that, according to them, the heaven governs nature as a mighty king, the other ſouls owe him obedience, which he almoſt always

[u] Deſcript. of China, at the end of IDES's Travels, p. 171, 172.

forces

forces them to pay; yet there are ſome, which now and then diſpenſe with their duty in that reſpect, and refuſe to obey [x].

THIS laſt opinion differs widely from another entertained by a ſect of the ſame nation, and eſtabliſhed by royal authority in the year of Chriſt 65. Its founder was ſon of the king *In fan vang*, who was firſt named *She*, or *She Kia* [y], and afterwards, when he arrived at the age of thirty, *Foe*, that is, *not a man* [z]. The ſecret doctrine of this ſect, which is never diſcovered to the ſimple, or vulgar, is; that a void, or emptineſs [a] is the principle and end of all things; that our firſt parents ſprang from thence, and on their death returned into it; and that all men are likewiſe reſolved into that principle by death; that mankind, and the elements, and all creatures make a part of this void: ſo that there is but one ſubſtance in the univerſe, which is diverſified in particular beings only by figures and qualities, or interior configurations; in a manner as water, which is always eſſentially water, though it be in the ſhape of ſnow, hail, rain, or ice [b]. They deſcribe this original being, as a pure, limpid, ſubtil, infinite ſubſtance, which can neither be generated, nor corrupted, but is both perfect itſelf, and the perfection of all things, remaining in perpetual repoſe, but without heart, virtue, underſtanding, or power, the great property of its eſſence being neither to act, underſtand, nor will any thing [c]. This opinion is the fountain, from whence that, which we have mentioned to obtain among the *Japaneſe* [d], is derived; and differs from *Spinoziſm*, in allowing an emerſion of the world from a very different ſtate poſſible, if not actually to have been; as it does both from that and the *ſtoic* doctrine, in diveſting their firſt principle of activity and underſtanding. A follower of *Confucius* has refuted the extravagancies of this ſect, by that eſtabliſhed maxim, *that nothing can be produced from nothing*; by which he muſt have ſuppoſed, that they taught

[x] LA LOUBERE, Deſcript. de Siam, Tom. I. p. 396, &c. [y] So we chuſe to expreſs what other authors, following the Portugueſe ſpelling and pronunciation, write Xe, or Xe Kia, intending throughout this work, to reduce the orthography of the Chineſe, and Japaneſe words, as near as poſſible, to the Engliſh pronunciation; of which the reader will be more particularly informed in the preface. [z] See the Acta Eruditor. Lipſiæ, 1688. p. 257, in the Extract of the Philoſ. of Confucius, printed at Paris, 1687. [a] The Chineſe words are *Cung hia*, the Latin tranſlation, *Vacuum* or *inane*. [b] Biblioth. Univ. Tom. VII. pag. 406. [c] Acta Eruditor. Lipſiæ, 1688, pag. 258. [d] See before, p. 15.

the firſt principle of all things to be *nothing* [c], and conſequently, that the world had a beginning, without either an efficient cauſe, or matter. But it is more probable, that by the words, *void* and *emptineſs*, they intended only to expreſs that which has not the properties of ſenſible matter, and underſtand thereby what the moderns underſtand by *ſpace*, which is conceived to be diſtinct from body, and whoſe indiviſible, impalpable, penetrable, immoveable, and infinite extenſion is ſomething real. It is eaſy to perceive, that ſuch a being could not be the firſt principle, if it were inactive, as theſe *Chineſe* philoſophers pretend: *Spinoza* has not been ſo abſurd; the abſtract idea which he gives of the firſt principle is no more, properly ſpeaking, than the idea of *ſpace*; but then he endues it with motion, from whence all the varieties of matter may proceed [f].

Of the Siameſe; THE *Siameſe* have alſo ſome agreement with the *Stoics*, in their notion of the alternate deſtruction and renovation of the univerſe. Their *Talapoins* teach, that the figure or model of the world is eternal, but that the viſible world is not; for whatever we ſee in it, lives, in their opinion, and muſt die; and there will at the ſame time be re-produced other beings of the ſame kind, another heaven, another earth, and other ſtars; and in this manner, they ſay, nature has periſhed, and been renewed ſeveral times [g].

and the later Jews. NOR was this doctrine unknown to the later *Jews*, whoſe cabaliſts are ſuppoſed to account for the origin of things, by making them emanations from a firſt cauſe, and therefore pre-exiſtent, though perhaps under another form. They ſpeak alſo of the reſuming or withdrawing of things into the firſt being, by a revolution and reſtitution of them to their firſt ſtate; as if they believed their *En Soph* [h], or firſt infinite Being, to contain all things, and that there is always the ſame quantity of *being* in the univerſe, whether in the created, or uncreated ſtate. When it is in its uncreated or antemundane ſtate, GOD is ſimply all things; but when it becomes the world, the degree or quantity of being or entity is not encreaſed, but GOD expands and unfolds himſelf by emanations and effluxes, from the ſuperior to the lower parts, whereby the different forms and orders of created beings are conſtituted. For which reaſon they often ſpeak of greater and ſmaller veſſels, as it were to receive thoſe efluxes; and of effluent rays; and of canals, through which they flow and are propagated; in a word, when GOD

[c] Acta Erudit. Lipſiæ, ubi ſupra. [f] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. B. [g] LA LOUBERE, Deſcrip. de Siam. Tom I. p. 361. [h] אין סוף.

retracts

retracts thoſe rays; the external world periſhes, and all things again become GOD[i]: *he ſendeth forth his ſpirit, and they are created, and he reneweth the face of the earth: he hideth his face, and they are troubled, he taketh away their breath, they die, and return to their duſt*[k].

2. The opinion of thoſe who held two diſtinct co-eternal principles, GOD and matter.

WE come now to ſpeak of thoſe who held two diſtinct, and independent principles, co-exiſtent from eternity, GOD and matter; which is ſuppoſed to have been the opinion of *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*; and was certainly that of *Anaxagoras*, *Archelaus*, and ſeveral others.

The opinion of Pherecydes, Pythagoras.

WHAT was the opinion of *Pythagoras*'s maſter, *Pherecydes* of *Syros*, as to the origin of the world, is ſomewhat uncertain; from the firſt words of a treatiſe of his, extant in the time of *Diogenes Laertius*, which are indeed ſomewhat corrupted and obſcure, it ſeems, he believed three eternal beings, *Jupiter*, or GOD, time, and the earth[l]. But *Pythagoras* himſelf is ſaid to have aſſerted two ſubſtantial ſelf-exiſtent principles, a *Monad*, or unity, and a *Dyad*, or duality; by the former of which GOD, or an active principle or mind, is generally allowed to be meant (though ſome imagine the *pythagoric* monads were atoms[m]); but what the latter ſignified is uncertain, it being ſometimes interpreted to be a dæmon, or evil principle informing matter, or the viſible world[n], and at other times to be a paſſive principle, or matter itſelf[o]; the number *two* being uſed as a type, to ſhew the variety, inequality, diviſibility, and continual changes of matter, as *one* was to expreſs the unity, identity, indiviſibility, and unchangeableneſs of the divine nature[p]. Yet it may be queſtioned whether *Pythagoras* by his *Dyad* meant matter or no: for *Porphyry* thus interprets the two *pythagoric* principles. The cauſe, ſays he, of that ſympathy, harmony, and agreement which is in things, and of the conſervation of the whole, which is always the ſame, and like itſelf, was by *Pythagoras* called *Unity*, that unity which is in the things themſelves being but a participation of the firſt cauſe; but the reaſon of difference, inequality, and conſtant irregularity in things was by him called a *Dyad*[q]. Thus, according to *Porphyry*,

[i] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 63, &c. [k] Pſalm civ. 29, 30. [l] DIOG. LAERT in Pherecyde, p. 76. [m] See before, p. 41. [n] PLUTARCH de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. cap. 7. [o] Idem, ibid. cap. 3. Vid. NUMEN. apud. Euſeb de Præp Ev. & CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 371, &c. [p] Vid. DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. lv. [q] PORPHYR. in Vita Pythag. p. 203.

by the *pythagoric* dyad, is not ſo much meant matter, as the infinite and indeterminate nature, and paſſive capability of things. So that the monad, and dyad of *Pythagoras* ſeem to have been the ſame with *Plato*'s *finite*, and *infinite*[r]; the former of which two only is ſubſtantial, that firſt moſt ſimple being, the cauſe of all unity, and the meaſure of all things[s].

HOWEVER, if *Pythagoras*'s dyad be to be underſtood of a ſubſtantial matter, there ſeems good reaſon to believe, that he did not ſuppoſe matter to be ſelf-exiſtent and independent upon the Deity; ſince, according to the beſt and moſt antient writers, his dyad was no primary, but a ſecondary being only, and derived from his monad, the ſole original of all things, as matter for the monad, or active principle, which in the beginning was alone, to work upon[t]. For whatever *Ocellus Lucanus*, *Philolaus*[u], and ſome other *Pythagoreans* imagine of the world's eternity, *Pythagoras* himſelf really believed it to have had a beginning, and to have been made by GOD[x]; which is confirmed by its being given as one reaſon of his ſuperſtitious abſtinence from beans; that at the beginning things being confounded, mingled, and putrified together in the earth, the generation and ſecretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, animals being produced, and plants ſhooting forth; at which time, from the ſame putrified matter, ſprang up both men and beans[y]. But his acknowledging the creation of the world by GOD is ſtill more expreſs, in thoſe verſes cited for his by *Juſtin*[z], We ſhall content ourſelves to add here the teſtimony of St. *Cyril*, who aſſures us, that he held one GOD of the whole univerſe, the principle and cauſe of all things, illuminating and quickening the whole, and the original of motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of non-exiſtence into being[a].

BUT *Pythagoras*, it ſeems, did not only call the ſupreme Deity a monad, but alſo a tetrad, or tetractys, the explica-

[r] Or rather determinate, and indeterminate; πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον. PLAT. in Philebo. [s] CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. 372. [t] ALEXAND. de Succeſs. Philoſ. apud DIOG. LAERT. in Pythagora, p. 507. HERMIAS, in Irriſione Philoſoph. gent. THEODORET. Therap. II. THEARIDAS Pythagoreus, apud Clement. Alex. Strom. 5. p. 611, & in admonit. ad Gentes, p. 47. SUIDAS, in voce Pythagoras. [u] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. 393. [x] PLUT. de placitis Philoſ. l. 2. cap. 4. [y] PORPHYR. de Vita Pythag. [z] De Monarchia, p. 167. [a] CYRILL. cont. Julian. lib. 1.

tion of which has tortured the wits of ſeveral ages [b]. It is, in the golden verſes, ſaid to be the fountain of the eternal nature [c]; and by *Hierocles* the maker of all things, the intelligent god, the cauſe of the heavenly and ſenſible god, that is, of the animated world or heaven [d]. The later *Pythagoreans* endeavour to give reaſons why GOD ſhould be called *Tetractys*, from certain myſteries in the number four [e]; but the late conjecture of ſome learned men [f] ſeems to be much more probable, that this name was really nothing elſe but the Tetragrammaton, or that proper name of the ſupreme GOD amongſt the *Hebrews*, conſiſting of four letters [g]; nor is it ſtrange, *Pythagoras* ſhould be ſo well acquainted with the name JEHOVAH, ſince beſides his travelling into other parts of the eaſt, he is affirmed by *Joſephus*, *Porphyry*, and others, to have converſed with the *Hebrews* alſo. The worſt of *Pythagoras*'s theology was, that, repreſenting GOD as the mover of the univerſe, and the ſoul of the world, he taught, that our ſouls were portions of the divine ſubſtance [h].

THAT *Pythagoras* held numbers to be the principles of all things, is teſtified by all antiquity, and he thence accounted for the production of the world in this manner. He ſuppoſed that the monad and dyad were the two ſources of numbers, from whence proceeded points; from points lines; from lines plane figures; from planes ſolids; from ſolids ſenſible bodies; the elements of which are four; fire, water, earth, and air; and theſe are in perpetual change; from them the world was formed, being animated, intelligent, and ſpherical, containing in the midſt the earth, a globoſe body, and inhabited [i]. He taught, that the world began from fire, and the fifth element; and that there being five figures of ſolid bodies, called mathematical, or regular, the earth was made of the cube; fire of the pyramid, or tetrahedron; the air of the octahedron; water of the icoſahedron; and the ſphere of the univerſe of the dodecahedron [k].

[b] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 154, 157. [c] Verſ. 47, 48. [d] HIEROCLES, in Aur. Carm. [e] See CUDWORTH, p. 376. [f] PICUS MIRAND. SELDEN & GOTEF. WENDELIN. See alſo PHILO, in Vita Moſis, p. 519. [g] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. & DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. lvii. [h] CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. MINUT. FELIX, p. 151. LACTANT. l. 1. c. 5. [i] SUIDAS, in voce Pythagoras. DIOG. LAERT. in Pythag. p. 508. [k] PLUT. de placitis Phil. l. 2. c. 6. But the fifth figure, according to CLAVIUS and others, was added by ſome of Plato's followers.

Reflections thereon.

THIS method of philoſophizing, which was alſo adopted by *Plato*, if underſtood in the literal acceptation, has no manner of foundation in nature, nothing being more certain, than that numbers, if ever ſo variouſly combined, can generate nothing but numbers [l]. It is therefore more probable, that *Pythagoras* made uſe of them no otherwiſe than as emblems, or ſymbols: for ſuppoſing mathematical ſciences to poſſeſs a middle diſtance between corporeals and incorporeals, he began with them; thereby to wean the mind gradually from ſenſible things, and raiſe it to the contemplation of intelligible beings. And this is the reaſon why he had recourſe chiefly to numbers; for not being able ſufficiently to explain by words the firſt principles, he repreſented them by numbers [m]: which ſeems to be all *Pythagoras* deſigned, though his followers have ſought myſteries in his doctrine, which himſelf never dreamt of; yet it is not to be denied, that the great defect of that philoſopher, and of *Plato* alſo, was, that they reſolved natural things into mathematical reaſons, numbers, and proportions; as *Ariſtotle* afterwards did into logical reaſons.

THE monad, dyad, and tetrad we have already ſpoken of. As to the regular bodies, it is conjectured, that *Pythagoras* intended only to repreſent the elements under their forms, in imitation of other natural bodies. Thus he repreſented the fire by the figure of a pyramid, or tetrahedron, from its aſpiring to a point, or the acuteneſs of its flame; the air, being next in order to the fire, by an octahedron, which bears the neareſt reſemblance to the tetrahedron, being compoſed of two pyramids joined by a ſquare baſe; the water, becauſe of its fluidity, was repreſented by an icoſahedron; and the earth by a cube, to denote its ſtability; the cube being, of all the regular bodies, the leaſt adapted to motion [n]. Or if they were to be conſidered phyſically, perhaps *Pythagoras* ſuppoſed the conſtituent parts of the four elements to conſiſt of ſuch figures, according to their ſeveral ſpecific gravities: that the *molæ*, or primary particles of the earth, were cubes; for as the earth is the moſt ponderous of all the elements, ſo is the cube the heavieſt of all the regular bodies; that the particles of fire were tetrahedra, or triangular pyramids, fire being the lighteſt and moſt volatile element, as the tetrahedron is the

[l] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 158. [m] DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. lv. [n] SACROBIUS, apud Caſimir. Simienowicz. lib. 4. p. 263.

lighteſt

lighteſt of the ſame bodies; that the particles of the air had the form of an octahedron, which is the next lighteſt body of the five, as air is the next lighteſt to fire; and that the particles of water had the ſhape of an icoſahedron, which figure is a ſort of mean proportion between the cube and the octahedron, as the weight of water is between the weight of air and that of earth. As to the fifth body, the dodecahedron, which repreſents the heaven, or ſphere of the univerſe, it muſt be entirely emblematical, (if it be not rather a later addition to the *pythagoric* phyſiology, and no genuine part of it) the four faces of that figure being fancied to allude to the twelve ſigns of the zodiac [o], or elſe the four elements, ſeven heavens, and the firmament [p].

TIMÆUS LOCRUS, who was a *Pythagorean*, ſeems to have held the pre-exiſtence of matter, as if it were a ſelf-exiſtent principle together with GOD; for he affirms it to be eternal [q]: yet in another place he aſſerts the eternal GOD, who is viſible to the underſtanding only, to be the author and parent of all things, and that the world, which is viſible to our eyes, is the generated god [r]; and he diſtinguiſhes between the eternal duration of GOD, which had no beginning; and time, which was made together with the world, as an imitation of eternity [s]. He taught more particularly, that there were two principles of all things; *Mind*, the principle of thoſe things which are made according to reaſon; and *Neceſſity*, of thoſe which are produced by force, according to the powers of bodies; by which ſecond principle, he plainly means matter [t]. That before the making of the world, there were, beſides GOD, idea, or form, and rude matter; one being the intelligible pattern, or exemplar of all things, and the other the ſubject, which, being itſelf without figure, yet capable of all figures, was reduced by GOD into the determinate form of the viſible world; which, being the beſt production, is not corruptible by any other cauſe than the ſame GOD who compoſed it, if it ſhall at any time pleaſe him to diſſolve it [u]. So that *Timæus* ſeems really to have held two ſubordinate principles, matter and form;

The opinion of Timæus Locrus.

[o] Idem, ibid. [p] Vid. DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. cxxxiii. Vid. etiam TIMÆUM LOCRUM de Anima Mundi, Inter Opuſc. Mythol. &c. Edit. a T. Gale, 1688, p. 553, &c. [q] TIMÆUS, ibid. p. 544. [r] Idem, ibid. p. 549. [s] Ibid. p. 552. See alſo CLEM. ALEXAND. Strom. 5. p. 604. [t] Vid. MER. CASAUB. in Diog. Laert. in vita Plat. p. 207. [u] TIMÆUS, ibid. p. 543, &c. See STANLEY's Hiſt. of Philoſ. part IX. p. 419, 420.

wherein

and of Archytas *of* Tarentum.

wherein *Archytas* the *Tarentine*, who was also a *Pythagorean*, agreed with him, as supposing GOD to be the artificer and mover, matter that which is moved, and form the art introduced into the matter [x]; which was also the notion of *Plato*. We the rather take notice of the opinion of *Archytas* in this place, because he and *Pythagoras* are joined by *Censorinus* with *Ocellus Lucanus*, as believing mankind to have been from eternity [y].

The opinion of Plato.

PLATO, who, as well as his master *Socrates*, embraced the *pythagoric* notions as to the origin of the universe, held the three principles we have just mentioned, GOD, matter, and idea [z]; which are by *Laertius* reduced to two, GOD and matter [a]; the ideas, or original patterns of things conceived in the divine mind, being really no distinct principle from him, but the very mind of GOD, with whom they are often confounded, both by *Timæus*, and several of the *Platonics* [b]. It seems therefore certain, that *Plato* supposed matter to have been uncreated and eternal, as he often asserts it to be. But he has been defended in this respect by *Hierocles* [c], who, being himself convinced by the arguments on the other side, was willing to have it thought, for the honour of his sect, that its founder believed GOD capable of producing the world by a simple act of volition, though there was no pre-existent matter; and therefore maintained, that he really held an absolute creation out of nothing. Wherein *Hierocles* is thought to have been very singular [d]; and yet some moderns have followed him in that particular, supposing, that when *Plato* asserted matter to be eternal, he did not mean, that it subsisted visibly from all eternity, but only that it subsisted intellectually in the eternal idea of GOD [e]. And several passages have been cited from the works of that philosopher [f], which would give some grounds to suspect he really believed, that GOD created, or produced matter itself, as well as made and formed the world thereout, had he not so explicitly decla-

[x] STOBÆUS, Eclog. Phys. [y] CENSORINUS de die natali, cap. 3. where, instead of *Ocellus*, the common Editions have *Cereius*. [z] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philos. l. 1. c. 3. CHALCIDIUS in Timæum. APULEIUS, de doctrina Platonis, l. 1. [a] DIOG. LAERT. in Platon. p. 206, 212, &c. [b] Vid. MENAG. in Laert. p. 163, & MER. CASAUBON. in eundem loco jam citato. [c] HIEROCL. apud Photium, Biblioth. Cod. CCLI. pag. 1380. [d] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hist. Art. Hierocles, Philos. [e] DACIER. Vie de Platon. p. 123, &c. [f] Vid. ibid. & CUDWORTH's Intell. System, p. 404, 570, &c.

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red the contrary. Another opinion imputed to *Plato* by *Plutarch*, *viz.* the ſuppoſing of two intelligent and independent principles, a good and an evil one, will be conſidered by and by.

As to the formation of the world, *Plato* taught, that matter being at firſt unformed, and without any determinate figure, and being moved in an irregular and diſorderly manner, GOD, who prefers order to confuſion, gathered it together; and converting this ſubſtance into the four elements, of them made the world, and all things therein, faſhioning it according to the archetypal idea, or model thereof, which he had conceived in himſelf; and that he gave it a ſpherical figure, as the moſt perfect, and that which contains the reſt; and endued it with an intelligent ſoul, becauſe an animated being is more excellent than an inanimate, which ſoul of the world *Plato* ſuppoſed to be formed before its material body [g]. He alſo aſſerted the world to be incorruptible, not by its nature, but becauſe it is ſupported by divine providence [h]: and held not only the animated univerſe itſelf, but the ſeveral parts of nature, which he likewiſe ſuppoſed animated, to be gods, inferior indeed to the ſupreme GOD, but ſuperior to men, and juſtly challenging honour and worſhip from them. Theſe gods of *Plato* were for the moſt part fiery, being the celeſtial bodies, though he ſuppoſed the earth alſo to be a god, affirming it to be the oldeſt of all the gods within the heaven [i]: and he for this reaſon found fault with the *anaxagorean* doctrine, which made the planets and ſtars nothing but inanimate ſtones and earth [k].

ANAXAGORAS, who was not more conſpicuous for his wealth and nobility of birth, than the greatneſs of his mind [l], did indiſputably hold two co-eternal principles, GOD and matter; being the firſt (of the *Ionic* philoſophers at leaſt) who, as has been obſerved, introduced an intelligent being to move, ſeparate, and put in order the chaotic matter: whence he obtained the honourable ſurname of *Nous*, or *Mind* [m]. He admitted as many ſorts of principles as of compounded bodies: for he ſuppoſed, that every kind of body was formed of a great number of ſmall ſimilar par- *The opinion of Anaxagoras.*

[g] DIOG. LAERT. in Platon. p. 206, &c. PLATO, in Timæo. See alſo STANLEY's Hiſt. of Philoſ. Part V. p. 186. & BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 176. [h] PLUT. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 4. [i] DIOG. LAERT. in Platon. p. 211. [k] PLATO de Legib. l. 10. [l] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 83. [m] Idem, ibid. PLUTARCH. in Pericle.

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ticles; that a bone, for example, was nothing but a compoſition of many inviſible bones, and that the blood, which we ſee, was made up of many minute drops, every one of which was blood [n]; from the ſimilitude of which principles he called them *Homœomeriæ*. But this obliged him to allow, that the ſeeds, or principles of all kinds are found in every body, which throws his ſyſtem into a ſtrange confuſion; not to mention ſeveral other inconveniencies and contradictions therein [o]. As to the formation of the world, his doctrine ſeems to have been, that the mind, or intelligence who preſided thereat, and whom he allows to be the original of motion [p], finding in the infinite matter a vaſt number of particles which were like one another, but promiſcuouſly mixed with, and ſurrounded by others which were unlike, ſeparated the one from the other, and, joining together the corpuſcles of the ſame kind, formed of ſome a ſtar, of others a ſtone, *&c.* Notwithſtanding which, he has been ſeverely cenſured by ſeveral, as allowing too much to material neceſſity, and endeavouring to account for things, as far as poſſible, from the inherent forms and qualities of matter only, or any way, rather than bring in the Deity, to whom he never has recourſe, but when he is abſolutely at a loſs [q], and without whoſe interpoſition or knowledge, he admitted, ſome revolutions in nature happened [r]. As to the formation of animals, he taught, that they proceeded from the earth, being firſt generated of moiſture and heat, and after by mixture of the ſexes [s].

Of Archelaus.

ARCHELAUS, the ſucceſſor of *Anaxagoras*, moſt probably held the ſame principles with his maſter, namely, an infinite number of ſimilar particles, as St. *Auſtin* and *Simplicius* [t] teſtify; tho' others [u] tell us, that he ſuppoſed infinite air, its rarefaction and condenſation, the one being fire, and the other water, to be the principles of all things. He alſo thought men and animals were produced by the heat of the

[n] Vide LUCRET. de rer. Nat. l. 1. v. 830, &c. PLUT. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 84. ARIST. Phyſic. l. 1. c. 4.

[o] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagoras, Rem. C & G.

[p] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſupra.

[q] ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. c. 4.

[r] CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. 2. p. 364. EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 14. c. 14. p. 750.

[s] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 85.

[t] AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. SIMPLIC. in Ariſt. Phyſ. lib. 1. Vid. etiam CLEM. ALEXANDR. in Protrept. p. 43.

[u] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 3. Juſtin. Martyr, admonit ad Græcos. p. 4.

earth,

earth, which yielded a ſlimy ſubſtance like milk, ſerving for food[x].

EMPEDOCLES, who was an auditor both of *Pythagoras* and *Anaxagoras*, is ſaid to have followed the phyſiology of the latter. He held two cauſes of all things, contention and friendſhip, meaning thereby ſecretion and concretion, or the ſeparation and mixture of the primary matter, from which the elements were formed, and all things that have been, are, or ſhall be, plants, animals, men, and gods, derived their original[y]; yet he ſuppoſed, that contention and friendſhip did both depend on one ſupreme Deity, as their author[z]. For *Empedocles*, it ſeems, believed, that were it not for diſcord, or contention, all things would be one; ſo that, according to him, all things whatſoever proceeded from contention, together with a mixture of friendſhip, ſave only the ſupreme GOD, who hath no contention at all in him, becauſe he is eſſentially unity itſelf[a]. He taught, that the elements were compoſed out of ſmaller corpuſcles, which were moſt minute, and as it were the elements of the elements[b]. Agreeably to other atomiſts, he acknowledged no generation or corruption, properly ſo called, but aſcribed all to ſecretion and concretion[c]. He imagined the elements to have been produced in this order; firſt, that the æther was ſecreted, afterwards the fire, and then the earth, which being too cloſely preſſed by violence of the circumvolution, there iſſued thence water, from the evaporation of which proceeded the air. That the heaven was made of the æther, the ſun of the fire, and the things about the earth from the other elements[d]: ſo that the phyſiology of *Empedocles* was, at the bottom, the ſame with that of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*; only that he differed from them in ſome particulars, as in excluding a vacuum, and denying ſuch phyſical corpuſcles as were indiviſible, but chiefly in admitting an intelligent principle, by whoſe wiſdom the world was put into this order, as the beſt and moſt convenient for the good of the whole; tho' he ſometimes indulged too much to fortuitous mechaniſm, eſpecially in the ſtructure of animals[e]. We ſhall only obſerve further, that he held, according to the *pythagorean* doctrine, that there were two worlds, the one intel-

Of Empedocles.

[x] DIOG. LAERT. in Archelao, p. 89. [y] DIOG. LAERT. in Emped. p. 538. CICER. de Amicitia. CLEMENS ALEX. in admon. ad Gentes. ARIST. Phyſ. l. 8. SUIDAS, in voce Manes, &c. [z] ARISTOT. in Metaph. l. 3. c. 4. & de Mundo, p. 26. [a] CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſt. p. 392. [b] PLUTARCH de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 13. STOBÆUS, in Eclog. Phyſic. [c] PLUT. ubi ſup. l. 1. c. 24, & 30. [d] Idem, ibid. l. 2. c. 6. [e] Vid. CUDWORTH, p. 24, 25.

lectual

lectual, and the other ſenſible; the former of them being the model, or archetype of the latter [f].

Of Plutarch *and ſeveral others.*

THAT *Plutarch* maintained the eternity of matter is paſt all queſtion; he expreſly aſſerting, that the ſubſtance, or matter, out of which the world was made, was not itſelf made, but always ready at hand, and ſubject to the artificer, to be ordered and diſpoſed by him. For, in his opinion, the making of the world was not the production of it out of nothing, but out of an antecedent bad and *diſorderly* ſtate, like the making of a houſe, garment, or ſtatue [g].

IT is alſo well known, that *Hermogenes*, and other antient pretenders to chriſtianity, did in like manner aſſert the ſelf-exiſtence and improduction of matter, for which reaſon they were commonly called *Materiarians*; endeavouring by this means to give an account (as the *Stoics* had done before them) of the original of evils, and to free GOD from the imputation thereof. And they argued in this manner; GOD made all things either out of himſelf, or out of nothing, or out of pre-exiſtent matter: he could not make all things out of himſelf, becauſe himſelf being always unmade, he ſhould then really have been the maker of nothing; and he did not make all out of nothing, becauſe, being eſſentially good, he would have made every thing in the beſt manner, and ſo there could have been no evil in the world: but ſince there are evils, and theſe could not proceed from the will of GOD, they muſt needs ariſe from the fault of ſomething, and therefore of the matter out of which things were made [h]. Some modern ſects of the chriſtian profeſſion do alſo, at this day, aſſert the uncreatedneſs of matter; but theſe ſuppoſe, as the *Stoics* did, body to be the only ſubſtance [i].

BUT ſome went ſtill farther, and maintained, that the chaos, or original matter, was animated by an evil or maleficent ſoul, thereby conſtituting a third ſelf-exiſtent principle. And this was the opinion of *Plutarch*, whom we have juſt mentioned, and of *Numenius* and *Atticus* [k]. The firſt not only expreſly aſſerts, that a mad irrational ſoul, and an unformed diſorderly body did co-exiſt with one another from eternity, neither of them having any generation or beginning [l]; but diſcovers no ſmall fondneſs for this notion in ſeveral parts of his works [m], and profeſſedly endeavours to

[f] SIMPLIC. in Phyſic. Ariſt. Vid. PLUT. ubi ſup. l. 1. c. 20. [g] PLUT. de Pſychog. Platon. p. 1014, 1015, &c. [h] TERTULLIAN. adv. Hermog. p. 282. [i] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 197. [k] PROCL. in Tim. p. 116. [l] PLUT. in quæſt. Platon. p. 1003. [m] Idem, de Pſychog. Plat. & de Iſide & Oſiride, &c.

eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh it by the beſt arguments he can; pretending, that otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to account, in a ſatisfactory manner, for the original of evil. For as evil could not be produced without ſome poſitive cauſe, it being ridiculous to imagine it came into the world by accident; and as neither GOD, who is eſſentially good, nor mere inactive matter, void of all form and quality, could be the cauſe of evil; he therefore concluded, that it muſt proceed from a certain irrational and maleficent ſoul, or dæmon, unmade, and co-exiſting with GOD and matter from eternity. So that whatever is good in the ſoul and body of the univerſe, and likewiſe in the ſouls of men and dæmons, is to be aſcribed to GOD, as its only original; and whatever is evil, irregular, and diſorderly in them, ought to be imputed to that other ſubſtantial evil principle. And to ſupport this opinion by authority, as well as reaſon, he would perſuade us, that it was the conſtant belief of all the pagan nations, and of the wiſeſt men, and philoſophers that ever were among them [n]; imputing it to the *Egyptians*, who, as he imagines, repreſented the evil principle under the name of *Typhon*; to *Zoroaſtres*, and the *Perſian* Mages, who are alſo by *Laertius* affirmed to have maintained two principles, a good dæmon, and an evil one [o] (tho' it has been queſtioned, whether they really believed the evil principle to be eternal or not); to the *Chaldeans*, becauſe their aſtrologers ſuppoſed two of the planets to be beneficent, two maleficent, and three of a middle nature; and to the antient *Greeks*, becauſe they ſacrificed not only to *Jupiter Olympius*, but alſo to *Hades*, or *Pluto*, who was ſometimes called by them the infernal *Jupiter*: ſuppoſing alſo the monad and dyad of *Pythagoras*, the contention and friendſhip of *Empedocles*, the mind and infinite matter of *Anaxagoras*, to be no other than a good and evil GOD. But above all he endeavours to prove, that *Plato* was an undoubted champion for this opinion, and that chiefly for theſe reaſons: firſt, becauſe that philoſopher ſpeaks of a neceſſary and innate appetite, which may ſometimes turn the heavens a contrary way, and by that means cauſe the diſorder and confuſion [p]; ſecondly, becauſe he ſpeaks of two kinds of ſouls, whereof one is beneficent, but the other the contrary [q]; and laſtly, becauſe he ſuppoſes the matter to have been moved diſorderly before the world was made, which implies, there was a diſorderly and

[n] Idem, de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 369, &c. [o] DIOG. LAERT. in proœm. [p] PLAT. in Politic. [q] Idem, de Legib. l. 10.

irrational

irrational ſoul exiſting with it, as the mover of it, matter being unable to move itſelf. But as to the firſt of theſe allegations, it has been obſerved, that *Plato*, as if it had been purpoſely to prevent ſuch an interpretation of his meaning, in the paſſage there quoted, as this of *Plutarch*'s, adds, that it muſt not be ſuppoſed, there are two gods of contrary minds, turning the heavens ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another. Which might alſo ſerve for an anſwer to what is afterwards urged, as if *Plato* had affirmed, that there were two ſouls, the one beneficent, and the other the contrary, becauſe this would be all one as to introduce two gods: but in that place it is conceived, that *Plato* did only diſtribute ſouls in general into good and evil; thoſe moral differences properly belonging to that rank of beings called by him ſouls, and ariſing from them, according to his premiſed doctrine, that ſoul is the cauſe of good and evil, juſt and unjuſt: but, then, afterwards making enquiry concerning the ſoul of the world, or heaven, he poſitively concludes, that it was no other than a ſoul endued with all virtue[r], As to the laſt reaſon, that matter is ſaid by *Plato* to have been moved diſorderly, it is ſuppoſed, that he did therein only adhere to that vulgarly received tradition, that the world was formed from a chaos, or matter confuſedly moved, and afterwards brought into order[s]. And as to the origin of evil, *Plato* is conceived neither to have imputed it to GOD himſelf, nor derived it from unqualified matter, nor yet from any irrational and maleficent ſoul, but the neceſſity of imperfect beings[t].

HOWEVER, ſome mongrel chriſtians, as the *Marcionites*, *Manichæans*, and *Paulicians*, did really maintain this opinion of two ſelf-exiſtent gods, a good and an evil one, which latter *Manes* called *Hyle*, or matter[u].

The opinion of thoſe who held the world to be abſolutely created, and liable to diſſolution.

HAVING now done with the ſecond of thoſe opinions, under which we comprehended the ſeveral notions, which have been entertained concerning the origin of the univerſe, we come to ſpeak of the laſt, and only true one; that the world had a beginning, being abſolutely produced by GOD out of a ſtate of non-exiſtence, and conſequently, that it is of its own nature liable to diſſolution.

AND beſides ſuch of the nations, and philoſophers already mentioned, who moſt probably believed this creation of the world, though ſuſpected of contrary opinions, there

[r] Idem, ibid. [s] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 218, &c. Vid BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Zoroaſtre, Rem. E. [t] CUDWORTH, p 220. [u] AUGUST. contr. Fauſt. l. 20. c. 3.

were

were ſeveral among the heathens who unqueſtionably did ſo.

WE ſhall firſt inſtance in the antient *Tuſcans*, or *Etruri-ans*, whoſe tradition we have from one of their own writers. He ſays, that GOD, the author of the univerſe, employed twelve thouſand years in all his creations, and diſtributed them into twelve houſes. That in the firſt chiliad, or thouſand years, he made the heaven and earth; in the next, the firmament which appears to us, calling it heaven; in the third, the ſea and all the waters that are in the earth; in the fourth, the great lights, the ſun, and moon, and alſo the ſtars; in the fifth, every volatile, reptile, and four-footed animal, in the air, earth, and water; in the ſixth, man. It ſeems therefore, according to them, that the firſt ſix thouſand years were paſſed before the formation of man, and that mankind are to continue for the other ſix thouſand years, the whole time of conſummation being twelve thouſand years [x]. For they held, that the world was ſubject to certain revolutions, wherein it became transformed, and a new age and generation began: of ſuch generations there were in all, according to them, eight, differing from one another in cuſtoms and way of life; each having a duration of a certain number of years aſſigned them by GOD, and determined by the period which they called, *the great year*. The approach of ſuch a change in the world was judged, by the *Tuſcan* diviners, to be portended by a prodigy which happened in the time of *C. Marius*, when the air being perfectly clear and ſerene, there was heard a ſhrill and mournful ſound of a trumpet, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of every body [y]. And theſe are all the remains we now have of the old *Etrurian* phyſiology; which may be ſuppoſed to have been well worth our knowledge, that nation being particularly curious and diligent in their enquiries into nature [z]. Beſides thoſe we have already mentioned, who entertained this opinion of the mundane revolutions, the *Druids* alſo taught the alternate diſſolution of the world by water and fire, and its ſucceſſive renovation [a]. *The opinion of the antient* Tuſcans, *and of the* Druids.

THE *Mages*, among the antient *Perſians*, did alſo acknowledge the world to have been created by GOD, as their ſucceſſors muſt certainly do at this day [b]; but being at a loſs otherwiſe to account for the original of evil, they *The opinion of the* Perſian Magi.

[x] Anonym. apud SUID. in voce Tyrrheni. [y] PLUTARCH. in Sylla, p. 456. [z] DIODOR. SIC. l. 5. p. 316. [a] STRABO, lib. 4. [b] See LORD's account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 5.

held two principles, a good dæmon, or God, and an evil one [c]; the firſt the author of all good, and the other of all evil; the former they ſuppoſed to be repreſented by light, and the latter by darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols; and that of the compoſition of thoſe two, all things in the world are made. The good principle, or GOD, they named *Yezad*, or *Yezdân*, and *Ormozd*, or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes*; and the evil dæmon they called *Ahârîman*, or *Ahrîman*, and the *Greeks Arimanius* [d]. Intending in the proper place to give a more particular detail of the antient religion of the *Magi*, and their ſeveral tenets, true or ſuppoſed, we ſhall only obſerve here, that though one ſect of them held, as the *Manichæans*, and ſome other heretics did, both theſe principles to have been from all eternity, yet they are reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or GOD only was eternal, and the other created: which appears not only from the unanimous teſtimony of the eaſtern writers, but from what genuine remains we have of *Zoroaſtres* in the *Greek*, particularly the following deſcription of the ſupreme Deity, taken from the very words of *Zoroaſtres* himſelf; GOD, ſays he, has the head of a hawk (which muſt be a ſymbolical expreſſion), and is the firſt of all things, incorruptible, eternal, unmade, without parts, unlike any other being, the promoter of all good, impartial, the beſt of the good, the moſt prudent of the prudent; he is the father of equity and juſtice, ſelf-inſtructed, natural, perfect, and wiſe, and the ſole inventor of what is holy in nature [e]. And indeed that the evil dæmon was not believed to be ſelf-exiſtent, appears from what *Plutarch* himſelf, though he ſo confidently affirms the contrary, ſays of his future deſtruction, it being impoſſible, that what is uncreated ſhould ever be deſtroyed [f].

THAT writer gives the following account of the *magian* traditions in relation to their gods, and the introduction of evil into the world, *viz.* That *Oromazes* conſiſted of moſt pure light, and *Arimanius* of darkneſs; and that they were at war with each other: that *Oromazes* created ſix gods; the firſt the author of benevolence, the ſecond of truth,

[c] DIOG. LAERT. in Procem. p. 6. [d] Vid. HYDE, de Relig. veter. Perſar. cap. 9. [e] ZOROASTRES, in ſacra collectione rituum Perſ. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. cap. 10. pag. 42. OSTANES the Mage alſo wrote in the ſame manner of the Deity, ibid. [f] Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 222.

the

the third of juſtice, the others of wiſdom, riches, and the pleaſure which attends good actions; and that *Arimanius* made as many; who were the authors of the oppoſite evils, or vices: that then *Oromazes*, triplicating himſelf, removed as far from the ſun, as the ſun is from the earth, and adorned the heaven with ſtars, appointing the dog-ſtar for their guardian and leader: that he alſo created twenty four other gods, and incloſed them in an egg; but *Arimanius* having alſo made an equal number, theſe laſt perforated the egg, by which means evil and good became mixed together. However, the fatal time will come, when *Arimanius*, the introducer of plagues and famine, muſt be of neceſſity utterly deſtroyed by the former, and annihilated; then the earth being made plain and even, mankind ſhall live in a happy ſtate, in the ſame manner, in the ſame political ſociety, and uſing one and the ſame language. *Theopompus* writes, that, according to the *Magians*, the ſaid two gods, during the ſpace of three thouſand years, alternately conquer, and are conquered; that for other three thouſand years, they will wage mutual war, fight, and deſtroy the works of each other, till at laſt *Hades* (or the evil ſpirit) ſhall periſh, and men become perfectly happy, their bodies needing no food, nor caſting any ſhadow: that GOD, who contrives this ſcene of things, reſts and repoſes himſelf for a certain ſeaſon, which is not long to him, but like the intermiſſion of ſleep to men [g].

A tradition of the modern Perſians.

THE modern *Perſians* have a peculiar tradition, which they pretend to have received from *Zoroaſtres*, that GOD created the world, not in ſix natural days, but in ſix times, or ſpaces of different length, called in their tongue *Gâhanbârha*, and making in all three hundred and ſixty five days, or a year complete: as to the ſeveral names of which, their order, number of days, and the ſeveral parts of the creation performed therein reſpectively, all authors agree; though they differ as to the particular part of the year from which they begin. Their names and order are as follow:

THE firſt time is called *Mid-yûzeram*, and contains the ſpace of fifty five days; in which the heavens were created.

THE ſecond is *Mîd-yûſham*, or *Mîd-yûſhaham*, of ſixty days; in this the waters were created [h].

[g] PLUTARCH. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 369. [h] Mr. LORD, in his account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 6, and 41, makes the work of this ſecond ſpace to be the creation of hell.

THE third, *Pitîſhahîm*, or *Pitiſhahim-gáh*, conſiſts of ſeventy five days; wherein the earth was created.

THE fourth is *Iyâſeram*, or *Iyâſhebram*, of thirty days; in which the trees and plants were created.

The fifth is *Midiyârîm*, containing eighty days; in which ſpace the animals were created.

THE ſixth, *Hameſpitamidim*, was that wherein man was created, being ſeventy five days [i].

The opinion of the old Brachmans, *and modern* Bramins.

THE old *Indian* philoſophers, called by the *Greeks* *Brachmanes*, held, that the world was generated or made, and alſo periſhable, being ſubject to ſucceſſive diſſolutions and renovations: that the principles of all things were different, but the formation of the world commenced from water [k]; and that the cauſe of GOD's making all things was his eſſential goodneſs [l]. And theſe are alſo the ſentiments of the modern *Bramins*, their ſucceſſors: but the particulars of their doctrines are related, by different authors, with a variety not eaſy to reconcile; the occaſion of which has been partly the reſervedneſs of the *Bramins*, who are extremely ſhy of converſing with ſtrangers, or making them the leaſt diſcoveries, but more the relators want of ſkill in their language.

THEIR tradition, as delivered by one writer [m], is, that the great GOD being alone, and intending to manifeſt his goodneſs and power, conſulted with himſelf about the creation of the univerſe, and, as the ground-work of this mighty frame, made four elements, which were at firſt confuſedly mingled together, but the Almighty ſeparated them in the following manner. Firſt, by ſome great cane, or like inſtrument, he blew upon the waters, which aroſe into a bubble of a round form, like an egg, which ſpreading itſelf farther and farther, made the clear and tranſparent firmament, that incompaſſes the world. After this of the remaining water, and its ſediment, GOD made a round ball, which he called the lower world; the ſolid part whereof became the earth, and the more fluid the ſea, both making one globe, which, by a great noiſe or humming ſound, he placed in the midſt of the firmament. Then he created the ſun and moon in the firmament, to diſtinguiſh times and ſeaſons. And thus the elements became ſeparated, and aſſigned to their proper places, and began to perform their offices, the air filling up all interſtices, the fire nouriſhing

[i] HYDE, Hiſt. Rel. veter. Perſar. p. 164, &c. [k] MEGASTHENES, apud Strab. l. 15. p. 713. [l] Vid. PHILOST°. in vita Apollonii, p. 142. [m] LORD's Diſcovery of the Banian Religion, extracted from their ſacred book called *Shaſter*.

by

by its heat, and the earth and ſea bringing forth the living creatures proper to each. And to theſe GOD imparted a ſeminal virtue, that they might be fruitful; and thus was the world created.

GOD having thus made the world, he then created man, as a creature more worthy than the reſt; whom the earth, at GOD's command, produced from its bowels, his head firſt appearing, and afterwards the other parts of his body, into which GOD infuſed life, and afterwards made him a companion, which was a woman, reſembling him more in mind and diſpoſition than outward ſhape. The firſt man's name was *Pourous*, and the woman's *Parcoutee*; whoſe deſcendants being, for their wickedneſs, deſtroyed by a deluge, GOD afterwards created three perſons of greater perfection, called *Bremaw*, *Vyſtney*, and *Ruddery*, to each of whom he gave a different office and power; to the firſt, that of creating or producing men or other animals; to the ſecond, that of preſerving and feeding them; and to the laſt, that of deſtroying them; which charges they ſeverally executed, in the manner that ſhall be related in a more proper place.

ANOTHER [n] tells us, that the *Bramins* acknowledge one ſole and ſupreme GOD, but are not perfectly agreed which of their gods he is; one ſect affirming him to be *Wiſtnou*, another, *Eſwara*; and a third holding *Wiſtnou* and *Eſwara* to be one and the ſame: that they all teach, however, that his firſt and moſt antient production was a ſecondary god, named *Bramma*, whom the ſupreme GOD formed out of a flower, which floated on the great deep, before the creation of the world; and that GOD afterwards, on account of *Bramma*'s virtue, gratitude, and fidelity, gave him power to create the univerſe.

BUT the proteſtant miſſionaries lately ſent to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, have given accounts ſomewhat different from the preceding, and which yet may, perhaps, deſerve more regard, as written by men who were not unacquainted with the *Malabarian* tongue. In one of their letters it is ſaid, that the *Malabarians* (who are one of thoſe nations which follow the religion of the *Bramins*) own but one divine Being the ſpring and original ſource of all other gods and things, called by them *Iſparetta*, which, in their language, imports as much as a Deity. This *Iſparetta*, they ſay, before any thing was created, transformed himſelf into an egg; out of which the whole ſyſtem of heaven and earth,

[n] ABR. ROGER. of the Religion of the *Bramins*, (ſaid to be taken from one of the ſacred Books called *Vedam*) Part 1. c. 3. *and* Part 2. c. 1.

and all things contained therein, were afterwards produced. From this divinity, as their tradition runs, did originally ſpring ſomething which they call *Kiwelinga*, and which they worſhip in their temples as a god. From this *Kiwelinga*, three other great gods took their riſe; *Bramma*, *Wiſhtnum*, and *Iſpara*. *Bramma* is ſaid to create and make all things; *Wiſhtnum*, to rule over things created; and *Iſpara*, to deſtroy them again °.

In another letter we are told, the ſupreme Being is called *Barbara Waſtu*, who, as the *Indians* believe, does not concern himſelf immediately about things of ſmall moment; but having created ſome other great gods, as his vicegerents, he by them moves and influences the world, and all creatures contained therein. Theſe gods have again their ſubordinate gods, who have their particular ſtations and government of things aſſigned them. The theogony, or gradual production of which gods is deſcribed in the following ſeries. 1. The Being of all beings, or the ſupreme God, created eternity. 2. Eternity brought forth *Tiſhiwen*. 3. By this *Tiſhiwen* the goddeſs *Tſhaddy* was created. 4. The goddeſs *Tſhaddy* produced *Putadi*, or the elementary and ſenſitive world. 5. By *Putadi* a ſound or ringing was generated. 6. The ſound's off-ſpring was nature. 7. Nature afterwards begot the great god *Tſhatatſhiwen*. 8. Which laſt again produced another great god called *Mageſhurn*. 9. From *Mageſhurn* ſprang *Ruddiren* or *Iſpuren*. 10. From *Ruddiren* the great god *Wiſhtnum*. 11. This laſt created *Bruma*. 12. *Bruma* was the productive principle of the ſoul. 13. The ſoul at length created the heaven, or that vaſt expanſion between heaven and earth, which makes up the fifth element, according to their philoſophy, or rather the receptacle of the other four elements. 14. The heaven begat the air. 15. The air begat the fire. 16. The fire begat the water. 17. And the water the earth. Beſides a tedious genealogy of other gods and prophets, carried to a great length. They acknowledge their inferior gods to be ſubject to various changes, as well as the creatures themſelves: and that each of them has his fixed term of life and government allotted them: after the expiration of all which determined times, every thing ſhall return to the Being of all beings, and there ſhall follow a new creation. As to the creation of man, they ſay, that ſixty thouſand men were created at firſt, but that half of them turned devils ſoon after, and the other half remained men;

° Propagation of the goſpel in the Eaſt, Part 1. Letter 3.

both

both of them being, in proceſs of time, multiplied to infinite numbers [p].

THOUGH the *Chineſe* have, for ſome time paſt, been generally infected with the impious opinions which have been taken notice of, it is however certain, that before idolatry prevailed in *China*, they acknowledged one GOD, or ſupreme, eternal, omnipotent ſpirit, the lord of heaven and earth, and the governor and director of all things, whom they worſhipped under the name of *Shang ti*. But this opinion now obtains with very few, and thoſe of the better ſort [q]. Theſe hold, that a chaos was the beginning of things, from which GOD produced and formed whatſoever is material in the univerſe. But this they diſtinguiſh into two principles, which they call *Yn* and *Yang*; *Yn* ſignifies hidden or imperfect; *Yang* revealed or perfect; which two principles by combination produce four images or ſigns, which ſeem to repreſent the four elements; whence proceed eight forms or ſymbols; and theſe repreſent certain general things, whereon the generation and corruption of all things depend, being the heaven, the earth, thunder, mountains, fire, clouds, waters, and wind; which again mutually combined, produce ſixty-four ſymbols, compleating, as it were, the number of the univerſe; concerning which they have much myſterious learning. They ſay the heaven was firſt perfected, then the earth, after which genii or ſpirits were produced, and then mankind; and that the firſt man, whom they call *Puoncu*, was generated from the chaos, as from an egg; the ſhell of which became the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth: others ſay, he came out of a certain deſert, but that his original is unknown [r].

The opinion of ſome among the Chineſe,

THEY divide the period wherein the world was created, and will be deſtroyed, as they do their natural day, into twelve hours or times, conſiſting each of ten thouſand eight hundred years. The twelfth hour, or at midnight, the heaven was made; the earth, the firſt hour after midnight; and man, the ſecond. Their emperor *Ya* was created the ſixth hour, or at noon; and the age wherein we now live is the ſeventh hour (though ſome count a much larger number of years from the beginning of the world). The ninth hour, they ſay, there will be a great diſorder and confuſion of all things, cruel wars, commotions in kingdoms,

and Japaneſe;

[p] Ibid. Part 2. Letter 3. See alſo KIRCHER. China illuſt. p. 154. &c. [q] MARTINII Hiſt. Sinic. l. 1 p. 11. [r] Ibid. p. 13, 14.

and public calamities, till all things return to the chaos whence they firſt proceeded [r].

THERE are alſo ſome, even among the *Japaneſe*, who acknowledge this truth of the creation of the world, and entertain a much more noble idea of their god *Amida*, than the generality of them do. For they ſay, he is inviſible, diſtinct from the nature of the elements, and exiſting before the creation of heaven and earth, without beginning or end; that by him all things were created, his eſſence paſſing through heaven and earth, and beyond them; being limited to no place, and governing and preſerving all things; that he is immoveable, incorporeal, without any viſible accident, whereby he may be ſeen by the bodily eyes; and this god they hold in great reverence, as the perpetual fountain of all good [s].

and of ſeveral American nations.

SEVERAL nations in *America* alſo entertained the ſame belief of a creation; of which ſome inſtances might be given: but their opinions containing little curious, as to the original of things, we have, to avoid prolixity, choſen to omit them.

A general reflection.

SOME of the accounts we have given above will, no doubt, be taken by the generality of readers, to be very abſurd and ridiculous: but before they paſs an abſolute judgment, they are deſired to conſider the imperfection of philoſophy in thoſe early times, and that the antients, as well *Greeks* as *Barbarians*, wrapped up and concealed their true doctrines, particularly thoſe concerning the origin of things, under the vails of ſymbols, ænigmas, and myſtical allegories [u]; for which reaſon many things in the preceding accounts, which may ſeem ſtrange and fabulous, will not, perhaps, deſerve to be treated with all the contempt they muſt needs meet with, from thoſe who underſtand them in the obvious and literal ſenſe: nor, perhaps, is it poſſible for us, at this diſtance of time, to give any tolerable explications of them; and therefore, omitting ſuch diſquiſitions, we have confined ourſelves to the bare hiſtorical narration.

The Moſaic account of the creation.

AND now we come to the only authentic and genuine hiſtory of the creation; which has been left us by *Moſes*, and carries with it all the marks of truth and probability, even though it be regarded only as a human compoſition,

[r] Ex Libro Sinico de Natura, ibid. p. 13. [s] LUD. FROES. apud Kircher. Chin. illuſtr. p 142. [u] Vid. PHORNUT, de Nat Deor. c. ult. CLEM. ALEXANDR. Strom. 5. p. 556. & BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 89. &c.

and

and ſeparate from divine authority: and it is to this purpoſe.

IN the beginning GOD created the heaven and the earth [x]. The earth, after its immediate creation, was for ſome time a promiſcuous dark, fluid, and unformed chaos, or maſs of matter [y], which GOD, in the ſpace of ſix days, diſpoſed and reduced into the preſent form of the world; his ſpirit moving, or brooding over the ſurface of the water, or fluid matter to influence and actuate the ſame.

THE firſt thing that appeared was light; the ſeparation of which from the darkneſs was the work of the firſt day [z].

THEN GOD made an expanſion [a] in the midſt of the waters, to divide the waters above from the waters below; which expanſion *Moſes* calls heaven: and this was the ſecond day's work [b].

ON the third day, GOD cauſed the earth to be drained, and the waters to be gathered together, chiefly into one great receptacle, or the ocean; whereupon the dry land appeared: after which the earth produced all ſorts of plants, herbs, and trees, bearing their ſeveral ſeeds and fruits, according to their various kinds [c].

THE fourth day GOD made the ſun and moon, and placed them in the heaven to illuminate the earth; to diſtinguiſh between day and night, and divide the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year; the ſtars were alſo made this day [d].

THE fifth day GOD created all the fiſhes, and inhabitants of the waters; and alſo the fowls of the air, which were likewiſe produced out of the water [e].

ON the ſixth day GOD made all the terreſtrial animals, the cattle, creeping things, and beaſts of the field. And laſt of all he created man, forming his body of the duſt of the earth, and animating him with a living ſoul [f]; and out of the man he made the woman, taking her out of his ſide, having firſt caſt him into a profound ſleep [g].

THIS is the ſubſtance of what *Moſes* has delivered concerning the creation of the world; which being ſhort, and rather ſuited to the capacities of the people he deſigned to inſtruct, than written for the ſatisfaction of a philoſophic

[x] Geneſ. c. i. verſ 1. [y] Ib. verſ. 2. [z] Verſ 3, 4, 5. [a] This is the true ſignification of the Hebrew רקיע and not *Firmament*, which was taken from the *Greek* Interpreters. [b] Ibid. verſ. 6, &c. [c] Verſ 9, &c. [d] Verſ. 14, &c. [e] Verſ. 20, &c. [f] verſ. 26. [g] Cap. ii. verſ. 21, &c.

enquirer,

enquirer, has left room for various explications, and the setting up of several very different hypotheses.

The Cartesian *hypothesis.*

It may be expected, we should say something of the hypothesis of Mr. *Des Cartes*, though he has endeavoured rather to form a fine system of his own, than to explain the *Mosaical* description, and reconcile it with philosophy. He agrees with *Epicurus*, in making matter and motion the principles of nature; supposing, however, the being of a God, who both created the matter, and impressed the first motion upon it; but then, after this motion once begun, and the wheels set a going, he leaves this vast machine to the laws of mechanism, which affect all things, both celestial and terrestrial, without any farther assistance from the first impressor [h], after the following manner.

He supposes, 1. That the matter of which the world is composed, being at first of one uniform nature, and infinitely divisible, was actually divided into many particles of a moderate size, which had all such a motion as is now found in the world. 2. That all these particles were not at first spherical, because many such little globes, joined together, will not fill up a continued space; but that, of whatever figure they were at first, by their continual motion, and frequent occursions against each other, their angles would be cut off, and they become spherical. 3. He asserts, that there is no space left empty, and therefore, when these round particles, by being joined together, leave some intervals between them, he supposes, that there are other lesser particles, arising from those angles that were cut off, which, by the force and celerity of their motion, will be divided into innumerable still less fragments, proper to fill up all the interstices. 4. He supposes, that some of these fragments, taken from the angles of the spherical particles, will necessarily have very angular figures, and, upon that account, being not so fit for motion, will be apt to stick together, and transfer a great part of their motion to such particles as are less, and consequently move swifter. These things being supposed, he proceeds to the formation of the world from his three elements, which consist of the three sorts of particles above-mentioned. The first element, which is the subtile matter cut off from the angles of the greater particles, is that of the sun and fixed stars, and susceptible of a much quicker motion than the other two: the second element consists of the spherical particles themselves, of which the heavens were made: the third element consists of those angular particles which are less adapted to

[h] Baker's Reflections on Learning, cap. 7.

motion,

motion, and thence proceeded the earth, planets, comets, and other appearances of nature [i].

HE ſuppoſes, that the ſolar ſyſtem is a vortex continually whirling round, whoſe matter (excepting the earth and planets) is very liquid and tranſparent, conſiſting altogether of the firſt and ſecond elements, and containing a greater quantity of the firſt, than is ſufficient to fill up the ſpaces between the particles of the ſecond. And ſince all bodies which move circularly endeavour to recede from the centre of their motion, and the more thick and ſolid parts, ſuch as the particles of the ſecond element, are obliged to fly off with a greater force than the reſt; the particles of the ſecond element muſt neceſſarily recede from the common centre, and approach one another, as much as their figure and motion will permit. After their interſtices therefore are filled up, the remaining matter of the firſt element takes the place left by the ſecond; by which means a maſs, or heap of the matter of the firſt element, ſettles, and is formed in the midſt of the vortex, which maſs we call the ſun [k]. Every one of the fixed ſtars he ſuppoſes likewiſe to be a ſun, and the centre of a vortex; and that the earth was originally ſuch a ſtar, whoſe vortex was adjoining to that of the ſun; but by degrees it was covered over, or incruſted with ſpots, ariſing on its ſurface, like the ſcum on a boiling pot, which ſtill increaſing, and growing thicker and thicker, the ſtar loſing its light and activity, and, conſequently, the motion of the celeſtial vortex about it growing more weak, languid, and unable to reſiſt the vigorous incroachments of the neighbouring vortex of the ſun; it was at laſt drawn in, and wholly abſorbed by it, and forced to comply with its motion, and make one in the choir of the ſun's ſatellites [l].

BUT this hypotheſis is liable to ſeveral objections, and ſome which abſolutely ruin it. The three elements of *Des Cartes*, and particularly the ſubtile matter of the firſt, have been ſhewn to be imaginary, and his vortices fictitious, and repugnant to the nature of things; his ſuppoſition of a *plenum* is alſo evidently falſe, not to mention the abſurdities which follow his making of matter and ſpace, or extenſion, to be the ſame [m]. However, we cannot but think the eſſay of *Objections thereto.*

[i] Vid. STILLINGFLEET, Orig. Sacræ. RAY on the Creation. CARTESII Princip. Philoſ. part 3. §. 52. ROHAULT. Phyſ. part 1. c. 21. [k] ROHAULT. ibid. par. 2. c. 25. [l] RAY's Phyſico-Theol. Diſcourſes, Diſc. 3. c. 5. ſect. 3. Vid. DES CARTES, Princip. Philoſ. part 4. §. 2. [m] Vid. NEWTON, Princip. l. 2. prop. 38, 40, 53, &c. Ejuſdem, Optic. p. 311, 342, &c. & Notas S. CLARKE ad ROHAULTI Phyſ. part 1. c. 8, & 12. & part 2. c. 25, &c.

that

that philoſopher, who endeavoured to account for the formation of the world, in a certain time, from a rude matter, by the ſole continuation of a motion once impreſſed, and reduced to a few ſimple and general laws; or of others, who have ſince attempted the ſame, with more applauſe, from the original properties of matter, with which it was endued at its creation, is ſo far from being criminal or injurious to GOD, as ſome have imagined, that it is rather giving a more ſublime idea of his infinite wiſdom.

WE cannot therefore excuſe ourſelves from repreſenting the theories of two very learned men of our age and nation; one of whom has excelled in the richneſs of his ſtile and fancy, and the other in the ſtrength of parts and contrivance.

The Theory of Dr. Burnet.

THE former of them, Dr. *Burnet*, omitting to ſpeak of the original of the univerſe, or even of the ſolar ſyſtem, as made long before the *Moſaic* creation [n], confines himſelf to the formation of the earth only, which he ſuppoſes to be done from a chaos, or confuſed maſs, conſiſting of the principles of all terreſtrial bodies, in this manner. He ſuppoſes, that the firſt change that would happen would be, that the heavieſt and groſſeſt parts would ſink downwards towards the middle of the maſs, (for there he ſuppoſes the centre of its gravity) and being more and more compreſſed, would harden by degrees, and conſtitute the interior parts of the earth. That the reſt of the maſs, which ſwam above, would alſo be divided, by the ſame principle of gravity, into two orders of bodies, the one liquid like water, the other volatile like air: for the more fine and active parts, diſentangling themſelves by degrees from the reſt, would mount above them; and, having motion enough to keep them upon the wing, would play in thoſe open places, where they conſtitute that body we call air: that the other parts, being groſſer than theſe, and having a more languid motion, could not fly up ſeparate from one another, but ſettled in a maſs together under the air, upon the body of the earth, compoſing not only water, ſtrictly ſo called, but the whole maſs of liquid bodies belonging to the earth. That there being two chief kinds of terreſtrial liquors, thoſe that are oily and light, and thoſe that are lean and more earthy, like common water, which naturally ſeparate from one another when they come to ſettle, the more oily and light part of this maſs would conſequently get above the other, and ſwim upon it. He proceeds to ſup-

[n] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. c. 8.

poſe,

poſe, that the air was, as yet, thick, groſs, and dark, there being abundance of terreſtrial particles ſwimming in it, after the groſſeſt were ſunk down; which by their weight made their way more ſpeedily: that the leſſer and lighter, which remained, would ſink too, but more ſlowly, and in a longer time; ſo as in their deſcent they would meet with that oily liquor upon the face of the deep, or upon the watery maſs, which would entangle, and ſtop them from paſſing any farther; whereupon, mixing there with that unctuous ſubſtance, they compoſed a certain ſlime, or fat, ſoft, and light earth, ſpread upon the face of the waters. That this thin and tender orb of earth increaſed ſtill more and more, as the little earthy parts, that were detained in the air, could make their way to it, ſome having a long journey from the upper regions, and others, being very light, would float up and down a long while, before they could diſengage themſelves and deſcend: but at length being all got thither, and mingling more and more with that oily liquor, they ſucked it all up, and were wholly incorporate together, and ſo began to grow more ſtiff and firm, making both but one ſubſtance, which was the firſt concretion, or firm and conſiſtent ſubſtance that roſe upon the face of the chaos, and became at laſt an habitable earth, ſuch as nature deſigned it. And ſuch a body as this, he doubts not, would anſwer all the purpoſes of a riſing world; for what can be a more proper ſeminary for plants and animals, than a ſoil of this temper and compoſition? a finer and lighter ſort of earth, mixed with a benign juice, eaſy and obedient to the action of the ſun, or what other cauſes were employed by the author of nature, for the production of things in the new made earth, and perfectly anſwering the antient deſcriptions of the primigenial ſoil, or ſlime.

The form of this firſt earth, both external and internal, is eaſily conceived from the manner of its formation. As to the external form, it would be ſmooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains and without a ſea. The internal form would conſiſt of ſeveral regions involving one another, like orbs about the ſame centre, or the ſeveral elements caſt circularly about each other; the water being entirely contained under the upper cruſt of the earth, which formed a wonderful vault, hanging above the deep, ſuſtained by nothing, but its own meaſures and manner of conſtruction [o].

[o] BURNET's Theory of the earth, l. 1. c. 5. & Archæo'. l. 2. c. 3.

To

To confirm ſo new and ſurpriſing a repreſentation of the form of the firſt earth, and to prove it muſt have been different from the preſent, he endeavours to ſhew, that if the earth had been always in the form it now bears, it would not have been capable of a deluge, which could not have been effected without ſuch an infinite maſs of water, as could neither be brought upon the earth, nor afterwards any way removed from it[p]: and that the chaos, as a fluid body, would naturally and neceſſarily ſettle and caſt itſelf into a ſmooth ſurface, every where equidiſtant from its centre, and not into a ſurface broken into ſo many irregularities as our earth is; nor could it poſſibly imitate the cavities, dens, and broken holes within it[q]. And theſe reaſons he backs by authority of ſcripture, which plainly intimates a difference between the form, or conſtitution of the old world and of the preſent, by reaſon of which difference, that was ſubject to periſh by a deluge, as this is ſubject to periſh by a conflagration[r]; beſides ſeveral paſſages, which ſeem to deſcribe the ſtructure of the antediluvian earth, as founded and eſtabliſhed on the waters[s], and ſet as an orb over the face of the deep[t]; conformably to which, on the renovation, or reſtitution of nature to its primœval ſtate, the new earth will appear without a ſea[u]. To which he adds the teſtimony of antient tradition, that the world was oviform, which was true of that original earth, not only in reſpect to its outward figure, but alſo to the inward compoſition of it; the central parts being repreſented by the yolk of the egg, the exterior region of the earth by the ſhell, and the abyſs of water by the white that lies under the ſhell[x]. The manner wherein he ſuppoſes this earth was ſupplied with water, will be taken notice of, when we come to conſider more particularly the ſtate of the antediluvian earth.

Objections thereto.

SEVERAL objections have been made to the philoſophy of this gentleman's hypotheſis, as that his laws of gravitation ruin the whole contrivance; becauſe if every thing ſubſided according to its ſpecific gravity, the earth being heavier than the water, muſt neceſſarily place itſelf nearer the centre, and ſo leave the waters to cover the face of the whole orb: that his fat, or oily liquid, to catch the terrene particles as they deſcended, is but a weak expedient, becauſe it is impoſſible, that oil, or any other liquor, ſhould ſuſtain

[p] Idem, Theory, l. 1. c. 2. [q] Ibid. c. 4. [r] 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7. [s] Pſal. xxiv. 2. & cxxxvi. 6. [t] Prov. viii. 27. [u] Revel. xxi. 1. [x] BURNET, Theor. l. 1. cap. 5. & Tellur. Theor. ſacr. l. 2. c. 10.

ſuch

ſuch an immenſe heavy orb: that he has, without any reaſon, deprived the old world of the benefit and advantages of a ſea, mountains, and minerals[y]: but the great misfortune is, that ſo coherent and ſurpriſing a ſcheme does not in ſeveral particulars accord with the letter of the ſcripture, with which he has in many places taken great liberty, ſuppoſing that the ſacred books were not always to be ſo literally and naturally underſtood, as was generally believed hitherto. For conſidering the mean capacities of the *Jews*, which were not capable of ſuch points of philoſophic truths; conſidering the moſt antient ways of conveying (or rather concealing) ſublime theorems by parables, fables, and hieroglyphics; conſidering the ſcripture ſtile in ſome other caſes, very different from the preſent plain way of diſcourſe; conſidering the main end of thoſe writings, the benefit of the moral world, ſeemed not to require a ſtrict adherence to truth, in every circumſtance relating to the natural; and conſidering laſtly, that all ages had endeavoured in vain to clear theſe points, according to the ſtrictneſs of the moſt obvious ſenſe, and that the greater improvements in philoſophy ſeemed only to render them ſtill more unaccountable; all theſe conſiderations induced him to ſuppoſe, that the holy writers only ſecured the fundamental and general verities; involving the reſt under, and explaining the whole by a way of ſpeaking, which was myſtical and mythological, rather popular than true; and fitted more to the needs of men than the reality of things[z].

THE other theoriſt, Mr. *Whiſton*, not only ſhews a greater regard to ſcripture, and has avoided many difficulties, that were chargeable on the former; but proceeds on more philoſophical principles: He firſt lays down this propoſition, that the *Moſaic* creation is not a nice and philoſophical account of the origin of all things, but an hiſtorical and true repreſentation of the formation of our ſingle earth, out of a confuſed chaos, and of the ſucceſſive and viſible changes thereof each day, till it became the habitation of mankind[a]: which he proves from the firſt words of *Moſes*, *In the beginning* GOD *created the heaven and the earth*, which plainly imply, that the creation of the univerſe out of nothing, which we uſually ſtile creation, was precedaneous to the ſix days work; the hiſtorian immediately deſcending thence to the chaos of our earth, to which he afterwards

Mr. Whiſton's *Theory.*

[y] Vid. KEILL's Examinat. of Dr. Burnet's Theory. [z] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. c. 8. [a] WHISTON's new Theory of the Earth. Diſc. of the Moſaic creation, p. 3.

confines

confines himſelf: mentioning, indeed, the making of the ſun, and other celeſtial bodies, to accommodate his narrative to vulgar apprehenſion, and make it complete; but chiefly to ſecure the *Jews* from the worſhip of the hoſt of heaven [b]. He therefore ſuppoſes, that the ſun, moon, and ſtars were created before, and only made viſible and conſpicuous to the earth on the fourth day [c]: that the antient chaos, the origin of the earth, was the atmoſphere of a comet [d], which is no other than a planet unformed, or in its primœval ſtate, placed in a very excentrical orbit; to ſupport which propoſition he endeavours to ſhew, that the atmoſphere of a comet has thoſe ſeveral properties which are recorded of the antient chaos; that it has ſuch peculiar properties beſides, as lay a rational foundation for ſome of thoſe *phænomena* of our earth, which can ſcarce otherwiſe be philoſophically explained, and that no other body, or maſs of bodies, now known, or ever heard of in the world, can ſtand in competition, or pretend to the ſame character. He proceeds to ſuppoſe, that the ſix days of the creation were equal to ſix years; a day and a year being one and the ſame thing [e] before the fall of man, when the diurnal rotation of the earth about its axis, as he thinks, firſt began [f]: which ſuppoſition agrees with the letter of *Moſes*, and the ſtile of ſcripture elſewhere, wherein a day often denotes a year; and allows a convenient ſpace for the works of creation, which appear to have been leiſurely, regular, and gradual, without any precipitancy, or acceleration, by a miraculous hand on every occaſion; not to mention other arguments, drawn from the peculiar characters of the ſtate of nature before the fall, which will be obſerved hereafter.

ON theſe foundations, Mr. *Whiſton* proceeds to account for the formation of the earth in this manner: That ſuch formation was not a mere reſult from any neceſſary laws of mechaniſm, independently on the divine power; but the proper effect of the influence of interpoſition, and all along under the peculiar care of GOD, who not only created the matter of which the univerſe, and particularly the earth, was to conſiſt, out of a non-exiſtent ſtate, and endued it with its ſeveral properties and powers, but interpoſed more

[b] Ibid. p. 4, &c. [c] Ibid. p. 24, &c. [d] WHISTON's Theory, B. II. p. 73 [e] EMPEDOCLES taught, that when mankind ſprang originally from the earth, the length of the day, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of the ſun's motion, was equal to ten of our preſent months. PLUT. de Placitis Philoſ. l. 5. c. 18. a ſurpriſing teſtimony to this purpoſe. [f] WHISTON's Theory, B. II. p. 85, &c.

particularly

particularly in the formation of the earth, by changing the courſe and orbit of the chaos into that of a planet, by immediately forming the ſeeds of all animals and vegetables; by ordering every diſtinct day's work to be compleated in its proper period, that every thing ſhould follow in its own order and place; and principally in the creation of our firſt parents[g]. That at the time immediately preceding the ſix days creation, the face of the abyſs, or ſuperior regions of the chaos, were involved in a thick darkneſs; agreeably to the nature of a comet, which is repreſented as containing a central, ſolid, hot body, of many hundred, or thouſand miles in diameter, and beſides that, a vaſtly large, fluid, heterogeneous maſs, or congeries of bodies, in a very rare, ſeparate, and expanded condition, whoſe diameter was ten or eleven times as long as that of the central ſolid, which is the atmoſphere or chaos itſelf. But on the change of the comet's orbit from a very excentrical, to a moderately elliptical one, the commencing of the *Moſaic* creation, and the influence of the divine ſpirit, all things would begin to take their own places, and each ſpecies of bodies rank themſelves according to the law of ſpecific gravity. By which method the maſs of denſe fluids, which compoſed one part of the entire chaos, being heavier than the maſſes of earth, and water, and air, would ſink downwards with the greateſt velocity, and elevate thoſe maſſes encloſed among them upwards, which muſt diſtinguiſh the chaos into two very different and diſtinct regions; the lower and larger whereof would be a collection of denſe and heavy fluids, or a vaſt abyſs, immediately encompaſſing the central ſolid; the higher and leſſer would be a collection of earthy, watery, and airy parts confuſedly mixed, and encompaſſing the ſaid abyſs. And this he takes to be the ſtate of darkneſs; for the crowding together of all thoſe opake corpuſcles, which before roved about the immenſe regions of the atmoſphere, muſt, by conſequence, exclude the rays of the ſun much more than before[h].

THINGS being in this ſtate, the viſible part of the firſt day's work was the production of light, or its ſucceſſive appearance to all the parts of the earth; with the conſequent diſtinction of darkneſs and light, night and day, upon the face of it. And this was effected by the ſeparation of the upper and elementary chaos of earthy, watery, and airy corpuſcles, into two ſomewhat different regions; the one a ſolid orb of earth, with conſiderable quantities of water in its pores; the other an atmoſphere in a peculiar ſenſe, or maſs of the

[g] Ibid. Book IV. p. 292, &c.

[h] Ibid. p. 307, &c.

lighteſt earthy, with the reſt of the watery and airy particles, ſtill ſomewhat confuſedly mixed together. So that on this firſt day, or year of the creation, the earthy, or denſer parts, would take their places loweſt on the ſurface of the great abyſs, would ſettle in part into the ſame, and compoſe an orb of earth; and in its interſtices, and little cavities, all ſuch watery particles as were already in this region, or deſcended upon it before its conſolidation, would be encloſed; and that as far above the ſurface of the abyſs, as their quantity would enable them to reach. On this firſt day alſo, the upper regions of the chaos, now, in ſome meaſure, freed from thoſe earthy and opake maſſes, which before excluded the ſame, and cauſed the above-mentioned thick darkneſs, would, in ſome degree, admit the rays of the ſun. Now therefore that glorious emanation, light, would begin to appear on the face of the earth; and, by the annual motion, ſucceſſively illuminate the ſeveral parts of it, and conſequently occaſion the viciſſitude of night and day[1].

THE viſible part of the ſecond day's work was the elevation of the air, with all its contained vapours; the ſpreading of it for an *expanſum* above the earth; the diſtinction thence ariſing of ſuperior and inferior waters; the former conſiſting of thoſe vapours raiſed and ſuſtained by the air; the latter of ſuch as either were encloſed in the pores, interſtices, and bowels of the earth, or lay upon the ſurface thereof. The heat of the ſun, at the concluſion of the former day, beginning conſiderably to penetrate the ſuperior regions of the chaos, and the lower earthy *ſtrata* continuing to ſettle ſomewhat cloſer together, the watery parts would ſubſide, and where they could get entrance, ſaturate their inward pores and vacuities, and the atmoſphere would free itſelf more and more from the heavieſt and moſt opake corpuſcles, and thereby become much more tenuous and clear than before. Whereupon, by the time the night, or firſt part of this ſecond day was over, and the ſun aroſe, the light and heat of that luminary would more freely and deeply penetrate the atmoſphere, and become very ſenſible in theſe upper or airy regions; and conſequently vaſt quantities of vapours would be elevated and ſuſtained there, and ſo increaſe the quantities which were there already; while in the mean time all the earthy corpuſcles, incapable of rarefaction, and with them all ſuch watery particles, as were ſo near the earth that the ſun's power could not ſufficiently reach them, were ſtill ſinking downwards, and the former increaſing the craſſitude and bulk of

[1] Ibid. p. 311.

the

the ſolid earth, and the latter, if the earth was too ſolid to admit them, as by this time it would probably be, flowing down apace, and covering all its ſurface with water. So that the *expanſum*, or firmament, which was this day ſpread out above the earth, was plainly the air; the ſuperior waters, all thoſe freſh ones, which, in the form of vapour, a nine or ten months heat of the ſun, with the aſſiſtance of the central heat, could elevate, and the air ſuſtain, beſides thoſe vaſt quantities of ſalt ones, which had never yet left thoſe regions: the inferior waters were thoſe which were not elevated, but remained below in the bowels, or on the ſurface of the earth [k]

THE viſible parts of the third day's work were two; the former, the collection of the inferior waters, of ſuch as were now under the heaven, into the ſeas, with the conſequent appearance of the dry land; the latter, the production of vegetables out of that ground ſo lately become dry. In order to apprehend which, it muſt be conſidered, that the orb of the earth had been ſettling and fixing itſelf on the ſurface of the abyſs, from the very beginning of the creation; and was by the coheſion of its parts grown ſolid, ſome time before all the lighter and remoter earthy parts were deſcended upon it, ſuppoſe by the end of the firſt day: by which means, and by reaſon of the different denſity and ſpecific gravity of its columns, it was ſettled into the abyſs in different degrees, and thereby became of an unequal ſurface, diſtinguiſhed into mountains, plains, and vallies; which things being ſuppoſed, at the concluſion of the preceding day, the air being crowded with vapours to a prodigious degree, in the night, or former part of this third day, the ſaid vapours muſt needs deſcend on the earth in vaſt quantities, leaving the air by degrees pretty free, and becoming of celeſtial, terreſtrial waters: theſe waters being deſcended, by reaſon of the inequality of the earth's ſurface, and its ſolidity, muſt in ſome time have run down from the higher parts, by the declivities and hollows, into the loweſt vallies, and moſt depreſſed regions of all, and there compoſed the ſeas and lakes; ſo that in the morning, the entire face of the globe, which was before covered with the deſcending waters, muſt be diſtinguiſhed into overflowed vallies, and extant continents. The dry land being now diſtinguiſhed from the ſeas, and juſt become moiſt and juicy, like the primitive ſlime; on the ſun riſing, it was of all other the moſt fit ſeaſon for the germination of the ſeeds of vegetables, and the growth of trees, herbs, and plants; for which

[k] Ibid. p. 317, &c.

purpoſe, nine or ten months continual preſence of the ſun was a time very proper and natural [l].

THE fourth day's work was the placing of the heavenly bodies, ſun, moon, and ſtars, in the *expanſum*, or firmament; that is, the rendring of them viſible and conſpicuous on the face of the earth: together with their ſeveral aſſignations to their reſpective offices there. For though the light of the ſun, penetrated the atmoſphere, in ſome ſort the firſt day, and in the ſucceeding ones had very conſiderable influence upon it, yet it is by no means to be ſuppoſed, that his body was viſible all that while; the air, even at this day, being not at all times ſo clear, as to render it diſcernible by us, though we are at the ſame time ſufficiently ſenſible of his force and influence in the conſtant productions of nature. But on the coming on of this fourth day, and the ſun's abode below the horizon for two or three months, thoſe vapours which were raiſed the day before, muſt fall downwards, and ſo, before the approach of the morning, leave the air in the greateſt clearneſs and purity imaginable, and permit the moon firſt, and then the ſun, moſt plainly to appear, and be conſpicuous to the earth. This fourth day therefore is the time, when both theſe heavenly bodies, though in being before, yet ſo as to be wholly ſtrangers to a ſpectator on earth, were rendred viſible: the whole inanimate world, with its vegetable productions, being now complete, according to the tradition of the *Chineſe* [m] inhabiting *Formoſa*, and other iſlands, who hold, that the world, when firſt created, was without form, or ſhape; but, by one of their deities, was brought to its full perfection in four years [n].

THE production of the fiſh and fowl out of the waters, with the benediction beſtowed on them, in order to their propagation, was the work of the fifth day, which was a very proper time for their introduction. The terraqueous globe being now become habitable, both to the ſwimming and volatile animals; and the air clear, and ſo penetrable by that complete heat of the ſun, which was requiſite to the generation of ſuch creatures; thoſe ſeeds, or little bodies of fiſh and fowl, which were contained in the water, (or moiſt fruitful ſlime of kin to it) were now expoſed to the kindly warmth of the ſun, and the conſtant ſupply of a moſt gentle and equal heat from beneath; being neither diſturbed by any ſudden alteration of the air from winds, nor by the agitations of tides, which in thoſe ſmall ſeas, and in the abſence of the di-

[l] Ibid. p. 320, &c. [m] Atlas Chinenſ. part. 2. p. 46. [n] WHISTON's Theor. ubi ſup. p. 325.

urnal

urnal rotation were imperceptible and gradual: which ſeeds being invigorated with the divine benediction, became now prolific; and a numerous off-ſpring of the ſwimming and volatile kind aroſe, whereby the two fluid elements, air and water, became repleniſhed with thoſe firſt pairs, which were enabled to propagate their ſpecies [o].

THE ſixth day's work was the production of all the terreſtrial, or dry-land animals. The brute beaſts were produced out of the earth; after which the body of *Adam* was formed of the duſt of the ground; and by the breath of life, breathed into him in a peculiar manner, he became a living ſoul: and ſome time after, on the ſame day, he was caſt into a deep ſleep, and *Eve* was formed of a rib taken from his ſide. The earth being now grown more ſolid and dry, and the air fully clear and fit for reſpiration, and the other diſpoſition of external nature being ſubſervient, it was a proper ſeaſon for the generation of the land-animals, and the introduction of the nobleſt of them, man [p].

Objections to Mr. Whiſton's Theory.

THIS is the ſubſtance of the latter theory, wherein, among many ingenious and probable ſolutions, there are ſome ſuppoſitions, which have been thought too bold and precarious.

IT has been objected, that he is probably miſtaken as to the extent of the *Moſaic* creation; it being pretty certain, that the moon was formed at that time, or at leaſt placed in its orbit, and made to turn round the earth; for no comets have any ſecondary planets: ſo that ſomething more muſt be intended by *Moſes*, than the bare rendring the moon viſible; and the word *made*, being equally applied both to ſun and moon, it is ſuppoſed, it ought in both places to be taken in the ſame, that is, a literal ſenſe.

THE atmoſphere of a comet could not, it has been thought, have been the primitive chaos, being not an obſcure, but a bright pellucid fluid, which is a conſequence of the intenſe heat of the central ſolid; and becauſe the greateſt part of the bodies which compoſe the upper *ſtratum* of the earth, would have been vitrified on the comet's near approach to the ſun, and ſo very improper for the formation of the earth.

THAT the diurnal rotation of the earth did not commence till after the fall, ſo that till that time days and years were exactly the ſame, has been held a paradox; conſidering the prodigious cold, that muſt be occaſioned by the total abſence of the ſun for one half of the year, and the intenſe heat, that

[o] Ibid. p. 328. [p] Ibid. p. 329, &c.

muſt enſue upon its continual ſhining upon it for the other; which immoderate degrees of heat and cold muſt be pernicious to the antediluvian plants and animals, unleſs their bodies were of a very different conſtitution from what they are now. Nor can there be any neceſſity to lengthen a day into a year, for the ſake of a gradual and regular formation of things, without precipitance, or acceleration, where an Almighty Agent is acknowledged to be concerned [q].

IT may not therefore be amiſs, laying all hypotheſes aſide, briefly to propoſe ſuch an explication of the coſmogony, as may be *moſt* agreeable both to reaſon and the letter of ſcripture.

The Moſaic *creation explained.*

AND firſt, it is conceived, that the *Moſaic* creation is neither to be extended to the whole univerſe, nor yet confined to the terreſtrial globe alone; the middle opinion, that it included the ſolar ſyſtem, and that only, ſeeming the moſt probable, from the near ſimilitude and relation the ſeveral planets in that ſyſtem bear to one another, and their having the ſame common centre and luminary; ſo that though the hiſtorian chiefly regards the earth in his whole narration, yet there is reaſon to preſume, that the other planets were formed in the ſame manner, and in the ſame time, as the earth, of ſo many particular chaotic maſſes.

MOSES, after the general aſſertion, that both heaven and earth were originally made[r] by GOD, and before he begins his account of their reduction into the preſent ſyſtem, informs us, that the earth, in particular, was at firſt in an unformed and deſart ſtate, when, as a thing preparatory to the work, the ſpirit of GOD moved upon the face of the waters; by which ſpirit ſome underſtand the third perſon in the bleſſed Trinity[s], others, that plaſtic nature[t], which was ſubſervient to him on this occaſion, or ſome other emanation of the divine power; which it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe moved the chaotic maſs, whoſe ſurface was covered with water, or other fluid matter, and impregnated it with ſeveral kinds of vital influence, preparing every part to receive the intended diſpoſition, order, and life.

[q] Vid. KEILL's Remarks on Mr. Whiſton's Theory. [r] The original word בראׁ is allowed not neceſſarily to ſignify a creation, or production out of nothing: yet as the Hebrew tongue has no other word to expreſs ſuch a creation, it is moſt likely *Moſes* uſes it here in that ſenſe. [s] GROTIUS, &c. [t] Dr. CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſt. p. 148. Yet others by this ſpirit of GOD underſtand no more than a violent wind, which they ſuppoſe was ſent to dry up the waters. Chal. paraphraſe, DRUSIUS, &c.

THINGS

THINGS being in this ſtate, the confuſed ſtagnating parts of matter began to range themſelves in order; and the groſſer parts ſubſiding, the lighter and more tenuous mounted up, by which means the atmoſphere being in ſome degree cleared, the luminous rays of the ſun began to pierce it, and cauſed an imperfect and glimmering light, yet ſufficient partly to diſpel the before total darkneſs, and to diſtinguiſh day from night. And this account of the light, which appeared on the firſt day, is much more reaſonable than to ſuppoſe the ſubſtance of the ſun, much leſs the fixed ſtars were then extracted from the chaos [u]; becauſe more than ninety nine parts in an hundred of the matter of the univerſe, are fiery corpuſcles, and if they were included at firſt in the chaos, it could not poſſibly have been dark or caliginous. Nor is it probable, that even the terrene matter of the planets was taken from the *Moſaic* chaos, not only becauſe it is expreſly called *the earth*, but becauſe ſuch an imagination is directly overthrown by the now undoubted property of the univerſal gravitation of matter; not to mention the falſe ſuppoſition, which muſt in that caſe be made, of the earth's being the centre of the world [x]. To account for this day's light, before the ſun is ſaid to be made, there is no occaſion to recur to the ſuppoſition of its being either the divine *Shechinah* [y], or any more than a temporary light, occaſioned by the rapid motion communicated by GOD to a portion of matter [z].

THE ſecond day, the expanſe, or air, called by *Moſes* heaven, was perfected, being now freed from the groſs terrene particles which before crowded it, and made capable of ſupporting clouds and aqueous vapours, which were the ſuperior waters, as thoſe on the earth were the inferior [a]. By the waters above the firmament cannot be underſtood the planetary waters [b], for the reaſons given above; and the notion, the old chriſtian fathers had of ſuper-celeſtial waters, is perfectly groundleſs.

THE former part of the third day's work was to gather the waters, which before covered the face of the earth, into ſeas and lakes, that the dry land might appear. How this was effected is not eaſy to determine. That GOD himſelf ſhould raiſe the mountains, and hollow the channels of the ſea for this purpoſe, appears not a little indecent; for which reaſon

[u] Which is the opinion of Dr. NICHOLLS, and others. See his Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part 1. [x] Vid. WHISTON, of the Moſaic Creation, p. 35, &c. [y] The notion of ABRAVANEL. [z] Vid. SAURIN, Diſſert. p. 2. [a] GROTIUS, &c.
[b] This is Dr. NICHOLLS's interpretation, ubi ſupra.

ſome have ſuppoſed, the mountains might have been thrown up by the force of a ſubterraneous fire, or flatus, in the ſame manner as earthquakes are now cauſed [c]: but the more philoſophical opinion is, that they were occaſioned by the different denſities of the ſeveral columns of the earth, when its ſurface was firſt formed, ſome ſinking lower into the abyſs than others; for it is more than probable, that the mountainous columns are much hollower and lighter than the other, notwithſtanding the vulgar opinion to the contrary [d]. The latter part of this day's work was the production of vegetables, which were deſigned as food for the future animals. But how great ſoever we ſuppoſe the fœcundity of the primigenial earth to be, it is ſcarce to be imagined, that trees and plants could arrive at full growth, and bear their ſeveral fruits and ſeeds in ſo ſhort a ſpace as a day, without the aſſiſtance of a ſupernatural power: and as GOD is on all hands allowed to have formed the ſeeds of thoſe vegetables, it may not, perhaps, be wrong to attribute their ſudden maturation alſo to his interpoſition; though it be well known, how much vegetation may be helped and forwarded by art, even at this day, of which there have been ſome ſurpriſing inſtances, and much more might be expected from nature in that vigorous ſtate.

ON the fourth day the two great lights, the ſun and the moon, are ſaid to have been made and placed in the heaven. It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed they were then firſt created, or aſſigned to their reſpective orbs; for the ſun was not only in being from the beginning of the *Moſaic* creation, but had all along great influence on the earth, its light and heat gradually increaſing, and influencing the earth and its productions with greater power, as the air became from time to time more and more pure and defæcated; and the moon, as well as the other planets, kept pace with the earth in its formation; but only, that the bodies of thoſe luminaries, which had been hid from the earth till the fourth day, when the air was perfectly freed from the heterogeneous particles, and the vapours, which before obſcured it, did then firſt appear to the earth, and viſibly begin to perform their ſeveral offices. The ſtars alſo are for the ſame reaſon ſaid to be made on that day; tho' the planets, as we have ſaid, were forming before; and the fixed ſtars were no part of this creation [e].

AFTER

[c] RAY on the creation, and Biſhop PATRICK in his Commentaries [d] See WHISTON's Theory, Book II. p. 82. [e] Dr. NICHOLLS (ubi ſupr.) ſupports the opinion of the creation of other worlds, or Syſtems before ours, by a criticiſm on the Hebrew words אֵת

in

AFTER the formation of the inanimate world, *Moſes* proceeds to the formation of animals, and he begins with fiſhes and fowls, which were both produced, on the fifth day, out of the waters in great numbers [f]. And as the original of fiſh and volatiles was from the ſame element, ſo there is ſuppoſed to be ſome congruity in their nature, being both oviparous, and their motions of ſwimming and flying ſomething alike.

IN the former part of the ſixth and laſt day, the terreſtrial animals were produced out of the earth.

Of the formation of plants and animals.

THE manner of the original formation of plants and animals, in which the wiſdom of the creator principally appears, has never been accounted for by any philoſopher with an tolerable ſucceſs; matter and the laws of motion having nothing at all to do in theſe things, whatever they have in the inanimate part of the world. How ridiculous and groundleſs thoſe hypotheſes are, which make them to be produced from the earth, ſuppoſed ever ſo fruitful, by the influence and heat of the ſun, appears from the late diſcovery made in philoſophy, that there is no ſuch thing as equivocal generation of any the meaneſt animal, or plant; the ſun, and earth, and water, and all the powers of nature in conjunction, being able to do nothing at all, towards the producing of any thing endued with ſo much as even a vegetative life [g]. It muſt be therefore neceſſarily allowed, that GOD himſelf, or ſome agent impowered by him, actually formed both plants and animals, making uſe of the earth and water, as the matter only whereof he conſtituted their parts. But whether theſe firſt vegetative and ſenſitive creatures were created in their ſeeds only, (which contain the plants and animals themſelves in little) and diſperſed over the ſuperficial part of the land and

(in Geneſ. i. 16.) which ſignify *together with*; and thence concludes, that by *Moſes*'s text the moon was to rule the night *and*, or *together with* the ſtars, which ſhine then only; the words *he made* being interpolated in our tranſlation. By the ſtars coming in ſo abruptly in this place, ſome have been ready to think, thoſe words were added ſince *Moſes*'s time, or crept into the text from a marginal annotation, made to obviate an objection from idolaters, that the ſtars were not made.

[f] *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl*, &c. Geneſ. i. 20. But afterwards it is ſaid, that GOD *formed the fowls of the air out of the ground*, Geneſ. ii. 19. The *Jews* reconcile this, by ſuppoſing, that they were formed out of both elements mixed, *viz.* out of ſoft ooze. But CALMET (in his commentary) ſays, the firſt paſſage may be rendred, *and let the fowl fly*, &c.

[g] Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtration of the being and attributes of GOD, p. 64.

water,

water, which had power given them to hatch and bring them forth; or whether they were created in their full ſtate of perfection, ſeems not eaſy to decide. It has been thought by ſome modern philoſophers, that GOD at firſt created only two of each ſpecies of animals, from which all the reſt proceeded by generation: to ſupport which opinion, they obſerve, that there was but one man and one woman created, and at the deluge but two of each kind (of unclean beaſts) were preſerved in the ark. But it ſeems more conſonant to ſcripture, that a great number of every kind were formed at firſt: we are aſſured, the aquatic creatures and fowls were brought forth abundantly; and plants, having no locomotive power, muſt neceſſarily have been created diſperſedly all the world over. There has been alſo a farther queſtion moved concerning the creation of animals, *viz.* whether all animals, that already have been, or hereafter ſhall be, were at firſt actually created by GOD? or whether he hath given to each kind of animals ſuch a power of generation, as to prepare matter, and produce new individuals in their own bodies? and it ſeems to be the moſt reaſonable opinion, that GOD did himſelf, at firſt, actually create all the individual animals that ever were, or ever ſhall be; and that there is no ſuch thing as any production of new ones. For what were that but a creation of ſuch individuals? and what did GOD at the firſt creation more than, if this be true, we ſee every day done; that is, produce a new animal out of matter, which itſelf prepares? all the difference is, that GOD does that in an inſtant, which the creature muſt take time to do. Beſides, the parent animal cannot be the agent, or efficient in the generation, or forming and nouriſhing of the fœtus, becauſe that is a work of art and reaſon, which brute creatures are not endued withal; nor indeed does man himſelf underſtand any thing of the proceſs of generation in himſelf. Again, it is moſt probable, if not certain, that moſt animals have in them from the beginning, the ſeeds, or eggs, of all the young they ſhall afterwards bring forth; which when ſpent and exhauſted, the creature becomes barren: the females of all *viviparous* quadrupeds being brought forth with their *teſtes*, or *ovaria*; and all birds formed with their ovary, or egg-cluſter, containing the ſeeds of all the eggs they ſhall ever lay. Now had the creature a power of producing new ones, what need was there, that there ſhould be ſo many at firſt formed in them? Whereupon theſe philoſophers argue thus; Let us ſuppoſe, GOD did at firſt create two animals, a male and a female: the female muſt be created with its ovaries, which (as we have ſaid) contain ſo many ſeeds, or eggs, as the creature

ture ſhould ever bring forth young. So it is clear, that not only the firſt pair, but the firſt generation of animals were actually created. Again, this generation, from their firſt appearance, had each of them (that is the females) its *ovaria*, containing in like manner, the ſeeds of its future off-ſpring; ſo that this ſecond generation was alſo created in the firſt. The ſame may be demonſtrated of the third and fourth; and ſo on of all the generations that ſhall be, as long as the world ſhall laſt [h].

The creation of man,

WHEN the creation had proceeded thus far, and every thing, that could be ſubſervient to man, or advance his felicity, was compleated; he, who was to be the lord of all, and for whoſe ſake the whole was framed, was brought into the world, being created in a ſolemn and immediate manner by GOD himſelf[i], after a conſultation, as it were of the holy Trinity [k], every Perſon wherein may juſtly be preſumed to have

[h] RAY's Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſes, chap. 4. [i] Mr. WHISTON, conceiving it unfit and impoſſible for the divine nature of the Father to be ſo much, and in ſuch a manner, concerned with the corporeal world, and the ſinful race of mankind, is of opinion, that the ſame divine perſon, who was afterwards frequenly converſant on earth, gave the law on mount *Sinai*, and took the title, adoration, and, to others, incommunicable name of the GOD of *Iſrael*; and who at laſt was incarnate, and died, and ſtill makes interceſſion for us with the Father, and will judge the world at the laſt day; was actually and viſibly on earth in a human ſhape, and truly and really employed in this creation of the world, ſo frequently aſcribed to him in the holy ſcriptures, and particularly in this formation of man. Vide his Theory, Book IV. p. 330. [k] Geneſ. i. 26. Moſt of the modern expoſitors take the plural number here uſed, *Let us make*, &c. to be no more than a majeſtic form of ſpeech, as princes now uſe. The *Jewiſh* doctors are of opinion, that this deliberation was real, and held with ſuch angelical beings as GOD might employ in the work of man's creation: and on this occaſion tell the following ſtory; That, as *Moſes* was writing his book by GOD's appointment, and theſe words came to be dictated, he made ſome difficulty to ſet them down, crying out, *O Lord, wouldſt thou then lead men into error, and make them doubt of the doctrine of the unity?* whereupon GOD anſwered, *I command thee to write, and if any will err, let them err.* Bereſhit Rabba. *Philo* the *Jew* ſays, the true reaſon of this expreſſion is known to GOD only; yet he conjectures, that man alone, of all creatures, being capable of the contraries of virtue and vice; the creation of ſuch a mixed being was partly proper, and partly improper for GOD himſelf, who therefore here beſpeaks his coadjutors, that what is irreprehenſible in

have been peculiarly concerned in the production of that being, which was to bear the image of GOD, and be made capable, in ſome degree, of his immortality.

MAN then was, by a divine power, created on the ſixth day, after the terreſtrial animals had been produced; his body was formed out of the duſt of the ground [l], whence he had the name of *Adam* [m], and his ſoul immediately infuſed into him by his creator; in which better and immortal part more evidently conſiſted that image, or reſemblance of GOD, wherein he is ſaid to have been made [n]. The woman was formed alſo on the ſame day [o], out of the ſide [p] of the man, who had been caſt into a deep ſleep for that end [q]. And this original, it is to be ſuppoſed, was choſen, to conciliate the ſtricter love and union between them; the ſide being alſo the moſt proper part to denote that equality with the man, for which the woman was deſigned; whereas if ſhe had been taken from the head [r], it might have argued ſome intended ſuperiority, or if from the lower parts [s], the contrary. From what *Adam* ſaid on his firſt ſight of the woman, *that ſhe was bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh*, it appears, he well knew whence ſhe was formed; whether he was ſenſible of the paſt operation, or had it otherwiſe revealed to him, as probably it was in a viſion as he ſlept. Beſides *Eve*, it is pretended by

and of two man.

in the actions, or will of man may be attributed to GOD, and what is otherwiſe, to his ſubordinate agents. De mundi opificio, p. 15, &c.

[l] Geneſ. ii. 7. [m] אדמה *Adamah* in *Hebrew* ſignifies *Earth*, but more properly, as is ſaid, a ſort of *red earth, or clay*, from the root אדם *to be red*. *Ludolphus* derives it from the *Æthiopic*, *Adama, i. e to be pleaſant or delightful*, which epithets are attributed to the earth for its amenity, and might be to the firſt man for his beauty. But this name of *Adam*, it muſt be obſerved, is an appellative, rather than a proper name, and includes even both the ſexes. Ibid. According to ſome of the *Perſian* Mages (but not the more orthodox) the firſt human pair were named *Miſha* and *Miſhâna*. HYDE, Hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. c. 10. [n] Geneſ. i. 26, 27. Ib. v. 1. [o] Ibid. i. 27. [p] The original word, which ſtrictly ſignifies a *rib*, may be alſo tranſlated *ſide*, as it is all along by the *Septuagint*. [q] Geneſ. ii. 21. [r] Which ſome have imagined. Vid. St. ROMUALD, Abrégé du Treſor Chronolog. Tom. I. p. 35 [s] Some *Rabbins* ridiculouſly fancy, that GOD at firſt made *Adam* with a tail, but finding it leſſened the beauty of his workmanſhip, he reſolved to cut it off; however, he made it ſerve for the matter whereout he formed the firſt woman. Vid. BARTOLOCCII Biblioth. Rabbin. Tom. I. p. 69.

ſome

ſome *Rabbins*, that GOD made another woman out of the earth named *Lilith*, of whom the *Jews* relate many ſtories [t].

THAT the firſt pair were created in an adult and perfect ſtate, immediately capable of the full exerciſe of their natural powers and faculties, is not to be doubted: nor is it to be imagined, but that they both came out of their maker's hands in the greateſt perfection both of body and mind [u]. But we muſt not hence entertain thoſe extravagant opinions, which ſome have held in thoſe reſpects. The *Talmudiſts* ſay, that *Adam* reached from one end of the earth to the other, when firſt created, but that when he had ſinned, GOD ſqueezed his ſtature to an hundred ells [x]: though others ſuppoſe this was done at the requeſt of the angels, who were terrified at his gigantic ſize, and that GOD ſtill left him nine hundred cubits high [y]; and that was not a great deal too much, if he waded through the ſea into our continent, after his expulſion from paradiſe, which, as ſome imagine, was ſeparated from this world by the ocean [z]. The *Mohammedans* alſo have a tradition from their prophet, that *Adam* was as high as a tall palm-tree [a]; but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be ſuch, being ſomewhat above two ſpans long, on the top of a mountain in the iſland of *Ceylon*, thence named *Pico de Adam*; and too little, if *Eve* were of ſo enormous a ſize, as is ſaid, that when her head lay on one hill near *Mecca*, her knees reſted on two others in the plain, about two muſket-ſhots aſunder [b]. The beauty of *Eve* is ſaid to have been ſo extraordinary, that the prince of the angels fell in love with her, which occaſioned his fall [c]: and to give as charming an idea of *Adam*'s perſon, ſome have imagined, that GOD, at his creation, cloathed himſelf with a human body ſuperlatively beautiful, and by that model formed the body of *Adam*; which apparition was the firſt prelude of the incarnation [d]: and what is yet more wonderful, *Adam* all the while looked on, and ſaw his maker, in that lovely form, faſhioning every limb [e]. Nor have the gifts of his mind

Traditions concerning his ſize,

beauty,

and knowledge.

[t] Vid. St. ROMUALD, ubi ſupra. HEIDEGGER, Hiſt. patriarch. Tom. I. p. 112. [u] Vid. PHILON. JUD. de mundi opificio, p. 31. [x] TALMUD, in libr. Sanhedrim. [y] Vid. BARTOLOCCII Biblioth Rabbinic. Vol. I. p. 65, 66. [z] BARCEPHA, in tract. de Paradiſo, cap. 14. [a] YAHYA, Comment. in Korân. [b] MONCONIS, Voyages, part I. p. 372, &c. [c] Vid. BARTOLOCC. ubi ſup. p. 322. [d] EUGUBIN. in Coſmopœia, apud Salian. Annal. Tom. I. p. 106. [e] The latin terms are, *Cum fingeretur homo, manus illas divinas aſpexit ambroſioſque vultus illos, pulcherrima brachia corpus ſuum fingentia, fingulosque artus ducentia.* Idem, ibid.

been

been leſs magnified than his ſtature and beauty: ſome *Rabbins*[f] have been contented to equal him with *Moſes* and *Solomon*; others aſſert, that he was maſter of every ſcience and art; that he knew more the firſt day of his creation, than any other by the experience of a long life[g]; nay, that he ſurpaſſed the angels themſelves in knowledge[h]: allegorically interpreting what is ſaid of his ſtature's reaching from one end of the world to the other, of the extent of his underſtanding[i].

Suppoſed, by ſome, to have been created double.

BUT it is ſtill more groundleſs and extravagant to ſuppoſe, as ſeveral *Rabbins* have done, that *Adam*'s body was created double, male on one ſide, and female on the other, being joined together by the ſhoulders, the heads looking directly contrary ways: and that GOD, when he had made *Eve*, had no more to do than to ſplit this body in two[k]. Others join them by their ſides, and ſay, the male body was on the right, which embraced the other round the neck with his left hand, while the other did the ſame to him with her right. Theſe dreams are ſufficiently refuted by the text of *Moſes*. It may not however be improper to add a word of the *Hermaphrodites*, or *Androgynes*, of which *Plato* has ſaid ſo much: they were bodies which had the two ſexes, with four arms, four legs, and two faces on one neck, turned one towards the other. This duplicity of numbers gave them a prodigious ſtrength, and conſequently inſpired them with great inſolence, and they thought of no leſs than making war againſt the gods: who conſulting on means to bring them to reaſon, the advice of *Jupiter* was approved, and that was, to ſplit them in two; which being done, each part ſtill preſerved a ſtrong inclination

Of the Androgynes *of* Plato.

[f] Apud RIVINI Serpent Seduct. p. 50. [g] Vid. SALIAN. ubi ſup. p. 107, 113. [h] To prove this, they pretend to alledge the teſtimony of GOD himſelf. They ſay, that the angels having ſpoken of man with ſome contempt, when GOD conſulted them about his creation, GOD made anſwer, that the man was wiſer than they; and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and aſked them their names; which they not being able to tell, he put the ſame queſtion to the man, who named them one after another; and being aſked his own name, and GOD's name, he anſwered very juſtly, and gave GOD the name of JEHOVAH. RIVIN. Serpent. Seduct. p. 56. This ſtory has been adopted by *Mohammed* in his Korân, cap. 2. ver. 30, &c. [i] Ibid. p. 49, &c. [k] Vid. HEIDEGGER. Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. I. p. 85. which author attributes this opinion to two famous Rabbins, Manaſſes Ben Iſrael (in Conciliat. in Geneſ.) & Moſes Maimonides (in More Nevoch. p. 2. cap. 30.), who yet rather approve a different ſentiment.

to

to unite itſelf to the other, and this was, according to him, the original of love [l].

Moham-medan *traditions concerning the creation of man.*

THE *Mohammedans* have ſeveral peculiar traditions about the creation of *Adam*. They ſay, that the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Iſrafil*, were ſent by GOD, one after another, to fetch for that purpoſe ſeven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours; (whence ſome account for the various complexions of mankind [m]) but the earth being apprehenſive of the conſequence, and deſiring them to repreſent her fear to GOD, that the creature he deſigned to form would rebel againſt him, and draw down his curſe upon her, they returned without performing GOD's command; whereupon he ſent *Azrail* on the ſame errand, who executed his commiſſion without remorſe; for which reaſon GOD appointed him to ſeparate the ſouls from the bodies, being therefore called the angel of death. The earth he had taken was carried into *Arabia*, to a place now between *Mecca* and *Tayef*, where, being firſt kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards formed by GOD himſelf into a human form, and left to dry for the ſpace of forty days, or, as others ſay, as many years; the angels, in the interim, often viſiting it, and *Eblis* (afterwards the devil) among the reſt: but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing GOD deſigned that creature to be his ſuperior, took a ſecret reſolution never to acknowledge him as ſuch. After this, GOD animated the figure of clay, and endued it with an intelligent ſoul; and when he had placed him in paradiſe, formed *Eve* out of his left ſide [n].

The Phœnician *tradition.*

THE firſt human pair, according to the *Phœnician* tradition, were begotten, or generated by the wind *Colpias*, and his wife *Baau*, which is interpreted night [o]; that is, by a hollow

[l] PLAT. in ſympoſ. pag. 1185. Ed. Francof. 1602. [m] AL TERMEDI, from a tradition of Abu Muſa al Aſhari. [n] KHOND AMÎR, JALLALO'DDIN, Comment. in KORAN, &c. Vid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. Orient. p. 55. [o] SANCHONIATHO, apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. As to the words *Colpias* and *Baau*, Bochart takes the firſt of them to be the ſame with קול־פי־יה *Col-pi-yah*, i. e. *the voice of the mouth of* GOD; but this is improbable, becauſe it is plainly the name of a wind, derived from the Greek Κόλπος, which ſignifies a hollow place or cavity, whether thoſe little ones in our boſoms, garments, &c. or thoſe large ones which we call bays in the ſea-ſhore: nor is there ſuch a phraſe in the Hebrew tongue, as *the voice of the mouth of Yah*; beſides other reaſons. *Baau* he would correct *Baut*, which he affirms to ſignify the

hollow wind acting on unformed matter: the meaning being no more than this, that a wind encloſed in ſeveral cavities of unſhapen matter, worked out of it the firſt man; the rude matter being the paſſive principle, or cauſe, and therefore here figuratively called the wife; and the encloſed wind being the active principle, and therefore here intimated to be as it were the huſband, in this firſt generation [p].

Of the human ſoul: whether infuſed, or ex traduce.

THAT the ſoul of man is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, independent on the matter it informs, is evident to any, who conſiders the power and freedom of its operations, which no accident can be ſuppoſed to have; and which matter, with all its refinements and muturations, can never be able to perform. It has however been queſtioned, whether the ſouls of men are infuſed into them immediately from GOD, or whether they are derived, *ex traduce*, from their parents. The latter opioion has been maintained, from all other creatures having the power of propagating their ſpecies in full perfection; by which it ſeems to follow, that mankind were endued with the ſame; from the likeneſs of temper and diſpoſition of mind, which children often take from their parents; and from the indecency of conceiving GOD to be inceſſantly making ſouls, whenever the ſexes are ſtimulated to ſatisfy their natural appetite. But it is ſcarce poſſible to maintain the immateriality and immortality of the human ſoul on this ſuppoſition: for if the ſoul be propagated by generation, it muſt, to our beſt apprehenſion, be material, and liable to corruption [q]; it is therefore more reaſonable to believe, that though GOD has committed the formation of our bodies to the agency of ſecond cauſes, yet he has reſerved the production of our ſouls to himſelf, who is the Father, and GOD *of the ſpirits of all fleſh* [r].

Whether our ſouls were created at once, or ſucceſſively.

IT has alſo been doubted, whether the ſouls of mankind were all created at once, together with that of *Adam*, in order to be united to certain bodies, which ſhould be prepared afterwards for their reception; or whether they are ſucceſſively created, as the bodies they are to inform are made fit to receive them. Such of the old philoſophers who believed the ſoul to be a diſtinct ſubſtance from the body, as *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, and *Plato*, concluded, that all ſouls muſt pre-exiſt in the univerſe, before generation and tranſmigration into their

the night: but it is more probably the בהן *Bohu* of Moſes, as Scaliger and Grotius agree. Vid CUMBERLAND's Remarks on the Hiſt of SANCHONIATHO, p. 207

[p] CUMBERLAND, ibid. p. 209 Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 38. [q] Numb. xvi. 22. Vid. Mr. STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 223, &c.

reſpective

reſpective bodies; and this doctrine was not confined to human ſouls only, but extended univerſally to all ſouls and lives whatſoever; for the antients were ſo far from denying the ſenſe and conſciouſneſs of brutes, that the generality of them allowed them the faculty of reaſoning[r], though they were not able to expreſs their thoughts as man did: for which reaſon they were ſuppoſed, by ſome, to tranſmigrate indifferently from men into other animals, and from animals into men; it being only the difference of the organs, and the modification of the matter to which they were united, wherein conſiſted the ſeeming diſparity of their powers. Several of the antient chriſtians have alſo believed the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, induced by this conſideration, that it was incongruous to bring GOD upon the ſtage perpetually, and make him immediately interpoſe every where in the generation of men, by the miraculous production of their ſouls out of nothing. Nay, the continual creation and decreation of the ſouls of brutes has been thought ſo improbable, that it has been fancied, they are but ſo many particular eradiations, or effluxes, from that ſource of life above, which animate ſuch matter, as is fitly prepared to receive and be actuated by them, ſo long as it continues ſuch; but when thoſe organized bodies, by reaſon of their indiſpoſition, become incapable of being further acted upon, are reſumed and retracted into that original head, or fountain; it ſeeming not at all abſurd to grant perpetuity of duration to the ſouls even of brutes, any more than to every the leaſt particle of matter[s]. Nor is this doctrine of pre-exiſtence unknown to the *Mohammedans*, who imagine, that GOD drew out of the loins of *Adam* all his poſterity at once, and made a covenant with them, that they ſhould acknowledge him for their lord[u]. They ſay, that all theſe men were actually aſſembled together in a valley near *Mecca*, or, as others ſay, in the plain of *Dahia* in *India*, in the ſhape of piſmires, which are endued with underſtanding; and after they had in the preſence of the angels, as witneſſes, confeſſed their dependance on GOD, they were again cauſed to return into the loins of their great anceſtor[x]. That the *Jews* had likewiſe ſome notion of the ſoul's exiſting before the body, appears from their queſtion put to our Saviour, whether the man that was born blind[y], had himſelf ſinned, or his parents, to deſerve that puniſhment; and as this opinion was not then

[r] Vid. PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſ. l. 5. cap. 23. See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Pereira, Rem. E. [s] CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra, p. 44, &c. [u] Al Korân. cap. vii. ver. 171. [x] See D'HERBELOT, Biblioth. orient. p. 54. MARRACCIUS in Alcoran. p. 290. [y] John ix. 2.

contradicted, ſome have ſuppoſed it to have been thereby tacitly approved.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, the vulgar opinion of the ſucceſſive creation of ſouls, may with good reaſon be allowed; for why ſhould we imagine, that GOD put forth all his creative vigour at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a ſpectator only of the conſequent reſult, and permitting nature alone to do all, without any farther interpoſition [z]? and how is it poſſible, that if our ſouls were ever in ſuch a ſtate of pre-exiſtence, we ſhould have ſo perfectly loſt all memory and conſciouſneſs of any thing?

Whether men before Adam.

BEFORE we have done with this ſubject, the creation of man, we muſt take ſome notice of the opinion of thoſe who think mankind were in being before *Adam*, who was the progenitor of the *Jews* only. To ſupport which, they alledge, that *Moſes* makes mention of two diſtinct creations, one of mankind in general [a], and the other of *Adam* and *Eve* [b]; and in the progreſs of his hiſtory gives ſtrong intimations, that there were ſeveral more men in the world when they were created; elſe it is not eaſily to be conceived, how *Cain* could be a tiller of the ground [c], which muſt pre-ſuppoſe all the artificers that have relation to tillage; or what reaſon he had to apprehend, that every one that found him would ſlay him [d]; nor can his going into another country, marrying a wife, and building a city [e], be otherwiſe accounted for. From which they would infer, that *Moſes* intended only to give an account of the origin of the *Jews*, and not of the primitive parents of the whole human race [f]. Theſe objections are eaſily anſwered; for the paſſage, wherein the creation of man is mentioned the ſecond time, is plainly no more than a recapitulation of what had been ſaid before of the creation of the world in general, with a more particular detail of that of our firſt parents. And as to the numbers of men ſuppoſed to be in the world, about the time of the murder of *Abel*, it is by no means improbable, that theſe ſhould be the deſcendants of *Adam* and *Eve*, whoſe poſterity, in the ſpace of near one hundred and thirty years, (for it was in that year of *Adam*'s age that *Seth*, who was given in lieu of *Abel*, was born) might, by a fair calculation, be multiplied to many thouſand ſouls, conſidering the primitive fœcundity, and that none are ſuppoſed to have died in the interim [g].

[z] CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra. [a] Geneſ. i. 27. [b] Geneſ. ii. 7. Ib. v. 1, 2. [c] Geneſ. iv. 2. [d] Geneſ. iv. 14. [e] Ib. ver. 16, 17. [f] Vid. PEYRERII Præadamit. l. 3. cap. 4. BLOUNT's Oracles of Reaſon, 218. [g] Vid. NICHOLL's conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. part I.

BUT

BUT the moſt plauſible objection of the *Pre-adamites* is, that if *Adam* and *Eve* be allowed to be the progenitors of all mankind, there can be no tolerable cauſe aſſigned of the difference in colour between the whites and the blacks; it being very improbable, they were both the off-ſpring of the ſame parents. To this it may be anſwered, that the variety of complexions in the world may be rationally accounted for another way. We know how the hair and colour of mens bodies differ, according to the climate they inhabit, and their greater, or leſſer diſtance from the ſun: we may therefore well conclude, that the firſt colony, which ſettled in a very hot country, received a great change in their complexion, proportionable to the heat of the climate, and became very tawny, gradually inclining to blackneſs, as the ſun was more intenſe upon them. Hence, in a generation or two, that high degree of tawnineſs might become natural, and at length the pride of the natives. The men might begin to value themſelves upon this complexion, and the women to affect them the better for it; ſo that their love for their huſbands, and daily converſation with them, might have a conſiderable influence upon the fruit of their wombs, and make each child grow blacker and blacker, according to the fancy and imagination of the mother; the force of which is evident from many inſtances. Upon this ſuppoſition, the children thus produced muſt every birth approach nearer to an abſolute blackneſs; and as their tender bodies came to be expoſed naked (as the manner of ſuch countries is) to the violent heat of the ſun, their ſkin muſt needs be ſcorched in an extraordinary manner, and, perhaps, its very texture altered, and by that means contract a blackneſs far ſuperior to that of their parents. By ſuch degrees it is not improbable, that people of the faireſt complexion, when removed into a very hot climate, may, in a few generations, become perfect negroes. As to what ſome have imagined, that this blackneſs was at firſt ſupernatural, and a judgment inflicted upon *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah*, for diſcovering his father's nakedneſs [h], and that all people of that complexion are the progeny of that undutiful ſon [i]; this ſeems very unlikely, and without foundation, the curſe on that occaſion being laid on *Canaan*, the ſon of *Ham*, by name, and yet his poſterity are allowed not to have been black.

Their difference of colour accounted for.

THUS have we attended the earth through its ſeveral degrees of formation, ſeen it perfected, cloathed with trees and plants, and repleniſhed with animals; and at laſt man, for whom the whole was deſigned, and to whom the dominion

[h] Geneſ. ix. 22. [i] Ib. ver. 25.

of it was expreſly given by its maker, introduced, and placed in it.

The time and ſeaſon of the creation.

WHETHER all this was really done in the ſpace of ſix days, has been a queſtion; ſome, as has been obſerved, thinking it much too ſhort for ſuch a work, and others too long [k], ſuppoſing, that the world was created in a moment, and that *Moſes* extends it to ſix days, the better to help the imagination of the people, that things may ſeem to riſe in ſome order and method, and to take off any image of haſte, or precipitancy. But we cannot ſee any reaſon to depart from the letter of *Moſes* in this particular, the creation deſcribed by him being not the creation of the ſubſtance of all things out of nothing, which was moſt probably the effect of one individual act, but the formation of one world, or ſyſtem only, out of matter before created [l].

It has been diſputed alſo in what ſeaſon of the year the world was made; which, it is to be preſumed, muſt be meant in reſpect of the place where *Adam* was created; for otherwiſe all theſe ſeaſons muſt have been in being at once in different parts of the world. Some have ſuppoſed the vernal equinox to have been the time; but others the autumnal; which opinion is the more generally received [m], and ſeems to be confirmed from the years antiently beginning from that time [n]. This indeed was afterwards altered by *Moſes*, who ordered the eccleſiaſtical year ſhould commence from the vernal equinox, or the month *Niſan* [o]: but the *Jews* in civil affairs ſtill continued to compute from the former, or the month *Tiſri*.

The place where Adam was created.

ANOTHER ſubject of enquiry has been the place where *Adam* was created. There is an antient tradition, that it was in *Syria*; near where *Damaſcus* now ſtands [p]; others will have it to have been in *Armenia* [q]; but it was, moſt probably, in, or near the garden of *Eden*, the ſeat deſigned for him, where-ever that was.

Things made prior to the creation.

THE *Mohammedans*, who have very right notions as to the creation of the world in ſix days, do however believe, that GOD previous to that creation, made the table whereon, as they ſuppoſe, his decrees are written; the pen wherewith they are written; the waters whereon his throne is eſtabliſhed; and the throne itſelf [r]: wherein they have imitated the *Jews*, who ſay, that GOD created ſeven things before the world;

[k] St. AUSTIN. PHILO. JUD. LE GRAND, Hiſt. ſacra. [l] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. p. 312. [m] Vid. JACOB. CAPPELLI Obſerv. in Geneſ. c. i. ver. 14. p. 583. [n] Vid. Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22. [o] Exod. xii. 2. [p] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patriarchar. Tom. I. p. 84. [q] CALMET's Comment. in Geneſ. [r] Vid. ECCHELLENS. Hiſt. Arab. c 9.

viz.

viz. paradiſe, the law, the ſouls of juſt men, *Iſrael*, the throne of GOD's glory, *Jeruſalem*, and the *Meſſiah* [r].

Of angels.

BEFORE we quit this ſubject, it may be expected we ſhould ſay ſomething of the creation of angels, who ſo eminently concerned themſelves in the affairs of mankind, at leaſt in the firſt ages of the world.

ANGELS, in the proper ſignification of the word [t], do not import the nature of any being, but only the office, to which they are appointed, eſpecially by way of meſſage, or intercourſe *between* GOD *and his creatures; in which ſenſe they* are called the miniſters of GOD, who do his pleaſure, and miniſtring ſpirits ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation. That there are ſuch beings as we call angels, that is, certain permanent ſubſtances, inviſible, and imperceptible to our ſenſes, endued with underſtanding and power ſuperior to that of human nature, created by GOD, and ſubject to him, as the ſupreme Being; miniſtring to his divine providence in the government of the world by his appointment, and more eſpecially attending the affairs of mankind; is a truth ſo fully atteſted by ſcripture, that it cannot be doubted, and was ſo generally acknowledged by the *Jews*, that it is ſcarce to be believed, that even the *Sadducees* themſelves utterly denied their exiſtence, but only that they had no notion of their appearing in thoſe latter times; as many *Chriſtians*, though they do not abſolutely impugn the being of ſpirits, yet are far from giving credit to the frequent ſtories of apparitions. Nay, the exiſtence of ſuch inviſible beings was generally acknowledged by the antient heathens, though under different appellations; the *Greeks* calling them *dæmons*, and the *Romans genii*, or *lares* [u]: *Epicurus* ſeems to have been the only one among the old philoſophers who abſolutely rejected them [x]; and indeed, the belief of middle intelligences influencing the affairs of the world, and ſerving as miniſters, or interpreters, between GOD and man, is as extenſive as the belief of a GOD; having never, as we know, been called in queſtion by thoſe who had any religion at all.

[r] Maſſechet Peſachim. [t] The word *Angel* is Greek, and ſignifies a Meſſenger: the Hebrew: מלאך, the Arabic ملك, and Perſian فرشتك, ſignify the ſame thing. The Angels are in *Daniel* (cap. iv. ver. 13, &c.) called עירים or *Watchers*, from their vigilance; for which reaſon they are, in the remains we have of the prophecy attributed to *Enoch*, named *Egregori*; which word imports the ſame in Greek. [u] Vid. PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſ. l. 1. c. 8. & VARRON. apud Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. 7. cap. 6. [x] Vid. PLUT. ibid.

AND had we no ſuch revelation and tradition, it ſeems very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, there are intermediate beings to fill up the gap which would otherwiſe be in nature; for as there is a gradation of creatures on earth, ſome having barely being, as earth, air, and water; ſome that beſides being have life, as vegetables; ſome that beſides life have ſenſe and perception, as brute animals; and ſome that beſides ſenſe have reaſon and cogitation, as men: and as we ſee our ſenſitive part exiſts in beings beneath us; ſo it is very probable, that our more noble and intellectual part exiſts in beings, as much ſuperior to us as we are to brutes; and that there is a like gradual aſcent from the loweſt rank of them, which borders upon man, to the higheſt, which comes as near as a finite creature can, to an infinite deity [y].

When created.

THAT the angels were in being long before the *Moſaic* creation, is generally allowed [z], and indeed cannot be doubted, ſince they were actually preſent, if not employed in that creation, *when the morning ſtars ſang together, and all the ſons of* GOD *ſhouted for joy* [a]; and ſince it is more than probable, that the fall of the apoſtate angels was ſome time at leaſt before it.

Their nature, power, employment, &c.

AS to the natures of theſe beings, we are told, that they are ſpirits [b], but whether pure ſpirits diveſted of all matter, or united to ſome thin bodies, or corporeal vehicles, has been a controverſy of long ſtanding. Not only the antient philoſophers, but ſome of the chriſtian fathers [c] were of opinion, that angels were cloathed with ethereal, or fiery, bodies, of the ſame nature with thoſe which we ſhall one day have, when we come to be equal to them. But the more current opinion, eſpecially of later times, has been, that they are ſubſtances entirely ſpiritual, though they can at any time aſſume bodies, and appear in human, or other ſhapes [d].

THAT the angelical powers and abilities vaſtly excel thoſe of man cannot be denied, if we conſider, that their faculties are not clogged, or impeded, as ours are, by any of thoſe imperfections which are inſeparable from corporeal beings: ſo

[y] Vid. STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 185, &c. [z] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. p. 300, &c. [a] Job. xxxviii. 7. Yet ſome have imagined, they were created the firſt day, and deſigned by *Moſes* under the name of *light*: Others, that they were created the ſixth day, after man, to crown and conſummate the creation, which roſe by degrees from the leſs to the more perfect Parts. [b] Vid. TILLOTSON's Serm. Vol. II. [c] S. BASIL, S. ATHANASIUS, and METHODIUS; and alſo St. AUGUSTIN. apud Sixt. Senenſ. l. 5. Annot. 8. Vid. Acta Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 5. [d] MAIMONID. More Nev. p. 2. cap. 49.

that

that their underſtandings are always in perfect vigour; their inclinations regular; their motions ſtrong and quick; their actions irreſiſtible by material bodies, whoſe natural qualities they can controul, or manage to their purpoſes, and occaſion either bleſſings, or calamities, public or private, here below. Inſtances of which are too numerous to mention.

BESIDES their attendance on GOD, and their waiting and executing of his commands, they are alſo preſumed to be employed in taking care of mankind and their concerns: and that *every man* had ſuch a tutelar, or guardian angel, even from his birth, was a firm belief and tradition among the *Jews*; and our SAVIOUR himſelf ſeems to have been of the ſame ſentiment [e]. The heathens were alſo of the ſame perſuaſion [f], and thought it a crime to neglect the admonitions of ſo divine a guide [g]. *Socrates* publickly confeſſed himſelf to be under the direction of ſuch an angel, or dæmon, as ſeveral others have ſince done [h]. And on this tutelar genius of each perſon they believed his happineſs and fortune depended. Every genius did his beſt for the intereſt of his client; and if a man came by the worſt, it was a ſign the ſtrength of his genius was inferior to that of his opponent, that is of an inferior order; and this was governed by chance. There were ſome genii, whoſe aſcendant was ſo great over others, that their very preſence entirely diſconcerted them; which was the caſe of that of *Auguſtus* in reſpect of that of *M. Anthony* [i]: and for the ſame reaſon, perhaps, ſome perſons have wit, and ſpeak well, when others are abſent, in whoſe preſence they are confounded, and out of countenance. The *Romans* thought the tutelar genii of thoſe who attained the empire, to be of an eminent order, on which account they had great honours ſhewn them: nations and cities alſo had their ſeveral genii [k]. The antient *Perſians* ſo firmly believed the miniſtry of angels, and their ſuperintendance over human affairs, that they gave their names to their months, and the days of their month, and

[e] Vid. Matth. xviii. 10. [f] Vid. MENAND. ARRIAN. in Epict. [g] Vid. M. ANTONIN. Meditat. l. 2. § 15. l. 5. § 19, &c. PLOTIN. Ennead. 3. l. 4. DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. p. 418. [h] Particularly PLOTINUS, whoſe dæmon is ſaid to have appeared at the evocation of an *Egyptian* prieſt, in the temple of *Iſis* at *Rome*, in the preſence of *Plotinus* himſelf, and proved to be a god, and not a ſimple dæmon; whereupon *Plotinus* was immediately congratulated by the prieſt, on ſo extraordinary a prerogative. PORPHYR. in vita Plotini. [i] PLUTARCH. in Antonio, p. 930. [k] Vid. DODWEL. præl. II. ad Spart. Hadrian. p. 175, &c.

assigned them distinct offices and provinces [l]: and it is from them the *Jews* confess to have received the names of the months and angels, which they brought with them, when they returned from the *Babylonish* captivity [m]. After which, we find, they also assigned charges to the angels, and in particular the patronage of empires and nations; *Michael* being the prince of the *Jews* [n], as *Raphael* is supposed to have been of the *Persians* [o].

THE *Mohammedans* have so great a respect for the angels, that they account a man an infidel who either denies their existence, or loves them not. They believe them to be free from sin, enjoying the presence of GOD, to whom they are never disobedient: that they have subtil pure bodies, being created of light; and have no distinction of sexes, nor do they need the refreshment of food or sleep. They suppose them to have different forms and offices; that some adore GOD in several postures; others sing his praises, and intercede for men; some carry and encompass his throne; others write the actions of men, and are assigned guardians to them [p].

As the numbers of these celestial spirits are very great [q], it is likewise reasonable to believe, that there are several orders and degrees among them, which is also confirmed by scripture: whence some speculative men have distributed them into nine orders, according to the different names by which they are there called; and reduced those orders into three hierarchies, as they call them; to the first of which belong seraphim, cherubim and thrones; to the second, dominions, virtues, and powers; and to the third, principalities, arch-angels, and angels. They imagine farther, that there are some who constantly reside in heaven; others who are ministers, and sent forth, as there is occasion, to execute the orders they receive from GOD by the former. The *Jews* reckon but four orders, or companies of angels, each headed by an arch-angel; the first order being that of *Michael*, the second of *Gabriel*, the third of *Uriel*, and the fourth of *Raphael*; but though the *Jews* believe them to be but four, yet it seems there were rather seven [r]. The *Persians* also held, there were subordinate degrees among the angels [s].

[l] Vid. HYDE, Rel. vet. Pers. cap. 19, & 20. [m] TALMUD Hierosol. in Rosh ha shana. [n] Dan. xii. 1. [o] HYDE, ubi sup. p. 270, 273. [p] Compendium Theolog. Moham. c. 3. apud Reland. de Rel. Mohammed. [q] Revel. v. 11. [r] MAIMONID. More Nevoch. part 2. c. 10. [s] Revel. iv. 5. viii. 2. Tobit xii. 15. [t] Vid. HYDE, de Rel. vet. Pers. c. 12, & 20.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH the angels were originally created perfect, good, and obedient to their maſter's will, yet ſome of them ſinned [u], and kept not their firſt eſtate [x], but left their habitation, and ſo, of the moſt bleſſed and glorious, became the moſt vile and miſerable of all GOD's creatures. They were expelled the regions of light, and caſt down to hell, to be reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſs, until the day of judgment. With heaven they loſt their heavenly diſpoſition, which delighted once in doing good, and praiſing GOD; and fell into a ſettled rancour againſt him, and malice againſt men: their inward peace was gone; all deſire of doing good departed from them; and inſtead thereof, revengeful thoughts and deſpair took poſſeſſion of them, and created an eternal hell within them. *Of the fallen angels.*

WHEN, and for what offence theſe apoſtate ſpirits fell from heaven, and plunged themſelves into ſuch an abyſs of wickedneſs and woe, are queſtions very hard, if not impoſſible, to be determined by any clear evidence of ſcripture. As to the time, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that their fall preceded the creation of the world; though ſome have imagined it to have been after, and that carnality, or luſting to converſe with women upon earth [y], was the ſin which ruined them [z]: an opinion built on a miſtaken interpretation of ſcripture, as if angels were meant by the ſons of GOD, who are ſaid to have begotten the mighty men of old on the daughters of men [a]. Others have ſuppoſed, that the angels, being informed of GOD's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify his nature by CHRIST's aſſuming of it, and thinking their glory to be eclipſed thereby, envied man's happineſs, and ſo revolted [b]: and with this opinion that of the *Mohammedans* has ſome affinity, who are taught, that the devil, who was once one of thoſe angels who are neareſt to GOD's preſence, and named *Azazil* [c], forfeited paradiſe for refuſing to worſhip or pay homage to *Adam*, at the command of GOD [d]. But on what occaſion ſoever it firſt ſhewed itſelf, pride ſeems to have been the leading ſin of the angels [e]; who admiring, and valuing themſelves too much on the excellence of their nature, and the height of their ſtation, came *The time of their fall, their offence,* &c.

[u] 2 Pet. ii. 4. [x] Jude, ver. 6. [y] See hereafter p. 164, 165. a.
[z] JOSEPHUS, PHILO JUD. ORIGEN. TERTULLIAN, &c.
[a] Geneſ. vi. 2, 4. [b] IRENÆUS, LACTANTIUS, GREGORY NYSSEN, &c. [c] Vid. RELAND. de Rel. Mohammed. p. 189, &c. [d] Al Korân, cap. 2. ver. 34. [e] Vid. 1. Tim. iii. 6. and the magnificent compariſon of the fall of proud *Sennacherib* to that of *Lucifer*; Iſaiah xiv. 12, &c.

at

at length to entertain so little respect for their creator, as to be guilty of downright rebellion and apostasy [f].

IT is certain from scripture, that these fallen angels were in great numbers [g], and that there was also some order and subordination preserved among them; one especially being considered as their prince, and called by several names, *Beelzebub*, *Satan*, or *Sammaël* by the *Jews*; *Ahàriman* by the *Persians*; and *Eblis* by the *Mohammedans*. Their constant employment is not only doing evil themselves, but endeavouring by all arts and means to seduce and pervert mankind, by tempting them to all kind of sin, and thereby bringing them into the same desperate state with themselves.

Of intermediate spirits, or Genii.

BESIDES the angels and devils, the *Mohammedans* believe there are a sort of intermediate creatures, which they call *Jin* or *Genii* of a grosser fabric than angels; some of whom are good, and others bad, and capable of future salvation or damnation, as men are. The *Orientals* pretend, that these *Genii* inhabited the world for many thousand years before the creation of *Adam*, under the reigns of several princes, who all bore the common name of *Solomon*: but falling at length into an almost general corruption, *Eblis* was sent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined: that some of that generation, still remaining, were by *Tahmûrath*, one of the antient kings of *Persia*, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of *Kâf*. Of which successions, and wars they have many fabulous and romantic stories. They also make different ranks and degrees among this kind of beings, (if they are not rather of different species) some being called absolutely *Jin*, some *Peri* or *faries*; some *Div* or *giants*; others *Tacwins* or *fates* [h].

AS to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we do not find, they had any notion of evil spirits, or devils, in the usual sense of the word, if we except only *Plutarch*'s evil principle before mentioned. Their infernal gods were not conceived to be of an evil nature; and though they believed the furies were the tormentors of wicked men in another life, yet they looked on them as goddesses, and the avengers only of evil actions.

MUCH more might be added to what we have already said on these subjects; but as we may be thought already to have exceeded the bounds of an introduction, we shall here conclude it, and hasten to the history itself.

[f] The opinion of St. CHRYSOSTOME, THEODORET, ATHANASIUS, &c. [g] Yet some have endeavoured to prove there is no more than one devil. Vid. Lettres de BAYLE, Tom. I. p. 360. [h] Vid. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. p. 369, 820, &c.

A MAP *of the most probable Place of the* GARDEN *of* EDEN, PLAIN *of* SHINAAR, *and* Mountain where the ARK rested, *according to this* History

Ejmiadzin or 3 Churches
Erivan
M. VASIS where rested the ARK
R. Kor
PART
Nackshivan
R. Araxes or Aras
of the
CASPIAN SEA
40
39
38
37
36
35
34
33
32
31
30
R. Tigris or Hiddekel
Senjar
SHINAAR
EDEN
Here or somewhere near
R. Shat al Arab
R. Euphrates or Frat
PERSIA
KHUZESTAN
or Country of
CUSH
R. Pison
R. Gihon
PART
of
ARABIA
HAVILAH
PART
of the
PERSIAN GULF

D. Pomardi Sc.

AN

Univerſal Hiſtory.

BOOK I.

The ASIATIC *Hiſtory to the Time of* ALEXANDER the Great.

CHAP. I.

The General Hiſtory of the WORLD *till the* FLOOD.

SECT. I.

The Creation of Man, and the Situation of the Garden of EDEN.

IN the beginning GOD created the heaven and the earth. The earth was once in a confuſed and deſolate ſtate, but, by divine providence, and ſecond cauſes ſubſervient to that purpoſe, gradually, in the ſpace of ſix days, reduced into a habitable world; cloathed with trees, ſhrubs, plants, and flowers, and ſtocked with various kinds of animals. And when all theſe things were, by the care and beneficence of GOD, prepared for the reception of his principal gueſt, then, and not till then, was Man created, and introduced into the world [a]. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

The creation of the world, and of man.

WHATEVER opinions the antient heathens might have of the origin of mankind, we are aſſured, by the moſt authentic records, that we are deſcended from two perſons, *Adam* and *Eve* [b]; who were formed by GOD in the moſt abſolute perfection both of body and mind, and ſubject to none of thoſe irregular appetites, diſeaſes, wants, and ſorrows, which they afterwards, by their rebellion, brought on themſelves, and their unhappy poſterity. And leſt any thing ſhould be want-

The happy ſtate of the firſt pair.

[a] Geneſ. i. [b] Geneſ. iii. 20.

ing

Year of the World, 1. Year before Christ, 4305.

ing to compleat their happiness, a most delightful habitation was prepared for them in *Eden* by their gracious creator; a garden or paradise [c], whereon all the beauties of nature were profusely bestowed, well watered, and planted with all sorts of trees, that were either pleasant to the sight, or good for food. In the midst of which garden were two trees of a very peculiar, and, it seems, contrary nature; one called the tree of life, the fruit of which had the virtue of rendering those who eat it, in some degree at least, immortal; and the other the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the consequence of the tasting of which was so pernicious to them and their offspring [d].

Situation of the garden of Eden.

BUT before we proceed, it may be expected, we should say something with reference to the situation of this garden, concerning which there has been so great a variety of opinions among learned men.

Extravagant opinions concerning it.

SEVERAL of the primitive fathers believed, that there never was a local paradise, and that all which is spoken of it in scripture is to be understood in an allegorical sense: others, who allowed the reality of paradise, have swerved so far from the letter, as to suppose it not to be situated on any part of this terrestrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itself, in the middle region of the air, above the earth, under the earth, in a recess hidden and removed from the knowledge of men, in the place possessed at present by the *Caspian* sea, under the *Arctic* pole, and under the equator, with many more such extravagancies, which have been collected by several authors [e], some of whom have thought it worth while to give such whimsies a serious answer.

ON the other hand, many of those who have allowed a terrestrial paradise, have fallen into no less extravagancies. There is scarce a corner of the earth which has not been ransacked in search of it. They have looked for it in *Asia*, in *Africa*, in *Europe*, in *America*, in *Tartary*; upon the banks of the *Danube*, and the *Ganges*; in the isle of *Ceylon*, in *Persia*, in *Armenia*, in *Mesopotamia*, in *Chaldea*, in *Arabia*, in *Palestine*, in *Syria*; about the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Antilibanus*; near the cities of *Damascus*, and *Tripoly*; in *Ethiopia*, towards the mountains of the moon; and, which will doubtless be thought as much out of the way, in *Sweden*.

What owing to.

THIS diversity of opinions proceeds partly, from that humour which prevailed in the early ages of christianity, of allegorizing

[c] Genes. ii 8. &c. [d] Genes. ii. 17. [e] STEPH. MORINUS. dissert. de parad. terrest. præfix. oper. Bocharti, Edit. 1722. MOSES BAR CEPHA, de paradis. comment. P. DAN. HUET. de situ paradisi. BURNET's Theory of the Earth. RALEIGH's hist. of the world, &c.

gorizing all paſſages of ſcripture which had the leaſt appearance of difficulty in them, and partly from the little agreement to be found betwixt the geography of *Moſes* and that of the heathen authors, whoſe imperfections are not yet perhaps ſufficiently ſupplied, to reſolve this difficult problem. As for the *Jews*, from whom we might have expected ſome light into matters which concern their own antiquities, they are perfectly ignorant of the geography of their bible, and have run as much aſtray as other nations, in their deſcriptions of paradiſe; ſuppoſing, as *Joſephus* [f], and all the reſt of their authors have done, the *Ganges* and the *Nile* to be two of the four rivers, in which the chriſtian fathers have almoſt unanimouſly followed them. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

THERE are ſeveral places which bear the name of *Eden*; we find two mentioned in ſcripture, beſides that in the *Moſaical* deſcription, if it be not one of them; *viz.* one near *Damaſcus* in *Syria* [g], the other in, or about, *Thelaſſar* in *Chaldea* [h]. *Ptolemy* places an *Addan* in this laſt country, and another on the *Euphrates*. There is alſo another *Eden* in *Syria* near *Tripoly* [i], in the road to *Damaſcus*, as the former ſeems likewiſe to be. *Cartwright*, in his travels [k], gives an account of an iſland in the *Tigris* [l], called *Eden*, as he informs us, by the people of the country, and about twelve miles above *Mauſel* (A). There is a city near *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, ſtill called *Adena*, and *Aden* is a very noted one on the coaſt of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, a little without the ſtraits of *Bâb al Mondab*; for *Eden*, or *Aden*, ſignifying *pleaſure*, that name was given to places remarkable for the delightfulneſs of their ſituation, conſidered either in themſelves, or comparitively with the adjacent country; and the laſt ſeems to be the caſe of *Aden* in *Arabia*, which has nothing more than ordinary to deſerve that name, but the barrenneſs of the neighbouring ſoil. *Several* Edens.

[f] Antiq. Jud. lib. I. cap. i. [g] Amos i. 5. [h] 2 Kings xix. 12. Iſaiah xxxvii. 12. [i] MAUNDRELL's travels, p. 135. [k] Vid. The preacher's travels, p. 91, 95. [l] Vid. ASSEMANI Bibl. orient. tom. I. p. 526.

(A) This remark, whether true or falſe, ſeems to have occaſioned Raleigh's ſtraining the expreſſion in the Neſtorian epiſtles, (1) tranſlated into Latin by Maſius, where that iſle is not called Eden, but is ſaid to be in the Tigris, a river of Eden.

(1) *Ad calcem Bar Cephæ, comment. de ſitu paradiſi, p.* 264.

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The Mosaical paradise local, not imaginary.

It appears plainly from the *Mosaical* description, (B) however prepostterous a learned author [m] thinks it, that *Moses* had no imaginary paradise in view, but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded with countries and rivers, very well known by the names he gives them, in his time, and (as appears from scripture) for many ages after. *Eden* is as evidently a real country as *Ararat*, where the ark rested, and *Shinaar*, where the sons of *Noah* removed after the flood. We find it mentioned as such in scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more reason to believe it, because the scenes of these three remarkable events are laid in the neighbourhood of one another, in the *Mosaical* history: but the *Jews* having, probably, during the distraction of their affairs about the time of the captivity, lost the remembrance of all the particulars relating to this account of *Eden*, (as indeed they have of most things relating to their antiquities) except that of the rivers *Hiddekel* and *Frat*; the christians, who have busied themselves much in search after it, have lost their way for want of guides, which has been the occasion of so many strange notions about it, as we have already mentioned: and there must always be a difference among men in opinions, where the uncertainty and defectiveness of the proofs leave room for controversy.

This enquiry uncertain and conjectural.

Some of the latest moderns [n], misled by the affinity of names, have supposed, they found the name of the *Pison* preserved in the *Pasi-tigris*, or rather (as they would have it, to favour their hypothesis) the *Piso-tigris*, whilst others [o] take it for granted, that it is the *Phasis*, as they conclude the *Aras*

[m] Burnet's Theory of the Earth, book II. chap. i. at the end.

[n] Francis Junius, Hugo Grotius. [o] Will. Sanson, in geograph. *Asiæ*. Reland, dissert. de situ paradisi, p. 7. Calmet. comment. sur la Gen. ii. 9.

(B) *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden* (2). — *And a river went out of Eden to water the Garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads* (3). *The name of the first is Pison* [Fishon]: *that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold* (4). *And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium* [Bdolah] *and the onyx-stone* [Shoham] (5). *And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia* [Cush] (6). *And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the the east of* [*or east-ward to*] *Assyria* [Ashur]. *And the fourth river is Euphrates* [Perath *or* Frat] (7).

(2) *Gen. ii.* 8. (3) *Ibid. ver.* 10. (4) *Ver.* 11. (5) *Ver.* 12. (6) *Ver.* 13. (7) *Ver.* 14.

to

to be the *Gihon*, from the conformity of the ſignification; both theſe terms being uſed by the *Perſians* to ſignify any great river in general. But at that rate, *Eden* may be any where, and every where, ſince a conformity of names, either in ſound or ſignification, may be found in all countries; and if that ſort of proof be admitted, unleſs under proper reſtrictions, it will be no hard matter to prove, that *America* was peopled immediately by the poſterity of *Noah*, as ſome have alledged. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

THE *Bdolah* and *Shoham*, which were the produce of *Havilah*, being unknown names, as well as that of their native country, they are interpreted by every one ſo as to favour the ſcheme he eſpouſes. Thus the *Bdolah* is rendered *bdellium*, the *carbuncle*, the *loadſtone*, the *oleaſter*. Thoſe who place paradiſe in *Armenia*, will have it to be *cryſtal* [p], becauſe they find that ſtone thereabouts; and thoſe who ſituate it in *Chaldea*, towards the *Perſian* gulph, inſiſt, that it ſignifies *pearl*, which is fiſhed in great quantity in *Bahrein* near *al Kâtif*, on the *Arabian* coaſt, where the country of *Havilah* is to be found, according to this hypotheſis; and it muſt be owned, this conjecture ſeems to come neareſt to the truth, conſidering manna is compared [q] to the *Bdolah* for colour; and ſo the Talmudiſts deſcribe manna to be round as coriander-ſeed, and white as pearls. In like manner the *Shoham* is made by different authors to ſignify the *beryl*, and the *emerald* [r]; perhaps with as little propriety, as it is rendered in our bibles the *onyx-ſtone*, which tranſlation is condemned by *Bochart* [s] and others (C).

OF the three ſchemes which at preſent obtain amongſt the learned; the firſt, which places paradiſe near *Damaſcus* in *Syria* and Armenia *ill-grounded*. *The ſchemes which place* Eden *in* Syria

[p] RELAND, ibid. p. 27. [q] Numb. xi. 7. [r] RELAND, ibid. p. 31. [s] Vol. I. p. 30.

(C) On this occaſion we cannot help obſerving, that our tranſlators have often ſwerved from the original Hebrew, to follow the Septuagint, if not the German verſion, eſpecially in names and terms. Thus Aram is generally rendered Syria; Khaſhdim, Chaldea; Mizraim, Egypt; Cuſh, Ethiopia; and the like: but we need not ſend the reader farther then the moſaical deſcription of Eden above-cited, in which it appears, that there are no leſs than ſix variations. They have moreover introduced a corrupt pronunciation, either by following the German orthography inſtead of the Engliſh, or continuing the orthography of the vulgate, which prevailed before the reformation. Thus they have conſtantly made uſe of the J conſonant inſtead of the Y: Jacob and Joſeph ſhould be written Yacob and Yoſeph, or rather *Yoſef*: Benjamin Benyamin, or rather Benyamim.

rid,

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ria, about the ſprings of *Jordan*, and has for its patrons *Heidegger* [t], Mr. *le Clerc* [u], *Pere Abram* [x], and *Pere Hardouin* [y], ſeems the worſt grounded, being deſtitute of all the marks ſpecified in the *Moſaical* deſcription, which ought always to be the principal teſt in this enquiry. The ſecond hypotheſis places *Eden* in *Armenia*, between the ſprings or heads of the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Phaſis*, and is eſpouſed by two great men, eminent for their skill in geography, namely, *Sanſon*, and the late Mr. *Hadrian Reland* [z], beſides *Calmet* [a]. But this ſcheme is not much better ſupported than the firſt; for, according to the modern diſcoveries, the *Phaſis* does not riſe in the mountains of *Armenia*, near the ſprings of the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Tigris*, as *Strabo* [b], *Ptolemy* [c], *Dionyſius* [d], and the reſt of the antients have wrongly informed us, which led them, without doubt, into this error; but by the map of *Colchis*, or *Mingrelia*, in *Thevenot*'s collection, and the account of Sir *John Chardin*, in his travels, that river has its ſource far away in mount *Caucaſus*, and does not flow from ſouth to north, but on the contrary from north to ſouth; a great extent of country, and the river *Kor* (which by its ſituation would much better ſupply the place of the *Piſon* than the *Phaſis*) interpoſing; as may be ſeen by the map. As one miſtake generally draws on another, *Reland*, led again by that deceitful guide the ſimilitude of names, ſuppoſes *Cuſh* to be the country of the *Coſſæans*, or *Cuſſæans*; but if the *Cuſſæans* were the inhabitants of the mountains [e], which, with *Parthia*, bounded *Media* on the eaſt; and which, in all likelihood, as he conjectures, was *Kuheſtân*, or the mountain-country, as that name ſignifies; how could they be ſettled along the *Araxes*, which yet it was neceſſary they ſhould be, to favour his opinion? for *Kuheſtân* is the moſt eaſtern, or north-eaſtern part of *Irâk Ajami*, a well-known province of *Irân* or *Perſia* at large, agreeable to *Diodorus Siculus* [f] and *Arrian* [g]; who makes the country of the *Coſſæans* a part of *Media*; though ſome place them in *Perſia*, and *Ptolemy* in *Suſiana*: beſides, the *Phaſis* and *Scythia* (which *Sanſon* underſtands by *Cuſh*, or the *Coſſæans*) ſeem to have been too remote to be known to *Moſes*. Neither does this hypotheſis account for that river which watered paradiſe, and from whence the other four had their riſe; and

[t] Hiſtor. patriarch. p. 94. [u] In Gen. cap. ii. 8. [x] Pharus vet. teſt. l. 2. n. 16 p. 6. [y] In his Edition of Pliny. [z] Diſſertat. de ſitu paradiſi. [a] Dict. de la Bible, p. 150, & Commentaire ſur la Geneſe, cap. ii. 8. [b] Lib. X. & XI. [c] Tab. III. *Aſiæ*. [d] Periegeſis. [e] Strabo, lib. XIV. [f] Lib. XVII. cap. iii. [g] In hiſtor. Ind.

Reland

Reland will not allow it can be done, but by ſuppoſing a ſubterranean river, which may as well ſerve for the ſcheme of the *Jews*, followed by the Fathers, which makes the *Piſon* and *Gihon*, the *Nile* and the *Ganges*.

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ACCORDING to the third opinion, *Eden* is placed upon the united ſtream of the *Dijlat*, or *Hiddekel*, and *Frat*, called by the *Arabs*, *Shat al Arab*, that is, the river of the *Arabs*; which [h] begins two days journey above *Baſrah*, and, about five leagues below, divides again into two or three channels, which empty themſelves into the *Perſian* gulph. By this hypotheſis the *Shat al Arab* is the river paſſing out of *Eden*, which river, conſidered according to the diſpoſition of its channel, and not according to the courſe of its ſtream, divides into four heads, or different branches; which make the four rivers; two below, *viz.* the two branches of the *Shat*, which ſerve for the *Piſon* and *Gihon*; and two above, *viz.* the *Frat* and *Dijlat*, or the *Euphrates* and *Hiddekel*. According to this diſpoſition, the weſtern branch of the *Shat* will be *Piſon*, and the adjoining part of *Arabia*, bordering on the *Perſian* gulph, will be *Havilah*; and the eaſtern branch will be the *Gihon*, encompaſſing the country of *Cuſh*, or *Khuzeſtân*, a province of *Irân*, as it is ſtill named by the *Perſians*.

The third ſcheme moſt probable.

THIS opinion was firſt ſtarted by *Calvin*, and is, with ſome little variation, followed by *Stephanus Morinus*, *Bochart*, and *Huet* biſhop of *Avranches*; and, indeed, all the paſſages of ſcripture, where *Eden* is mentioned, concur to eſtabliſh it ſomewhere hereabouts. The prophet ſpeaking of *Tyre* ſays, *Haran, and Canneh, and Eden were thy merchants* [i]. Now if *Canneh* be *Calneb*, or *Calyo*, which is taken to be *Cteſiphon*, or *Medain*, the ſeat of the *Parthian* race of *Perſian* kings, then *Eden* muſt have been the ſouth of that city, according to the order of mentioning the places, which ſeems to be from north to ſouth. The ſame order is obſerved in two other places of the old teſtament, where mention is made of *Gozan*, *Haran*, *Rezeph and the children of Eden which were in Telaſſar* [k]. To this we may add an argument of ſome, that the city of *Enoch*, or rather *Hanukh*, built by *Cain*, and called after the name of his ſon, is placed to the eaſt of *Eden* [l]; and *Ptolemy* places a city, called *Anuchta*, in *Suſiana*, or the Country of *Cuſh*.

Eden *to be looked for in* Chaldea.

WITH regard to the natural marks aſcribed to *Havilah*, authors mention that part of *Arabia* is productive of gold; and as for the *Bdolah* and *Shoham*, they may be made the pro-

[h] THEV. trav. Part. II. chap. ix. [i] Ezek. xxvii. 23. [k] Iſaiah xxxvii. 12. 2 Kings xix. 12. [l] Gen. iv. 17.

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duce of any country, as we have before obſerved. However, the *Bdolah*, being conſidered either as pearls, or bdellium, (ſuppoſed to be a tranſparent, odoriferous, but bitter gum) is allowed to be a native of *Arabia*.

Objections to the third ſcheme.

But though this hypotheſis ſeems the beſt of any that hath been yet advanced, and to account tolerably well for the *Moſaical* deſcription, yet is it liable to exception: for the two branches of the *Shat al Arab*, which by this ſcheme repreſent the *Piſon* and the *Gihon*, ſeem not conſiderable enough to deſerve the name of rivers, nor are of ſufficient length to encompaſs countries of any extent; the place where the *Shat al Arab* divides below *Baſrah*, being not above eighteen leagues [m] diſtant from the places where thoſe two branches fall into the ſea. Indeed, if we could be ſure there was a third branch, which, according to ſome accounts and maps, parting from the *Shat* about *Baſrah*, falls into the ſea at *al Katif*, it might ſerve tolerably well for the *Piſon*; and for the *Gihon*, we ſhould chuſe to ſubſtitute either the river *Karon*, or the river *Karha*; the firſt of which falls into the *Shat al Arab*, the other into the *Tigris*, and may much more properly be ſaid to encompaſs the whole land of *Cuſh*, as running through *Khuzeſtân*; whereas the eaſtern branch of the *Shat* waſhes only a corner of that country, or rather one ſide of an iſland made by it and the *Caron*.

New ſchemes propoſed.

Or ſuppoſe, we ſhould alter this ſcheme a little, and ſituate *Eden* above the confluence of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, we ſhall find one, or two large arms, croſſing the intermediate country from one river to the other, which would much better ſupply the place of the *Piſon* and *Gihon*, than the branches of the *Shat al Arab*, provided, other circumſtances agreed with this alteration. If theſe branches of the *Tigris* had been known to *Grotius* and others, they would not perhaps have fallen into ſo groſs a miſtake, as to make the *Nahar Malca*, or *Royal River*, which paſſes from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, the *Gihon*: it would better have ſuited with the *Moſaical* deſcription to have ſuppoſed it to be the river of *Eden*, which was divided into four heads, in which caſe the parts of thoſe rivers to the ſouth of the *Nahar Malca*, would ſerve for the *Piſon* and *Gihon*; and indeed, that would anſwer the *Moſaical* deſcription, as to the rivers, almoſt without exception. But the truth is, ſuch an hypotheſis cannot be admitted without overthrowing the credibility of the ſcripture, and allowing the moſt antient books in it were written after, or in the times of the *Baby-*

[m] Thevenot's travels, Part II. chap. x. Teixeira, in his journey from Baſrah to Aleppo.

loniſh

Ioniſh captivity; for the *Nahar Malca*, or *Baſilicos Potamos*, as the *Greeks* called it, is an artificial canal ſtill in being, cut from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, a little above *Babylon*, in the later times of the *Babylonian* empire. The oriental authors attribute this work to *Nimrod* [n]; perhaps it may be the ſame with the river *Cutha*, which, a *Perſian* author [o] ſays, was dug by a king of *Babel* of the ſame name, and ſuppoſed to be *Cuſh* the father of *Nimrod*. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

THOSE who patronize the *Armenian* paradiſe, may likewiſe improve, or amend their ſcheme, out of the modern travellers and maps *, where they will find the *Morad Shai*, which falls into the *Euphrates*, and the *Kor*, which joins the *Araxes*, or *Aras*, either of them better fitted to ſupply the place of the *Piſon* than the *Phaſis*; or, if they chuſe to have the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* united with the other two *Moſaical* rivers, they may adopt the *Sert*, which falls into the *Tigris* at *Heſn Keifa*, and throw out the *Aras* and *Kor*, the head of which laſt *Ptolemy* has made to change place with that of the *Phaſis*. As a wrong, or confuſed account of the riſe and courſe of rivers, delivered by the antients, has been the occaſion of many of the miſtakes, into which authors have fallen in treating of this ſubject, the inquirer ought to have recourſe to the modern obſervations of geographers and travellers, which often help where the others fail, but have been too much neglected by the learned.

The Moſaical *deſcription of* Eden *imperfect.*

AFTER all, we ought not to be ſo earneſt about this matter; for, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the *Moſaical* deſcription does not agree with the ſtate of things, either as they now are, or ever were in all probability: for there is no common ſtream, of which the four rivers are properly branches, nor can one conceive, how a whole land can be encompaſſed by a river, as *Havilah* is ſaid to be by the *Piſon*, and *Cuſh* by the *Gihon*, without being an iſland. But we are to conſider paradiſe deſcribed according to *Moſes*'s notion of things, and that imperfect knowledge of the world which they had in thoſe early times. It is abſurd in this caſe to alledge an alteration made by the deluge in the bounds of countries, or the courſe of rivers; for *Moſes* deſcribes things as they were ſuppoſed to be at the time he wrote; nor is it credible, that the *Hiddekel* and *Frat* were branches of a river before, and had ſprings of their own afterwards.

[n] Vid. HYDE, de Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 40. [o] TABARI, in cap. de morte Saræ apud HYDE, ibid.

* Particularly thoſe of DE LISLE, which are far the beſt.

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It is observable, that there is no manner of doubt in authors, with relation to these two rivers; nor indeed is there the least room for it, they having retained their names nearly, if not exactly the same, to this day; for what the *Hebrews* called *Hiddekel*, the *Arabs*, and perhaps the *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*, called *Dijlat* then, as they do at present; and the *Pherath*, *Forat*, or *Frat*, is still called *Frat* by the neighbouring people; for *Euphrates* is one of those corrupt names, which our translations have borrowed from the *Septuagint* version, and which probably the *Greeks*, as *Reland* [p] judiciously observed, took from the *Persians*, who often set the word *Ab*, or *Au*, which signifies water, before the names of rivers; of which word and *Frat* the name *Euphrates* is compounded. The other opinion which forms that name from a conjunction of *Frat* with the preceding particle *hua*, in the *Hebrew* text, is absurd; as supposing, the *Greeks* first came acquainted with that river, by reading this passage of *Moses* relating to the situation of *Eden*.

Several paradises.

The oriental nations give the name of paradise to several places, rather for the deliciousness of their situation, than a real persuasion, that any of them was the paradise of *Adam*, which the *Mohammedans* in particular do believe not to be on earth, but in the seventh heaven [r]. And of the antient *Persians*, some thought it to be in the sun, as the *Manichæans*, and other heretics did; and others, that there is no paradise now in being, but after the resurrection the earth will be renewed, by being melted and changed into another form, and a paradisiacal state [t]; so that they seem to have believed the whole earth to have been paradise, before the curse given it at the fall [u]. However, the terrestrial paradises, mentioned by the *Arabs* and *Persians*, are, 1. The plain of *Damascus*, which they call *al Gauta*. 2. *Obolla*, a village in *Irâk*, on the western branch of the *Shat al Arab*, where there are most pleasant gardens. 3. *Sheb Bawân*, a place in *Fars*, or *proper Persia*, situate on the river *Nilâb*, near *Nubendijân*. 4. *Sogd Samarkand*, or the valley of *Samarkand* [w]. 5. *Gangdiz*, or the castle of the *Ganges*, called also *Behishti Gang*, or the paradise of *Ganges*, *Arîm*, or *Arin*, and *Kubbat al ard*, or the vertex of the earth, 6. *Jam gherd*. But these two last places are imaginary, and supposed to be situate eastward of *China*, in the middle of the sea, where the zodiac and equator intersect each other, exactly at one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude from the fortunate islands (or *Canaries*), where

[p] De situ paradisi. [r] Vid. Marrac. in Alc. p. 24. [t] See before, p 67. [u] Hyde de Rel. vet. Pers. c. xxxiii. p. 400. [w] Vid. D'Herbelot. p. 378. & 361.

they

they place the other interſection. So that theſe two places are ſuppoſed to be paradiſiacal, as conſidered mathematically, and ſituate exactly under the interſection of the equator, where, they think, the temperance and clemency of the air muſt needs render ſuch a ſituation extremely delightful. The *Indians* place their earthly paradiſe in *Caſhmîr*, near the head of the *Ganges*, (whence that above-mentioned ſeems to have taken its name, though in another part of the world) and this not only on account of the amenity of that ſmall kingdom [x], eſpecially in reſpect of the more ſouthern parts of *India*; but becauſe the river *Ganges*, which that nation eſteems ſo ſacred, is ſuppoſed to take its riſe from thence [y]. But the more general tradition of the eaſt is, that paradiſe was in *Serendib*, or rather *Selandiv* (D), that is the iſland of *Selan*, or, as we corruptly call it, *Ceylan*, or *Zeilan* (E) [z]. The *Arab* writers alſo take notice of ſeveral paradiſes, as that of *Iram*, or *Aram*, in *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, built by *Shaddâd*, the ſon of *Ad*, who being deſtroyed, together with his people, by a divine judgment, his palace and gardens, wherein he exceedingly prided himſelf, were rendered inviſible (though preſerved to this day), and never ſeen but by GOD's particular permiſſion; which favour one *Colabah* pretended to have received, in the reign of the *Khalif Moawiyah* [a]: and another planted by the *Molâhidah*, or *Iſmaelians*, a race of princes, called by the *Europeans*, *Aſſaſſins*, in a valley in *Curdiſtân*; which was deſigned, by its delightfulneſs, to raviſh the perſons to whom it was ſhewn, and make them believe it was in the prince's power to place them in paradiſe; and in hopes of that felicity, to engage them in an implicit obedience to all his commands, and to commit any villany, which he ſhould judge conducing to his deſigns.

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Nor were the antient heathens themſelves without ſome obſcure tradition concerning a paradiſe, or rather ſeveral paradiſes, in the earth; but they generally placed them out of our continent; in the ocean, or beyond it, or in another hemiſphere; as the garden of the *Heſperides*, the *Fortunate Iſlands*, *Ogygia*, and *Taprobane* [b], and the like; which as they were all characterized like ſo many paradiſes, ſo they were all ſeated out of

[x] Vid. BERNIER. [y] Vid. HYDE, ubi ſupra, c. x. p. 172, &c. [z] Vid. D'HERBELOT, ubi ſup. p. 378. [a] Vid. eund. p. 51, &c. [b] Vid. DIODOR. SIC. l. ii. p. 173.

(D) Div, in the Malabaric tongue, ſignifies an iſland.

(E) It is ſurprizing, that Mr. LE CLERC ſhould take Serendib for Madagaſcar (1).

(1) *Comment in Gen. c.* viii. *p.* 72.

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this continent by their geography and descriptions of them. From which tradition, and the general inclination of the christian fathers, as well as profane authors, to place paradise in the southern hemisphere, or beyond the equinoctial, a late learned man [c] was induced to believe the same thing; though he supposed the whole earth, before the fall, to be, in an eminent degree, paradisiacal.

SECT. II.

Of the fall of man.

Adam placed in paradise, and forbidden the tree of knowledge.

GOD having placed *Adam*, immediately after his formation, in the garden of *Eden*, whose situation we have been endeavouring to discover, to dress and to keep it, gave him leave to eat freely of the fruit of every tree in the garden, except only that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which he strictly commanded him not to taste, under pain of death, the certain consequence of his disobedience [f].

He names the beasts and birds.

THE first thing which *Adam* did, after his introduction into paradise, and the very day of his creation, was to give names to all the beasts and birds which presented themselves before him, not only for that purpose [g], but to perform their homage, as it were, and make *Adam* sensible, that there was none among them fit to be a companion for him [h]. We might on this occasion say something of the original of speech, did we not reserve that enquiry for a more proper place.

Takes Eve *to wife.*

AFTER this, GOD having formed *Eve* out of the side of *Adam*, as he slept, brought her to him, who knowing her to be *bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh*, took her for his wife, and lived with her, free from any sense of shame, though they were both naked [i].

The continuance of the state of innocence.

HOW long they continued in this happy condition, is very uncertain; it is probable, they did not immediately transgress the divine command, but it should seem, by the narration of *Moses*, that their fall was not long after their creation. The *Jews* in general, and most of the christian fathers, believe it to have been on the very day they were created [k]; but this is next to impossible; for a day would be a great deal too short for the several actions, that must on that supposition have been comprised in it. Besides, GOD himself, after the sixth day was past, declared (at the end of the preceding days) every

[c] Dr. BURNET in his Theory, l. ii c. 7. [f] Genes. ii. 15, &c [g] Genes ii. 19. [h] Ibid. ver. 20. [i] Ibid ver. 21, &c. [k] Vid. EDWARDS's survey, Vol. I.

thing

thing to be very good [l]; which is not reconcilable with truth, if ſin, the greateſt evil, had then entered into the world. Some therefore conjectured, that this calamity happened the eighth day [m], and others the tenth of the world's age; ſuppoſing, that in commemoration thereof the great day of expiation, being the tenth day of the year, was inſtituted in after-times [n]. If we can ſubſcribe to the opinion of thoſe who make a day and a year to have been the ſame before the fall [o], there is indeed no difficulty in ſuppoſing it even on the ſixth day. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

THE fall of man is ſuccinctly related by *Moſes*, in the following manner [p]; that the ſerpent, being more ſubtil than any beaſt of the field, aſked the woman, whether it was true, that GOD had not granted her and her huſband leave to eat of every tree of the garden? to which ſhe anſwered, that GOD had allowed them to eat of all, except only the fruit of the tree in the midſt of the garden; which he commanded they ſhould not taſte, nor ſo much as touch, leſt they ſhould die. The ſerpent replied, that they ſhould not die; for God knew the virtue of the tree, and that ſo ſoon as they eat of it their eyes would be opened, and they become like gods, knowing good and evil. Whereupon *Eve*, ſeeing the fruit tempting to the view, and deſirable to make one wiſe, took of the fruit of it, and eat; and gave alſo to her huſband of it, and he did eat. Immediately the eyes of both were opened, and they, knowing they were naked, ſewed fig-leaves together, and made themſelves aprons. After this, *Adam* and *Eve*, hearing the voice of GOD, walking in the garden in the cool of the day, hid themſelves among the trees; but on GOD's calling for *Adam*, he excuſed himſelf for not appearing, becauſe he was naked. Upon this, GOD demanded of him, who it was that told him he was naked, and whether he had diſobeyed his command, in eating the forbidden fruit? *Adam* did not encreaſe his guilt by denying it, but confeſſed, that the woman had offered him the fruit, and he had taſted it. She being examined likewiſe, acknowledged what ſhe had done, but ſaid, that the ſerpent had ſeduced and deceived her. GOD then proceeded to judgment: he firſt curſed the ſerpent above all beaſts, and condemned him to go on his belly, and eat the duſt; adding, that he would put enmity between him and the woman, and their ſeveral off-ſpring; and that the ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe the ſerpent's head, who ſhould bruiſe the other's heel. *The fall, as related by* Moſes.

[l] Geneſ. i. 31. [m] EDWARDS, ubi ſupra [n] Vid. USSER, ad ann. mundi, 1. & BAYLE. Dict Hiſt. Art. Abel, Rem. A. [o] Vid. WHISTON's Theory, l. 2. p. 96, &c. [p] Geneſ. iii. 1, &c.

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heel. The woman was punished with the pain of child-birth, and put in subjection to her husband; and as to the man, GOD cursed the ground for his sake, declaring, that it should bring forth thorns and thistles, and that he should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, till he returned to the dust from whence he was taken. And at last, God, having cloathed them both with skins, turned them out of the garden, lest they should take of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever: and to prevent any attempt to return to their former habitation, he placed cherubims at the east of the garden, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the passage to the tree of life.

Some objections to the letter of that relation.

THIS concise account being, at first view, incumbred with some improbabilities, several learned and pious men have been inclined to believe, the whole ought to be taken in an allegorical sense, and not according to the strictness of the letter; alledging for their excuse, that the antients, and particularly the eastern nations, had two different ways of delivering their divinity and philosophy, a popular, and a mysterious, or hidden one: of which dubious sort of stile the scripture often makes use in explaining natural things; sometimes in accommodating itself to the capacities of the people, and at other times to the real, but more vailed truth; and that, to obviate the many difficulties which occur in the literal history of this sad catastrophe, the safest way is, to understand it as a parabolical story, under which the real circumstances are disguised and concealed, as a mystery not fit to be more explicitly declared.

THE first objection made to the letter of this history is in relation to the serpent, and particularly the improbability of his having the use of speech, and rational discourse; for to suppose an evil spirit, or the devil, made use of the organs of this animal, has no foundation in the text of *Moses*, who attributes the seduction of *Eve* to the natural craftiness of the serpent only. Besides, the very speech of such an animal, if *Eve* had taken it to be dumb, must have so frighted her, that she would scarce have staid and entered into a conference with it. And if the serpent had originally the gift of speech, but lost it, as a punishment of his crime in seducing the woman, *Moses* would surely not have passed it over in silence, and mentioned so small a penalty, as going on his belly and licking the dust; the meaning of which words it is not easy to explain, unless we say, that the serpent did before walk upright, or on four feet; for if he crept from the beginning, it seems ridiculous to impose, as a punishment for a crime, what he was by nature subject to.

As

As to the trees, the nature of them both seem to have been very extraordinary: the tree of life, it is said, had the virtue to prolong life considerably, if not for ever. But if the longævity, or immortality of men had depended only on one tree, what if *Adam* had not sinned? How could his posterity, when they were dispersed over the face of the whole earth, have been able to come and gather fruit from this tree? Or how could one tree have sufficed all mankind? The nature of the tree of knowledge is still more difficult to conceive; it seems to have instilled into our first parents a new sense of shame and modesty, to which, before the fall, they were utter strangers. But a very different virtue is intimated to have been in the tree, that on eating of it a man became as a GOD, knowing good and evil. Year of the World, 1. Year before Christ, 4305.

SOME further objections have been also made to this history; as the slightness of the crime for which so terrible a punishment has been laid on mankind (for which reason some have thought *Moses*'s design in this relation was to authorize the rigour of his own laws); the improbability of *Adam* and *Eve*'s sewing fig-leaves together without thread or needle, and of GOD's making them coats of skins, and consequently by himself, or (as is more decent to suppose) by an angel, killing and fleaing the animals; and the needless precaution of placing cherubims to guard the entrance of the garden, lest the exiles should endeavour to repossess themselves of it by fraud or force [q].

CONCLUDING therefore, that these things will not bear a literal construction, an allegorical or figurative sense has been put on this whole account: and it is pretended, that the history of the fall exhibits the defection of the soul; the serpent represents concupiscence; the man, to whom he durst not apply himself, is the picture of reason; and the woman, whom he so easily seduced and overcame, is the emblem of sense; and so on [r].

The literal sense defended.

BUT though it cannot be denied, that some of the antient philosophers affected such an allegorical way of writing, to conceal their notions from the vulgar, and keep their learning within the bounds of their own school, yet it is apparent, *Moses* had no such design; and as he pretends only to relate matters of fact, just as they happened, without art, or disguise, it cannot be supposed, but that this history of the fall is to be taken in a literal sense, as well as the rest of his writings.

[q] Sic vacat exiguis rebus adesse Deo. Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. c. 7. See also PHIL. JUD. de mundi opificio, p. 36. MAIMON. More Nevoch. Part II. c. 30. [r] Vid. SAURIN's Dissertations.

As

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The tempter was the devil, who abused the body of the serpent.

As to the particular objections which have been mentioned, and first, as to the serpent; it is answered, that as *Moses* contents himself with relating facts as they appeared, without any comment or explication; he makes the serpent, it is true, who was the visible instrument, to have been the seducer of the woman, and says nothing of the latent efficient cause: for which reason some of the antient *Jews* were of opinion, that the whole passage is to be understood of a real serpent, which creature they suppose had originally the gift of reason and speech; so that *Eve* might well have understood him (F). Others, thinking it too difficult of belief, have imagined, that it was not a real serpent, but only the devil under that name: but this opinion is no less liable to exception. For though the devil is frequently stiled in scripture the *serpent*, and the *old serpent*, yet why he should be called *the most subtil beast of the field*, we cannot conceive; neither will the punishment inflicted on the serpent suffer us to doubt but that a serpent's body, at least, was employed in the transaction.

The most common therefore, and indeed the only probable opinion is, that it was the devil, some wicked and malicious spirit, (probably the chief of those beings) who envied the happiness of mankind, and was thereupon resolved to bring them into the same miserable condition with himself, and his apostate companions; and that, to effect his purpose, he made use of a serpent's body (G), as the propereſt organ by which to carry on his fraud with success. And this seems reasonable, not only from the improbability of a brute beast's over-reaching mankind in their highest pitch of understanding, but from the attestation of other parts of scripture, where the devil is called *the old serpent*[t]; and is by our saviour himself said to have been *a murderer from the beginning*, or the first creation, alluding to his mischievous destruction of mankind at that

[t] Revel. xii. 9. Ibid. xx. 2.

(F) Josephus supposes, that all creatures at that time used the same language, and that the serpent, conversing familiarly with *Adam* and *Eve*, excited by envy of their happiness, maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the tree of knowledge; for which among other punishments, he was deprived of the use of speech, and of his feet, and obliged ever after to crawl upon the ground (1). Of the same opinion are Aben-Ezra, and others.

(G) The *Arabs*, before *Mohammed* believed, that the devils were transformed into serpents (2).

(1) *Antiq.* 1. *c.* 1. §. 4. (2) Reland. *de Rel. Moham. l.* 2. *p.* 271.

time:

time: the author of the book of *Wisdom*, who was well acquainted with the doctrines of the *Jewish* church, also telling us, that *by the envy of the devil death came into the world* [u].

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WHY the devil should chuse the body of a serpent, rather than that of any other creature, was probably on account of that subtilty attributed to him by *Moses*; which may not, perhaps, so much denote the craft and insidiousness, as the familiar and insinuating nature of this creature (H). That the serpent before the fall was mild and gentle, and more familiar with man than any other creature; and that he did not then creep on the ground, but went erect (I), and had by his engaging behaviour gained, in some measure, the good will of our parents, is not only the sentiment of both *Jews* [x] and *Christians* [y], but seems likewise to have some foundation of scripture; for when GOD says, that he will put enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, it must be implied, that there was some kind of friendship between them before.

Why he made choice of that creature.

IT is no way unreasonable therefore to suppose, that this creature was beloved both by *Adam* and *Eve*: she especially might be delighted with it; she laid it perhaps in her bosom, adorned her neck with its windings, or made it a bracelet for her arms. So that its being so intimate with the woman, made it the properer instrument for the devil's purpose, who sliding into it, might wantonly play before her, until he insensibly brought her to the forbidden tree, and then twisting round its branches, might take of the fruit and eat, to shew her, by experience, that there was nothing of death contained in it, before he began to bespeak her; and his speech might be the less surprising to her, because she might probably think, (as he might positively affirm) that this new acquired faculty proceeded from the virtue of the fruit.

[u] Wisd. ii 24. [x] JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi supra. [y] BASIL. Homil. de Paradiso. DAMASCEN. de Orthodox. Fid. lib. 2. c. 10.

(H) The *Mohammedans* have a tradition, that the devil, offering to go into paradise to tempt *Adam*, was not admitted by the guard. Whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to *Adam* and his wife; but they all refused him except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him (3).

(I) The *Mohammedans* also say, that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears (4).

(3) *See* Marracc. *in Alcoran. p.* 22. (4) *Vid. ibid.*

BUT

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Of what kind the ſerpent probably was.

BUT this conjecture is ſtill more probable, if we will but allow, that the ſerpent, whoſe body the devil poſſeſſed, was not of a common ordinary ſpecies, but ſomething like that flying fiery ſort, which, as we are told, are bred in *Arabia* and *Egypt*. They are of a ſhining yellowiſh colour like braſs, and by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails, reverberating the ſun-beams, make a glorious appearance. Now if the ſerpent, whoſe body the devil abuſed, was of this kind (though perhaps of a ſpecies far more glorious) it was a proper creature for his purpoſe: for theſe ſerpents are called in ſcripture *Seraphs* or *Seraphim*[z], and gave name to thoſe bright angelical beings, which we commonly underſtand by that appellation: it being very probable, from the repreſentations of them tolerated in the *Jewiſh* church, that the angels, when they adminiſtred to *Adam* and *Eve*, were wont to put on certain ſplendid forms; ſome of them the form of *Cherubim*, or beautiful flying oxen, and others the ſhape of *Seraphim*, winged and ſhining ſerpents. The devil therefore might uſurp the organs of one of theſe ſhining ſerpents, which, by his art and ſkill in natural cauſes, he might improve into ſuch a ſurpaſſing brightneſs, as to repreſent to *Eve* the angelical appearance, or *Shechinah* (K), to which ſhe was accuſtomed; and having done this, it was no wonder, that he ſo eaſily deceived her.

HOWEVER this be, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was ſome beautiful creature, whom *Eve* took to be an angel that wiſhed her well, while he diſcourſed with her. For it is impoſſible to conceive, that ſhe ſhould be ſo ſimple and ignorant as to think that beaſts could ſpeak, much leſs that they knew more of GOD's mind than herſelf: nor ſeems it credible that ſhe could be deceived, but by a creature which appeared ſo gloriouſly as to make her miſtake it for an heavenly miniſter, who might come to explain to her the divine command. And if we obſerve in what manner the tempter addreſſes himſelf to her (L), we ſhall find this ſuppoſition confirmed.

IT

[z] Numb. xxi. 6.

(K) This ſeems to be the opinion of TERTULLIAN, when he tells us, that *Eve* gave attention to the ſerpent, as to the ſon of GOD, &c. (1).

(L) The learned ABRAVANEL ſuppoſes the whole to be only dumb ſhew, and that the ſerpent did not ſpeak at all, neither did *Eve* ſay any thing to it; but that being a very nimble and active creature, it got upon the tree of knowledge, took, and eat of the

(1) *De Præſcript. Hæret. p.* 220.

fruit

IT is not improbable [a], that the ſeducer, before he ſpoke to *Eve*, repreſented himſelf as one of the heavenly court, who came to congratulate the happineſs that GOD had beſtowed on them in paradiſe, which was ſo great, that he could not eaſily believe he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden: he deſired therefore to be ſatisfied from her own mouth of the truth of what he pretended to have heard; and as the woman acquainted him with the whole prohibition, he firſt ſuggeſts, that ſhe miſtook the meaning of it, that death could not be the puniſhment of ſo ſmall a fault; and, to flatter her ambition, deludes her with a falſe promiſe, that on eating the fruit, which he pretended had a ſovereign quality to illuminate the underſtanding, and advance the other faculties of the ſoul, ſhe and her huſband ſhould immediately become as angels, nay, as Gods, and their happineſs be inconceivably great, and independent on any but themſelves.

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His accoſting Eve.

THIS ſeems to have been the purport of the ſerpent's words, by which he gained the ear of *Eve*; and ſhe, allured by the beauty of the fruit, and puſhed on by curioſity and vanity, could not reſiſt the temptation: and when ſhe had eat, was ſo far from being ſenſible of her condition, that fancying herſelf already in poſſeſſion of the chimerical happineſs which had been promiſed her, ſhe invited her huſband to partake with her. And he, it is probable, after ſome reluctance, was prevailed on, by her charms and endearments, to violate the command, contrary to his ſenſe of duty, and to ſhare the fate, which GOD's indignation, for her tranſgreſſion, ſhould bring upon her [b].

The puniſhment of the ſerpent reaſonable.

THE ſentence denounced on the ſerpent cannot ſeem ſtrange, if we conſider how different his original form was from his preſent, and that GOD probably intended the debaſement of that once glorious creature, not ſo much to expreſs his indignation againſt the beaſt, as to make it a monument of man's unhappy fall, and a teſtimony of his diſpleaſure againſt ſin: nor could this be unjuſt; the mere inſtrument of an enormous crime being deteſtable, and often deſtroyed by human laws; and this great change in the ſerpent perhaps not felt,

[a] See Biſhop PATRICK's Commentary. [b] See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 284, &c.

fruit; that *Eve*, having ſeen it ſeveral times do ſo, and not die, concluded with herſelf, that the ſaid fruit did not occaſion death, and that it might not only be grateful to the taſte, but procure them that knowledge, which GOD ſeemed to have grudged them (2).

(2) Stackhouſe's *Body of Divinity*, *p.* 287.

at

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The account of the two trees not incredible.

at leaſt not diſtinguiſhed, or conceived by him as a misfortune [c].

In reference to the two trees, which ſeem to be ſo very extraordinary, it is but reaſonable to imagine, there was a wide difference between the ſtate of innocence and our preſent condition; and conſequently, that there were ſome things conſonant to the firſt ſtate, which are very incongruous to our preſent. Now of thoſe *Moſes* has mentioned but a few, and among them theſe trees. As to the tree of life, nothing can be more agreeable to a ſtate of innocence, which ſeems to imply a ſtate of immortality; and ſomething was requiſite to make men immortal, when their bodies were not ſo; and what can be ſuppoſed more effectual than the fruit of ſuch a tree? When God had deſigned, that mens bodies ſhould never yield to death, it ſeems but reaſonable he ſhould direct them to the eating of ſuch a fruit, whoſe juice was of that ſpirituous nature, as to impregnate their blood with an indefatigable vigour, and to keep them up in conſtant youth, without pain, diſeaſe, or weakneſs, till ſuch time as he ſhould tranſlate them to a better world (M). Whether this tree was the only one of the ſpecies is uncertain; but if it was, it is probable, that, had there been no lapſe, many of them would have been tranſplanted to other parts of the world, as the innocent off-ſpring had encreaſed; and when mankind had ſinned, it is likely, God deſtroyed this ſpecies out of the world, as now grown uſeleſs and inconſiſtent with the curſe and puniſhment of man. And of this tree the heathens ſeem to have had ſome traditional notion, when they ſpeak of the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* which maintained the immortality of their gods, and *Moly*, which was the great *Panacea*, or univerſal medicine celebrated by the poets [d].

The tree of knowledge of good and evil is conceived to have been ſo called, either becauſe it had really a virtue to

[c] Vid. Nicholl's Conf. Vol. I. [d] Idem, ibid.

(M) It is the joint opinion of the beſt antient writers, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, that in caſe our firſt parents had continued in their obedience, they would, after ſuch a time of trial, as the divine wiſdom ſhould think convenient, have been tranſlated, or removed from earth to heaven; and that their poſterity likewiſe would have been liable to no ſorrow or miſery of any kind, but poſſeſſed of conſtant happineſs, and, in their ſeveral courſes and ſucceſſions, taken up into a heavenly paradiſe. (1).

(1) *See* Bull's *State of man before the Fall.* Barcepha *de parad. Part I. c.* 22.

open

open man's underſtanding, and to make him diſtinguiſh between good and evil; or elſe becauſe the eating of it would eventually teach him the difference between the *good* of obedience and the *evil* of tranſgreſſion [e]: but others ſuppoſe it ſo called, merely from the devil's pretending it had a virtue to confer knowledge, having received its name from the unfortunate deception; though it be in a preceding paſſage, called the tree of knowledge of good and evil, by way of anticipation: and as to GOD's ſaying, *Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil*, that is taken to be a bitter irony, to upbraid man with his fooliſh diſobedience and diſappointment [f].

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BUT what particular tree this tree of knowledge was, has been a matter of much conjecture; the vine, the apple, the common, and *Indian* fig-tree [g] (N), and wheat though no tree, have

[e] Vid. BARCEPHAM de Parad. part I. c. 19. EDWARDS's Survey, Vol. I. [f] Vid. NICHOLLS, ubi ſupra. [g] Vid. BARCEPHAM, ubi ſup. p. 48.

(N) *Goropius Becanus* is moſt confident, it was the *Indian* fig-tree; which notion, however, he did not borrow from *Moſes Barcephas*, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſuppoſes (2). The chief reaſons urged why it ſhould be this tree, are 1. The goodneſs of the fruit, and fairneſs of the tree. 2. The breadth of its leaves, very commodious for hiding the nakedneſs of *Adam* and *Eve*, which it is ſuppoſed, they would cover as ſoon as ever they perceived it; and therefore from the forbidden tree, that being the next at hand. 3. The largeneſs and thickneſs of the tree, very proper to conceal them, as they imagined, from the preſence of GOD. But here *Becanus*, from the words of the vulgate verſion, *in medio ligni*, imagined they hid themſelves in the body of the tree itſelf, though the ſtem of the *Indian* fig-tree, notwithſtanding the extravagant ſize given it by ſome authors, be not very large. As Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had himſelf ſeen many of theſe trees in *America*, has given a deſcription of them, we think it worth while to tranſcribe it. "They grow, ſays he, "in moiſt grounds, and in this manner: After they are firſt ſhot "up, ſome twenty or thirty foot in length (ſome more, ſome "leſs, according to the ſoil), they ſpread a very large top, hav- "ing no bough, nor twig in the trunk, or ſtem; for from the "utmoſt end of the head-branches, there iſſueth out a gummy "juice, which hangeth downward like a cord, or ſinew, and "within a few months reaches the ground; which it no ſooner "toucheth but it taketh root, and then being filled both from "the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord mak-

(2) Barcepha *takes it indeed, to have been the fig-tree; but does not join the word* Indian *to it, as we can find.* "eth

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have all put in their claims (O); and though the generality are for the common fig-tree, yet what *Moses* has so industriously concealed, is above the power of any to discover. *Philo* the *Jew*, according to his custom, allegorizes what is said of both these trees, supposing, that no such ever were, nor ever will be in the world [m] (P).

The trial, by forbidding a fruit, rational,

That the trial of man's obedience should be by such a prohibition, as is mentioned by *Moses*, seems perfectly rational, and adapted to the state of innocence; no moral precept could have been at all proper for that purpose, because there was then scarce a possibility of their transgressing any such: it must therefore have been some indifferent action, neither good, nor evil in itself, but so far only, as it was commanded, or forbidden. And what so natural and agreeable to the state of our first parents (considering they were to live all their lives in a garden) as the forbidding them to eat of the fruit of a certain tree in that garden? a tree near at hand, and which might give them every moment an opportunity of shewing their observance of the divine command, by their abstaining from it [n].

[m] Philo Jud. de mundi opificio, p. 35. [n] See Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, p. 281. Nicholls's Confer. ubi supra.

" eth itself a tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs of
" these young trees, there fall again the like cords, which in
" one year and less, (in that world of perpetual spring), become
" also trees of the bigness of the nether part of a lance, and as
" strait as nature and art can make any thing, casting such a
" shade, and making such a grove, as no other tree in the world
" can do. Now one of these trees considered with all his young
" ones, may, indeed, shroud four hundred, or four thousand
" horsemen, if they please; for they cover whole vallies——
" But that they bear any such huge leaves, or any such delicate
" fruit, I could never find (3)."

(O) The *Mohammedans* have the like different opinions among them relating to this tree; some affirm, it was an ear of wheat; others a fig-tree; and a third party a vine (4).

(P) Those who admire allegorical interpretations, will have the forbidden fruit to have been no other than the sensual act of generation, for which the punishment inflicted on the woman was the pain of child-birth (5). But this opinion has not the least foundation in the words of *Moses*; especially if we consider, that *Adam* knew not his wife till after their expulsion out of Paradise.

(3) *Hist of the World, Part I. Book I. c. 4, § 2.* (4) *Vid.* Maracc. *in Alc. p. 22.* (5) *Vid* Barcepham *de Parad. ubi sup.* Leon. *Hebreu, Philosophie d'amour, Dial. 3. p. 620, &c.*

And

AND this takes off the objection againſt the puniſhment, inflicted on man for his diſobedience, as too ſevere, and no way proportionable to the offence; for we are deceived, if we ſuppoſe, that good and evil is only in the nature of the thing, and not in the commands and prohibitions of GOD. And, conſidering this crime to have been a downright rebellion againſt GOD, and committed againſt the cleareſt conviction of conſcience, with other aggravating circumſtances, it will appear to have been a crime ſo heinous, that nothing now-a-days can be ſuppoſed to reſemble it.

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And the puniſhment conſequently juſt.

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The circumſtances of the aprons and coats explained.

JUDGMENT

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have all put in their claims (O); and though the generality are for the common fig-tree, yet what *Moses* has so industriously concealed, is above the power of any to discover. *Philo* the *Jew*, according to his custom, allegorizes what is said of both these trees, supposing, that no such ever were, nor ever will be in the world [m] (P).

The trial, by forbidding a fruit, rational,

THAT the trial of man's obedience should be by such a prohibition, as is mentioned by *Moses*, seems perfectly rational, and adapted to the state of innocence; no moral precept could have been at all proper for that purpose, because there was then scarce a possibility of their transgressing any such: it must therefore have been some indifferent action, neither good, nor evil in itself, but so far only, as it was commanded, or forbidden. And what so natural and agreeable to the state of our first parents (considering they were to live all their lives in a garden) as the forbidding them to eat of the fruit of a certain tree in that garden? a tree near at hand, and which might give them every moment an opportunity of shewing their observance of the divine command, by their abstaining from it [n].

[m] PHILO Jud. de mundi opificio, p. 35. [n] See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 281. NICHOLLS's Confer. ubi supra.

"eth itself a tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs of "these young trees, there fall again the like cords, which in "one year and less, (in that world of perpetual spring), become "also trees of the bigness of the nether part of a lance, and as "fruit as nature and art can make any thing, casting such a "shade, and making such a grove, as no other tree in the world "can do. Now one of these trees considered with all his young "ones, may, indeed, shroud four hundred, or four thousand "horsemen, if they please; for they cover whole vallies——— "But that they bear any such huge leaves, or any such delicate "fruit, I could never find (3)."

(O) The *Mohammedans* have the like different opinions among them relating to this tree; some affirm, it was an ear of wheat; others a fig-tree; and a third party a vine (4).

(P) Those who admire allegorical interpretations, will have the forbidden fruit to have been no other than the sensual act of generation, for which the punishment inflicted on the woman was the pain of child-birth (5). But this opinion has not the least foundation in the words of *Moses*; especially if we consider, that *Adam* knew not his wife till after their expulsion out of Paradise.

(3) *Hist of the World, Part I. Book I. c.* 4, § 2. (4) *Vid.* Marac. *in Alc. p.* 22. (5) *Vid* Barcepham *de Parad. ubi sup.* Leon. *Hebreu, Philosophie d'amour, Dial.* 3. *p.* 620, *&c.*

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AND this takes off the objection againſt the puniſhment, inflicted on man for his diſobedience, as too ſevere, and no way proportionable to the offence; for we are deceived, if we ſuppoſe, that good and evil is only in the nature of the thing, and not in the commands and prohibitions of GOD. And, conſidering this crime to have been a downright rebellion againſt GOD, and committed againſt the cleareſt conviction of conſcience, with other aggravating circumſtances, it will appear to have been a crime ſo heinous, that nothing now-a-days can be ſuppoſed to reſemble it.

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JUDGMENT being passed on all that were concerned in this unhappy affair, it is said, that GOD, before he drove *Adam* and *Eve* out of paradise, cloathed them with skins, which it is conceived is not necessarily to be understood, as if GOD himself, or even an angel, made the coats; it being common for the *Hebrew* tongue verbally to attribute things to GOD, which are not done by his immediate act, but by his direction, or even by the permission of his ordinary providence. So that it is probable, *Adam* and *Eve* only received instructions how to make them [o].

The cherubim and flaming sword, what.

As to the cherubim and flaming sword, placed to guard the way of the tree of life, there are several opinions concerning them. They who place paradise in the southern hemisphere, conceive the sword to have been no more than the torrid zone, which, in the parallel situation the earth is then supposed to have had, must have been a region of flame intolerably hot like a furnace, and consequently impassable; its encompassing the whole earth sufficiently answering the *Mosaic* description [p], that it turned every way. Others have thought it to have been a wall, or circle of fire, encompassing paradise [q] (T); and that this flame was an accension of some inflammable matter round about the garden, which excluded all comers to it, till the beauty of it was defaced: which opinion may be more probable to them who place paradise about *Babylon*, where there is such an abundance of naphtha and bitumen, and where there are fields, which even yet, at some time of the year, seem all on fire. And if it be objected, that the cherubim had nothing to do with such a wall; it is answered, that it is usual for the scriptures to express all extraordinary works of GOD by angels; as to call a plague, or famine, a destroying angel; and the like [r]. Some Rabbins [s]

o Ibid. p TERTULLIAN. Apolog. cap. 47. Vid. BURNET's Theory, Book II. c. 7. Theor. Sacr. Telluris, l. 2. c. 6. q Pseudo-Anselm. Elucid. c. 15. r NICHOLLS, ubi sup. s Vid. MAIMONID. More Nevoch. p. 1. cap. 49.

sense it is used *Job* xvi. 15. and *Ezek.* xiii. 18. And עלה, which we render *leaves*, signifies also branches of trees, such as were fit to make booths, or bowers; *Nehem.* viii. 15. (1).

(T) The words commonly rendred *flaming sword*, are in the original the *flame of cutting*, or *division*, or a *dividing flame*; for the same word which signifies a *sword*, signifies also *division*; and is in the new testament translated both ways (2).

(1) *Dr.* Nicholls's *Conf. ubi supra.* (2) *See Matth.* x. 34. & *Luke* xii. 51. Nicholls, *ubi supra.*

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are of opinion, that this flaming ſword was an angel; which they found on that paſſage, where it is ſaid, that GOD maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flaming fire [t]. And hence it has been imagined, that this flaming ſword, which was eſteemed by the *Jews* a ſecond angel, was of a different kind from the cherubim, *viz.* a *Seraph*, or flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery ſerpent, whoſe body vibrated in the air with luſtre, and may be fitly deſcribed by the image of ſuch a ſword [u].

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HAVING thus examined the circumſtances of the fall, it may be proper to conſider the effects it had upon our firſt parents and their poſterity, and alſo upon the ground, which was curſed for their ſake.

The effects of the fall on man, and on the ground.

THE unhappy pair did not indeed die immediately, but they became ſubject to death, which continually hung over their heads; the time they had to live, being but as the ſpace between a criminal's condemnation and his execution. They had loſt GOD's favour, and forfeited paradiſe: the neceſſaries of life were now to be gotten by hard labour of the man, and child-birth was to be attended with great pain in the woman: ſo that the remembrance of their paſt happineſs, and the proſpect of the innumerable miſeries, to which they had made themſelves and their off-ſpring obnoxious, muſt needs fill them with regret and deſpair. For ſince they could not by generation tranſmit any thing to their poſterity, but what they had themſelves; their deſcendants were deſtined in like manner to undergo the troubles of life, and the pains and agonies of death, the neceſſary conſequences of *Adam*'s tranſgreſſion: nor is there in this any injuſtice, we being thereby deprived only of what he had no title to. But that we are thereby become the objects of GOD's wrath, and deſerving eternal damnation, by the imputation of the guilt of *Adam*'s ſin, (which is the doctrine of St. *Auſtin* and his diſciples, thence named *Supralapſarians*) has ſeemed to many a very harſh opinion, and to reflect on the goodneſs and juſtice of GOD.

As this is a point greatly controverted among divines [x], and foreign to our preſent deſign, we ſhall only ſay; that the general manifeſt depravity and corruption of human nature, ſo very different from what we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been in its original ſtate, would induce us to believe it the effect of our firſt parents tranſgreſſion; whereupon unruly paſſions and appetites got that ſuperiority over, and influence on, our wills, which reaſon alone ought to have; and this might be poſſibly occa-

[t] Pſalm. civ. 4. [u] TENNISON of Idolatry. [x] See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 295. &c.

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sioned, in some degree at least, by the infirmities which our bodies necessarily contracted, by proceeding from such a root, and by the great change brought on the earth, air, and other elements, by the curse. For whatever the antients have said of the plenty and happiness of the golden age, seems chiefly to have been some broken notions and traditions of man's first estate in paradise, and of that universal harmony wherein the world and all things would have continued, had not his fall introduced a change. The fruits of the earth were at first spontaneous, and the soil, without being torn and tormented, satisfied the wants and desires of man; but, upon his apostasy from GOD, as a punishment for his sin, GOD cursed the ground, which immediately brought forth thorns and thistles; for we must not suppose, with some, that the original fertility of the earth continued, till the destruction brought upon it by the universal deluge. The deluge was, indeed, the completion of the curse, but some considerable effects of it appeared before; otherwise how could *Adam* be said to eat bread in sorrow, and in the sweat of his face all the days of his life? As the earth was impoverished on man's transgression, so the air and other elements became disordered, in some measure unwholsome, and sometimes fatal. Hence proceeded famines, pestilences, earthquakes, storms, and all manner of natural calamities, which cause an innumerable variety of diseases and distempers [y].

BUT in order to give a more clear idea, in what degree and manner nature became impaired by the fall; it may be proper to consider the constitution of man's body, (for what concerns his soul is not properly within the compass of this design) and of the earth in that primitive state; and by what means they were reduced to their present condition.

The change in the constitution of man.

AS to the constitution of man's body, it appears, that nakedness was then no inconvenience or shame, and consequently, there was no sense of any need to cover it. Those inclinations which provide for the propagation of mankind, were, it seems, so regular, and so entirely under the command of reason, that not so much as an apron was esteemed necessary to hide those parts, which all the world have since thought proper to conceal [z]. But some have imagined, that in case man had persevered in his state of innocence, there would have been no matrimonial commerce, but mankind would

[y] Vid. STACKHOUSE, ubi sup.

[z] Vid. WHISTON's Theory, Book III. p. 238.

have

have been otherwiſe propagated (V); and this the antient fathers were inclined to believe, from their pre-poſſeſſion in favour of the merits and excellency of celibacy [a]. This opinion St. *Auſtin* combated by very ſtrong arguments [b], ſuch as the benediction of GOD, and his command to encreaſe and multiply; the diſtinction of the ſexes preceding the fall; and the abſurdity of ſuppoſing ſin to have been neceſſary for the propagation of mankind. Yet he agrees, that in the ſtate of innocence, the work of generation would have been carried on without any mixture of paſſion, or loſs of virginity; and that man would then have proceeded to the propagation of his ſpecies whenever he judged it requiſite, without any incitement of luſt. In the primitive ſtate alſo, the temper of the human body ſeems to have been more ſoft, pliable, and alterable, than now it is: ſome ſorts of fruits and food were able to cauſe a mighty change therein, either to fix and adapt it to its preſent condition, or diſcompoſe and diſorder it: thus the fruit of the tree of life had the virtue of rendering the body permanent and immortal, on the one hand; and that of the tree of knowledge, of bringing upon it diſeaſes, corruptions, and mortality, on the other; but the firſt effect of this latter fruit is ſuppoſed to have been the revolt of the parts ſubſervient to generation, which, it is pretended, appears from the ſhame which immediately ſeized thoſe who had taſted it (W). And, to ſay the truth, ſince man, in his fallen ſtate, was unable to conform himſelf to the dictates of reaſon, love was neceſſarily to be introduced into the world; for otherwiſe it is not conceived how mankind could have ſubſiſted: ſo that the paſſions were then raiſed, in order to produce men to do that to ſatisfy their appetites, which before they did merely from prudential conſiderations [c].

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[a] Vid. SALIAN. Annal. Tom. I. p. 174. CORNEL. a LAPIDE, in Gen. ii. BARCEPHA de Parad. part I. c. 25. [b] AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, l. 14 c. 21, &c. [c] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Eve, Rem. F.

(V) *Paracelſus* was ſo firmly perſuaded of this, that he maintained *Adam* and *Eve* to have been created without the parts of generation; which afterwards grew out of their bodies like excreſcences (1).

(W) Some *Rabbins* alſo ſeem to have attributed this to the natural quality of the forbidden fruit (2).

(1) *Apud* Voſſium *de Philoſ. cap.* 9. *p.* 71. (2) *Vid.* Bayle, *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Eve. Rem. C.*

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THERE was also a considerable difference between the condition of the woman before the fall, and that which she has since been in; particularly, she was then in a state of greater equality with the man, and little more subject to sorrow in the propagation of posterity than he [d]. Nay, the very animals seem to have been, at that time, in a state of greater capacities and operations; nearer approaching to reason and discourse, and partakers of higher degrees of perfection and happiness, than they have been ever since [e].

The change in the constitution of the earth, how effected, according to Dr. Burnet,

WHEREIN the fecundity and amenity of the primitive earth consisted, and by what means it became so much altered for the worse, is difficult to be determined. It is indeed presently accounted for, if we have recourse to the divine interposition, and suppose, that the sterility of the earth, and malignity of the air, and the general depravation of nature was effected by GOD, or his subordinate agents. But to assign a probable natural cause of such effects is not so easy. Dr. *Burnet*'s notion is, that the fertility and paradisiacal state of the first earth was entirely owing to a perpetual equinox, the consequence of the situation of its axis, which he supposed to have been then parallel to the axis of the ecliptic, in which it was carried about the sun with the other planets. And that it really had such a situation, he thinks needs no other proof than its own evidence; for it is the immediate result and common effect of gravity, or libration, that a body, left freely to itself in a fluid medium, should settle in such a posture as best answers to its gravitation; and the first earth being uniform, regular, and every way equally ballanced [f], there was no reason, why it should incline at one end, more than the other, toward the sun. And this position he supposes the earth kept till the deluge, when it was so broken and divided, according to his hypothesis, that it lost its equal poise; and the centre of its gravity changing, one pole became more inclined to the sun, and the other more removed from it, and so the parallel situation, which it had before, was changed to an oblique one; whence proceeded the variety of seasons, and those irregularities in the temperature of the air, which have since obtained [g]. But this does not account for the immediate effect of God's curse on the earth, which, as has been observed, must by no means be deferred so late as to the flood.

To avoid this difficulty, Mr. *Whiston* has supposed, that the earth in its primitive state had no diurnal motion about its

[d] Vid. WHISTON's Theory, Book III. p. 239. [e] Ibid. p. 240. [f] See the Introduction, p. 66, 67. [g] BURNET's Theory of the Earth, Book II. c. 3.

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own axis, but only an annual motion about the sun; so that the sun and planets then rose in the west, and set in the east, contrary to what they have ever since done (X).

ON this supposition, as well as the former, there would also be a perpetual equinox through the world, which characters the fathers usually applied to the paradisiacal state, and the antient heathens to the golden age [h]. The great change therefore which was made in nature at the fall, he takes to be the commencing of a new motion, or rotation of the earth about its present axis: by this means the poles of the world, which to the first inhabitants of the earth (dwelling near the intersection of the antient ecliptic with the present northern tropic) were neither considerably elevated nor depressed, suddenly changed their situation; the northern pole appeared to be elevated above, and the southern depressed below, the horizon: and the course of the heavens seemed bent, or inclined to the southern parts of the world (Y). And the probable mechanical

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[h] Vid. BURNET's Theor. l. 2. c. 1. & 10. Archæol. l. 2. c. 5, & 6.

(X) This, he thinks, may have been the foundation of that story in *Herodotus* (1) who tells us, that the sun, in the space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, four times inverted his course, and rose in the west. But what he mainly depends on, is that discourse in *Plato* (2), where, relating some very antient traditions (as he expressly says they are, and delivered by our first parents to their posterity) about the primitive state of things, he says, that there was a great change made in the heavenly motions, the sun and other stars formerly setting in the same place where they now rise, and rising where they now set; which change he attributes to GOD, who sometimes directs the motion of the universe himself, and at other times, after so many periodical revolutions as he sees fitting, leaves it; whereupon it is, as it were, spontaneously carried about by a motion contrary to the former. And this change *Plato* reckons the greatest, and most entire of any, the heavenly bodies undergo.

(Y) The inclination of the earth is much insisted upon by the antients. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Leucippus* was of opinion the earth fell towards the south, because of the rareness of those parts; the northern regions being grown rigid and compact, while the southern were scorched, or on fire (3). *Democritus* and *Empedocles* gave nearly the same reason for it; and *Diogenes* and *Anaxagoras* specify the very time when this happened; viz. after the first coalition of the world, and the production of animals out

(1) Herodot. *l.* 2. *c.* 142. (2) Plato, *in Politic. p.* 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275. (3) Plut. *de placit. philos. l.* 3. *c.* 12.

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mechanical cause of this commencement of the earth's diurnal motion, after its annual had continued some time, assigned by him is, the impulse of a comet, with little or no atmosphere, or of a central solid hitting obliquely upon the earth along some parts of its present equator: from which impulse both the annual orbit of the earth would be altered, and a vertiginous motion about a new and real axis would certainly commence. And he observes, that in all probability this comet was of the bigness of one of the small secondary, rather than of the large primary, planets; for otherwise, by its causing vast tides in the abyss, after it was passed by, it would have occasioned many more alterations in the earth, than we have reason to believe happened at that time[i] (Z).

BUT besides the impression of this new motion, another effect of such a collision of a comet would be the change of the earth's orbit from an ellipsis, as it was before the fall, to a perfect circle. For Mr. *Whiston* supposes the reduction of the very oblong eccentrical orbit of the earth into a circular one, which he thinks it had before the deluge, was gradual, and not done all at once; the greatest part at the commencing of the *Mosaic* creation, and the rest at the commencing of the diurnal motion. All this being supposed, and that providence adjusted all circumstances, so as should be most for the advantage of the regions adjoining to paradise, where alone *Adam* and

[i] WHISTON's Theory, Book II. p. 98, &c.

of the earth: and they thought this inclination was probably the effect of providence, on purpose that some parts of the world might become habitable, and others uninhabitable, by reason of the frigid, torrid, and temperate climates thereof (1).

(Z) That the diurnal motion did not begin till some time after the annual, Mr. *Whiston* imagines to be evinced from the late discovery (as it is called) of an internal magnet freely moving within the earth, and from which all the variations of the magnetic needle are supposed to arise. The poles of this interior magnet being, as they suppose, distant from the earth's axis, slowly change their places in respect of the external earth, by a motion westward: whence he concludes, that the inclosed magnet, or nucleus, has not attained the same velocity with the exterior parts in their diurnal revolution, because the impulse by which the diurnal motion was first impressed upon the external earth, has not yet been so perfectly communicated to the internal magnet, as to equal the first motion impressed and still preserved by the superior parts of the globe (2).

(1) *Idem, ibid l.* 2 *c.* 8. (2) *Vid. Dr* Halley's *Theory of the variation of the magnetic needle, Philos. Transf.* N°. 195.

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the other creatures dwelt in this ſtate; we ſhall have the earth revolving in a moderately eccentrical ellipſis, without any diurnal rotation, about the ſun in the ſpace of a year; we ſhall have ſome diameter of the earth, which paſſed near paradiſe, parallel to the longer axis of its ellipſis, and the place of paradiſe reſpecting nearly the ſame fixed ſtars with the *perihelion* of the ellipſis. Which being again ſuppoſed, we may obſerve that as a circular orbit is much the beſt for a globe inhabited all round (as the earth was deſigned to be after the fall), that providing equally for the convenience of both hemiſpheres; ſo is this elliptic orbit the beſt for a globe inhabited but in one place, as the earth was in its primitive ſtate, this providing peculiarly for the happineſs of that particular ſpot, where alone the living part of the creation was to reſide. For the heat of the day-time would gradually increaſe before, and decreaſe after noon, but yet would never be over violent; becauſe the increaſe of the heat, by the ſun's riſing higher and higher above the horizon in the forenoon, or ſpring, would be prevented, in a great meaſure by the earth's real receding from him, and approaching nearer his *aphelion* during the ſame time: and *vice verſâ* in the afternoon, or ſummer, which would render the ſtate of the air more equal and uniform. And thus alſo the too long duration of the night would be entirely avoided: for the whole night-time would then bear a ſmall proportion to the day, and amount perhaps to no more than two months; out of which muſt be deducted the two twilights, each of near a fortnight, which would reduce the darkneſs of the night itſelf to about a ſingle month; out of which another fortnight is to be ſtill deducted for the time of the moon's being above the horizon, and enlightning the earth: ſo that at laſt, if the moon's *crepuſcula* be allowed for, as they ought to be, we ſhall ſcarce have a week of pure darkneſs in the whole year, to the great comfort and advantage of this truly paradiſiacal ſtate [k]; wherein there would be a conſtant warmth without the frequent interpoſition of cold; an air perfectly clear and homogeneous, and ſuſceptible of the utmoſt power of the ſolar heat, and the ſeaſons equable, or gradually diſtinguiſhed from one another, with other natural conſequences. But ſo ſoon as man had rendred himſelf unworthy of that happy ſtate, and GOD had pronounced a curſe on the ground, preſently the earth began a new and ſtrange motion, and revolved from weſt to eaſt upon its own axis: the ſucceſſion of day and night returned frequently, while the annual motion, performed on a different axis, diſtinguiſhed

Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

[k] Ibid. p. 114, &c.

the

Year of the World, 1. Year before Christ, 4305.

the seasons, and, in conjunction with the diurnal, described the equator and the tropics; by which, and the polar circles, the face of the earth was distinguished into zones, with respect whereto the particular regions of the earth changed their situation; so that paradise, which was before near the middle or ecliptic, was now beyond the northern tropic. The figure of the earth, which was before truly spherical, degenerated into an oblate spheroid; the torrid zone rising about fifteen or sixteen miles upwards, and the frigid one subsiding as much downwards. The *compages* of the upper earth, and of its *strata*, became thereby chapped and broken, and so carried up the warm steams from beneath, arising from the hot central solid, to particular receptacles and *volcanos*, which before served, in a more equal and uniform manner, to heat and invigorate the entire earth and its productions[i]. In these and other circumstances was the state of nature altered for the worse on the fall, according to this gentleman's theory.

SECT. III.

The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge stated.

BEFORE we enter on the history of the antediluvian world, it will be necessary, that we should settle the chronology of this period.

As *Moses* has not set down the particular time of any transactions before the flood, except only the years of the fathers age, wherein the several descendants of *Adam*, in the line of *Seth*, were begotten, and the length of their several lives; all we can do in this period is, to endeavour to fix the years of the lives and deaths of those patriarchs, and the distance of time from the creation to the deluge.

And in this might be easily done, if there were no varieties in the several copies we now have of *Moses*'s writings; which are the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, and the *Greek* version of the *Septuagint*: but as these differ very considerably from one another, learned men are much divided in their opinions, concerning the chronology of the first ages of the world, some preferring one copy, and some another.

That the reader may the better judge of the variations in the three copies in this period, we shall in the following table subjoin the numbers of each; to which we take the liberty to add those of *Josephus*, as corrected by Dr. *Wills*, and Mr.

[i] Ibid. Book IV. p. 353, &c.

Whiston,

Whiston, the numbers in the present copies of that historian being greatly corrupted.

A TABLE *of the Years of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.*

	Their Ages at their Sons Birth.				Years they lived after the Sons Birth.			Length of their Lives.		
	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.	Joseph	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.
Adam, - -	130	130	230	130	800	800	700	930	930	930
Seth, - -	105	105	205	105	807	807	707	912	912	912
Enos, - -	90	90	190	90	815	815	715	905	905	905
Cainan, -	70	70	170	70	840	840	740	910	910	910
Mahalaleel, -	65	65	165	65	830	830	730	895	895	895
Jared, - -	162	62	162	62	800	785	800	962	847	962
Enoch, - -	65	65	165	65	300	300	200	365	365	365
Methuselah,	187	67	187	187	782	653	802	969	720	696
Lamech, -	182	53	188	182	595	600	565	777	653	753
Noah was aged at the Flood,	600	600	600	600						
To the Flood	1656	1307	2262	1556						

To this Table it will be necessary, in order to explain the consequences of these variations, to add separate chronological tables, shewing in what year of his contemporaries the birth and death of each patriarch happened, according to the computation of each of the said three copies.

A Chro-

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the* Hebrew.

	Years of the World.	Years of *Seth*,	Years of *Enos*,	Years of *Cainan*,	Years of *Mahalaleel*,	Years of *Jared*,	Years of *Enoch*,	Years of *Methuselah*,	Years of *Lamech*,	Years of *Noah*,
Adam created, -	1									
Seth born, -	130									
Enos born, - -	235	105								
Cainan born, -	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born	395	265	160	70						
Jared born, -	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born, -	622	492	387	297	227	162				
Methuselah born,	687	557	452	362	292	227	65			
Lamech born, -	874	744	639	549	479	414	252	187		
Adam dies, - -	930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56	
Enoch translated,	987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	
Seth dies, - -	1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168	
Noah born, - -	1056		821	731	661	596		369	182	
Enos dies, - -	1140		905	817	745	680		453	266	84
Cainan dies, -	1235			910	840	775		548	361	179
Mahalaleel dies,	1290				895	830		603	416	234
Jared dies, -	1422					962		735	548	366
Japhet born, -	1556							869	682	500
Shem born, - -	1558							871	684	502
Lamech dies, -	1651							964	777	595
Methuselah dies,	1656			To the Flood	-	-		969		600

A Chro-

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the* Septuagint.

	the world.	Years of *Seth*,	Years of *Enos*,	Years of *Cainan*,	Years of *Mahalaleel*,	Years of *Jared*,	Years of *Enoch*,	Years of *Methuselah*,	Years of *Lamech*,	Years of *Noah*,
Adam created, -	1									
Seth born, - -	230									
Enos born, - -	435	205								
Cainan born, -	625	395	190							
Mahalaleel born,	795	565	360	170						
Adam dies, - -	930	700	495	305	135					
Jared born, -	960	730	525	335	165					
Enoch born, -	1122	892	687	497	327	162				
Seth dies, - -	1142	912	707	517	347	182				
Methuselah born,	1387		852	662	492	327	165			
Enos dies, - -	1340		905	715	545	380	218			
Lamech born, -	1474			849	679	514	352	187		
Enoch tranſlated,	1487			862	692	527	365	200		
Cainan dies, -	1535			910	740	575		248	61	
Noah born, -	1662				867	702		375	188	
Mahalaleel dies,	1690				895	730		403	216	28
Jared dies, -	1922					962		635	448	260
Japhet born, -	2162							875	688	500
Shem born, -	2164							877	690	502
Lamech dies, -	2227							940	753	565
Methuselah dies,	2256							969		594
The Flood, -	2262									600

A Chro-

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the* Samaritan *Pentateuch.*

	Years of the world.	Years of *Seth*,	Years of *Enos*,	Years of *Cainan*,	Years of *Mahalaleel*,	Years of *Jared*,	Years of *Enoch*,	Years of *Methuselah*,	Years of *Lamech*,	Years of *Noah*,
Adam created, -	1									
Seth born, -	130									
Enos born, -	235	105								
Cainan born, -	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born,	395	265	160	70						
Jared born, -	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born, -	522	392	287	197	127	62				
Methuselah born,	587	457	352	262	192	127	65			
Lamech born, -	654	524	419	329	259	194	132	67		
Noah born, - -	707	577	472	382	312	247	185	120	53	
Enoch translated,	887	757	652	562	497	427	365	300	233	180
Adam dies, - -	930	800	695	605	535	470		343	276	223
Seth dies, - -	1042	912	807	717	647	582		462	388	335
Enos dies, - -	1140		905	815	745	680		553	486	433
Japhet born, -	1207			882	812	747		620	553	500
Shem born, -	1209			884	814	749		622	555	502
Cainan dies, -	1235			910	840	775		648	581	528
Mahalaleel dies,	1290				895	830		703	636	583
Jared, *Methuselah*, and *Lamech* die, —	1307	The Flood,				847		720	653	600

To the varieties exhibited in the two laſt tables, others might be added, by admitting the various readings of ſome numbers in the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint*: for as to the *Hebrew* copies, there is here a conſtant agreement among them (A).

THE manuſcript from which the *Samaritan* pentateuch was publiſhed (B), agrees exactly with the *Samaritan* num-

(A) It is obſerveable, that the *Hebrew* numbers were exactly the ſame when the two *Talmuds* were compoſed; and that the *Chaldee* paraphraſe of *Onkelos*, which is allowed to have been written about the time of our Saviour, does alſo agree with the *Hebrew* chronology.

(B) This MS. was written *A. D.* 1404 (1).

(1) *Vid.* Joan. Morin. *in Præf. Ed. Septuag. Gr. Lat. Paris*, 1618.

bers

bers given by *Eusebius* [a]. But St. *Jerom* tells us [b], that in his time there were some *Samaritan* copies which make *Methuselah* 187 years old at the birth of *Lamech*, and *Lamech* 182 at the birth of *Noah*, just as the *Hebrew* does. Now if these numbers be approved as the true original numbers, the interval from the creation to the flood will be 1556 years (C); differing from the *Hebrew* computation about 100 years, in the age of *Jared* at the birth of *Enoch*: and if this last be allowed to be a mistake of the transcriber, by his dropping a number, and writing 62 instead of 162, as has been suspected, the *Samaritan* will be perfectly reconciled with the *Hebrew*, and all difference between them vanish (D).

THERE are indeed some other variations in the *Samaritan* numbers, as given by *Eusebius*; but as they are plainly owing to the negligence of the copier, or the printer, we think it needless to trouble the reader with them.

SCALIGER, on the authority of an old *Samaritan* chronicle, having at the end a table of the years of the patriarchs to the time of *Moses*, would correct two of the *Samaritan* numbers in *Eusebius*; *viz.* instead of 65, the age of *Mahalaleel* when he begat *Jared*, he thinks it should be 75; and instead of 67, the age of *Methuselah*, when he begat *Lamech*, he would have it 77 [c]. By which alterations he reckons 20 years more to the flood than *Eusebius* and the manuscript; that is, 1327 (E). But as he acknowledges, the table, whereupon he grounds these corrections, contains some great absurdities, it seems unreasonable to oppose it to the joint authority of *Eusebius* and the *Samaritan* manuscript [d].

[a] In Chronic. Græ p. 3, 4. [b] In Quæst. in Genes. [c] SCALIGER in Græc. Euseb. p. 403. [d] Vid. LUD. CAPPELL. Chronol. Sacr.

(C) Mr. WHISTON, allowing of these two corrections, which are supported by the attestation of *Josephus*, follows this computation in his chronological table (1).

(D) This is the hypothesis of Father TOURNEMINE, who, in his *Samaritan* chronology, reckons 1656 years to the deluge.

(E) It is remarkable, that *Scaliger*, taking the *Samaritan* numbers to be brought down no lower than to the birth of *Noah*, computes 1947 years to the flood, according to that chronology; wherein he is again mistaken 20 years, in the adding of the 600 years of *Noah*'s life to the former number. And he at the same time quarrels with *Syncellus*, for not committing the same fault (2).

(1) *See also his Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Test. &c. p.* 23. (2) Scalig. *in Græc. Euseb. p.* 403.

Is.

As to the *Septuagint*, in the common editions of that version, the age of *Methuſelah*, at the birth of *Lamech*, is 167, and conſequently, the ſum total of this period, according to them, is more than 2242. But in this caſe *Methuſelah* will outlive the flood 14 years; and we may well wonder, with *Euſebius* [e], where he was preſerved. To obviate this objection, we are told, that in ſome copies *Methuſelah* is ſaid to have lived but 782 (not 802) years after the birth of *Lamech*, and no more than 949 in all [f]. But the *Alexandrian* manuſcript entirely takes away the difficulty, by giving the ſame number in this place with the *Hebrew*.

Pezron is of opinion, that the age of *Lamech*, at the birth of *Noah*, ſhould be but 182, as it is both in the *Hebrew* and in *Joſephus*, ſuppoſing with St. *Auſtin*, that the preſent number is the error of the ſcribe who firſt copied the original *Septuagint* manuſcript in *Ptolemy*'s library [g]. So that he computes 2256 years to the flood. And if this correction be admitted, and one more mentioned alſo by St. *Auſtin* [h], *viz.* that *Lamech* lived 595 years after the birth of *Noah*, and not 565, as in the preſent copies, there will then remain no other difference between the *Septuagint* and the *Hebrew* than 600 years, added to the ages of ſix of the patriarchs when they begat their ſons [i], and *Methuſelah* will, conformably to the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan*, die in the year of the flood.

As we have choſen to follow the chronology of the preſent *Samaritan* copies, after the flood, for the reaſons which will be found in another place, we have done the ſame in our calculations in this period; which may, with very little trouble, be reduced to the chronology of the *Hebrew*, or *Septuagint* by thoſe who prefer the accounts of thoſe copies.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

WHERE *Adam* dwelt after his expulſion from paradiſe, is uncertain; but it is likely he did not remove far off (F). He now conſummated his marriage with *Eve*, which, as

[e] Chron. Græc. p. 4. Dei, l. 15. c. 13. [f] Ibid. [g] Augustin. de civit. [h] Ibid. [i] Vid. Pezron, l'Antiquité des temps retablie, p. 57, & Cappelli Chronolog. ſacr.

(F) The eaſtern tradition is, that *Adam* went into *India* (1), and did Penance on the mountain thence named *Pico de Adam*, in

(1) *Vid.* Eutychii *annal. p.* 15. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. orient. p.* 55.

the

as the words of *Moſes* ſeem to imply, he had not done before the fall [k] (G): a ſtrong argument for the ſhort duration of the ſtate of innocence. The eldeſt ſon of *Adam*, named *Cain*, was born probably in the firſt year of the world; and his ſecond, *Abel* (H), the year following (I). When they were grown Year of the World, 2. Year before Chriſt, 4304.

[k] Geneſ. iii. 24. iv. 1.

the iſle of *Ceylon*, for ſeveral years. Some Rabbins pretend, that he was ſeparated from *Eve* for 130 years, and lived with another woman, named *Lilith*, formed out of the ground like himſelf; during which time he begat dæmons on her, as the devils did on *Eve* (1). *Maimonides* ſuppoſes, that by thoſe dæmons were meant only wicked and impious men, as the race of *Adam* were before *Seth*, whom he is therefore ſaid to have begotten in his own likeneſs, and after his own image (2). The *Mahammedans* ſay, that when they were caſt down from paradiſe, *Adam* fell on *Ceylon*, and *Eve* near *Joddah* in *Arabia*; and that after a ſeparation of 200 years, *Adam* was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel *Gabriel* to a mountain near *Mecca*, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named *Arafat*; and that he afterwards retired with her to *Ceylon*, where they continued to propagate their ſpecies (3).

(G) Yet ſome Rabbins, as *R. Solomon Yarhi*, and *R. Moſes Haddarſhan* (4), were of a contrary opinion. Others of them indeed went much farther, as Father *Bartolocci* aſſures us, whoſe words we ſubjoin, (to ſhew what abominable imaginations ſome men are capable of) but deſire to be excuſed the tranſlating of them. *De protoparente Adamo ita ſiniſtre ſentiunt, ut ipſum etiam nefariæ incontinentiæ, quod referre pudet, inſimulent; & ante Evæ formationem, omnia jumenta feraſque campi carnaliter cognoviſſe aiunt* (5).

(H) Some Rabbins imagined, that *Cain* and *Abel* were twins, (which *Calvin* (6) alſo ſuppoſed); but that *Cain* was the off ſpring of the devil, or *Sammael*, who firſt lay with *Eve*; and that ſhe afterwards, by ſuperfetation, conceived *Abel* by *Adam* (7). Some heretics fancied both *Cain* and *Abel* to have been the iſſue of the devil (8).

(I) The name *Cain* ſignifies *an acquiſition*, or *poſſeſſion*, being derived (though not very regularly) from the verb קָנָה *Kana*, *to acquire*. *Abel*, or rather *Hebel*, ſignifies *vanity*, and not *mourning*, as *Joſephus* (9) and *Euſebius* (10) ſuppoſe.

(1) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom* I. *p.* 112. & Bartolocc. *Bibl. Rabbin Tom.* I. *p.* 291 (2) Maim. *More Nevoch. p.* 1. *c.* 7. (3) *Vid.* D'Herbel. *ubi ſupra.* (4) *Vid* Heidegg. *p.* 111. (5) Bartolocc. *ubi ſup. p.* 75. (6) *Vid* Corn. a Lapide, *in Geneſ.* iv. 2. (7) Bartolocc. *ubi ſupra.* (8) *Vid.* Epiphan. *Hæreſ.* 40. (9) *Antiq. l.* 11. *cap.* 6. (10) *De Præp. Ev. l.* 2.

Year of the World 2. Year before Christ 4384.

grown up, they betook themſelves to diſtinct employments; the former of them to huſbandry, and the latter to the keeping of ſheep [p]. And in their inward diſpoſitions were ſtill more different, *Cain* being wicked and avaritious, but *Abel* juſt and virtuous [q].

IN proceſs of time the two brothers brought their reſpective offerings to GOD (K), *Cain* of the fruit of the ground, and *Abel*

Year of the World, 129. Year before Chriſt, 4177.

[p] Geneſ. iv. 2. [q] JOSEPH. Ant. l. 1. c. 2.

The *Arab* authors ſay, that before *Cabil* (for ſo they call *Cain*) *Adam* had a ſon named عبد الحارث *Abd' alhâreth*, on the following occaſion. When *Eve* was big with her firſt child, the devil came to her and aſked her, if ſhe knew what ſhe carried within her, and which way ſhe ſhould be delivered of it. She being unable to give an anſwer to this queſtion, went in a fright to *Adam*, and acquainted him with the matter, who, not knowing what to think of it, grew ſad and penſive. Whereupon the devil appeared to him, and told him, that as he knew the myſterious name of GOD, he would in virtue thereof, by his prayers, obtain of GOD, that *Eve* might be ſafely delivered of a ſon in his (*Adam*'s) own likeneſs, provided he would promiſe to call his name *Abd' alhâreth*, or *the ſervant of al Hareth* (which was the devil's name in heaven) inſtead of *Abd' aliah*, or the ſervant of GOD, as *Adam* had deſigned. This *Adam* and his wife agreed to, and accordingly gave the child that name, upon which it immediately died (1). The parents are taxed with this in the *Korân*, as an act looking towards idolatry (2). But the whole ſtory ſeems to have no other foundation, than *Cain*'s being called by *Moſes Obed Adamah*, i. e. *a tiller of the ground*, which might be tranſlated by the *Arabs Abd' alhâreth*

Abu'lfaragius (3) ſays, *Cain* was born in the thirtieth year of the world, with a twin-ſiſter, whom that author calls *Klimia*; *Eutychius* (4) *Azrûn*, and others *Kalmama*. And that thirty years after, *Abel* was born with a twin-ſiſter alſo, named *Lebûdha*; or *Leſſûra*, by *Eutychius* (who ſays *Leſûra* was her *Greek* name) *Owain*, and by others *Delborah* (5).

(K) It has been ſuppoſed by ſome (but without any ground) that they brought their offerings to *Adam* to offer for them (6).

The oriental tradition makes theſe ſacrifices to have been offered, and *Cain*'s malice excited againſt his brother on the following occaſion. When they were grown up, in the one hundred and thirtieth

(1) *Vid.* D'Herbelot. *Bibl Orient. p.* 438, *&c.* Selden *de jure nat. &c. l* 5. *c.* 8. Marace. *in Alcor. p.* 291. (2) Al Koran, *c.* 7. *ver.* 189, *&c.* (3) *p.* 6. (4) *p.* 15. (5) *Vid.* Perrerium *in Geneſ.* iv. 1. Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patr. t.* 1. *p.* 112. (6) *Vid.* Heidegg. *ubi ſupr. p.* 117.

year

Abel of the firſtlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof (L); but they met with very different ſucceſs: for GOD had reſpect to, or accepted the offering of *Abel*, but *Cain*'s he did not accept (M). At this preference *Cain* was ſo enraged and tranſported

Year of the World 129. Year before Chriſt 4177.

Cain *and* Abel, *their Offerings.* Abel *murdered.*

year of the world, according to *Abu'lfaragius*, *Adam* propoſed to *Eve*, that *Cain* ſhould marry *Abel*'s twin-ſiſter, and *Abel Cain*'s. But this *Cain* refuſed to agree to, inſiſting to have his own ſiſter, who was the handſomer of the two. *Adam* hereupon was greatly diſpleaſed, becauſe it was againſt the divine command that he ſhould marry his twin-ſiſter (for it being the common opinion, that marriages ought not to be had in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity, ſince *Cain* and *Abel* muſt neceſſarily marry their ſiſters, it ſeemed reaſonable to ſuppoſe they ought to take thoſe of the remoter degree), and ordered his ſons to make their offerings before they took their wives, referring the diſpute, probably, to GOD's determination. But while they went up the mountain for that purpoſe, the devil put it into *Cain*'s head to rid himſelf of his brother; for which wicked intent, his ſacrifice was not accepted; and they were no ſooner come down from the mountain, than he fell on *Abel*, and killed him with a ſtone (1). Thus was a woman, according to this ſtory, the occaſion of the firſt quarrel in the world; *Nam fuit ante Helenam, &c.*

(L) The opinion of thoſe who think *Abel* did not kill, or offer the Animals themſelves, but only their milk and wool, will be conſidered hereafter, when we enquire into the origin of Sacrifices.

(M) Though the difference put by GOD between the two offerings can be attributed to nothing, but the wickedneſs and ill diſpoſition of *Cain*, and the righteouſneſs and faith of *Abel* (2), yet it has been imagined, that *Cain*'s ill ſucceſs was owing to ſome defect in his offering, or his preſenting the worſt part of it to GOD, and reſerving the beſt to himſelf. The reaſon given by *Joſephus* (3) is very frivolous: he ſays that GOD was more delighted with *Abel*'s offering, as being the ſpontaneous production of nature; and diſpleaſed with *Cain*'s, becauſe it was forced by the art and induſtry of a covetous man (4).

In what viſible manner GOD declared his acceptance of *Abel*'s offering, is not expreſſed by *Moſes*. The common opinion is, that fire from heaven deſcended on the ſacrifice and conſumed it, but did not touch *Cain*'s. This is ſupported by the verſion of *Theodotion*, who tranſlated the word שׁעה, which we render *had reſpect unto*, ἐνεπυρισεν, *he ſet on fire*; the uſual ſign whereby GOD has been pleaſed to teſtify his approbation in other inſtances. The *Mohammedans* likewiſe affirm the ſame thing (5). And the heathens them-

(1) Abu'lfarag. *p.* 6. 7. Eutych. *p.* 15, 16. (2) *Vid* Heb. xi. 4. (3) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 2. (4) *Vid.* Heideg. *Hiſt. Patr. t.* i. *p.* 120. (5) *Vid.* Maracc. *in Alcoran p.* 229.

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ported with envy againſt his brother, that he could not help ſhewing it by his countenance. GOD however condeſcended to expoſtulate the matter with him, and asked him, what reaſon he had to be angry, ſince if he did well he ſhould be accepted; and he could blame none but himſelf for what was the conſequence of his own ill behaviour; and, in particular, he could not juſtly be angry with *Abel*, who had no deſign to ſupplant him, and ſhould always pay him the reſpect due to an elder brother. But this admonition had ſo little effect on *Cain*, that on a convenient opportunity, when they were together in the field, he roſe up againſt *Abel* his brother, and ſlew him [r] (N), and buried his body, in hopes of concealing the murder [s].

AFTER

[r] Geneſ. iv. 3.—8. [s] JOSEPH. ubi ſup.

ſelves boaſted of the like extraordinary marks of the divine favour in ſome particular places (1).

(N) Before the commiſſion of the fact, *Moſes* tells us, according to the *Engliſh* tranſlation, that Cain *talked with* Abel *his brother*. The words ſtrictly ſignify, Cain *ſaid unto* Abel *his brother*: after which there is a blank ſpace left in the *Hebrew* copies, as if ſomething was wanting. The *Samaritan pentateuch* and *Septuagint* verſion ſupply this, by adding the words, *Let us go into the field*: but the *Jeruſalem Targum*, and that of *Jonathan ben Uzziel* have obliged us with the whole converſation. Says *Cain*, *There is no future judgment, nor judge, nor life after this, nor reward for the juſt, nor puniſhment for the wicked: the world was neither created, nor is governed by the mercy of* GOD, *foraſmuch as thy oblation was accepted, and mine rejected.* To which *Abel* anſwers, *There is a future judgment, and a judge, and a life to come: there is both a reward for the juſt, and a puniſhment for the unjuſt: the world was created, and is governed by the mercy of* GOD. *And becauſe my works are better than thine, therefore was my oblation accepted, and thine rejected.* Upon which enſued the quarrel, which ended in *Abel*'s murder. An ill beginning of religious controverſy. *Mohammed* has alſo, in his *Korân*. 2), inſerted the debate between the two brothers, ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe.

The time, place, and manner of this murder are all uncertain. It happened, very probably, not long before the birth of *Seth*, who *was appointed inſtead of* Abel: but St. *Auſtin* (3) will not allow *Seth* to be the next ſon which *Eve* had after *Abel*'s death; ſuppoſing that expreſſion to mean no more, than that *Seth* ſucceeded that righteous perſon in his virtue and piety. Some are of opinion,

(1) *See* Bayle *Dict. Hiſt, Art. Egnatia.* (2) *Chap.* 5. *ver.* 33, *&c.* (3) *De civit. Dei, l.* 15. *c.* 15.

that

AFTER the commission of this horrid fact, *Cain* being questioned by GOD about his brother, returned an evasive answer, that he knew not what was become of him, churlishly asking, *if he was his brother's keeper?* But GOD soon convinced him, that what he had done was not hid from him; and, as a punishment, condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, and to till an ungrateful soil, which should not reward his labour, with the plenty and increase he had before experienced. This sentence, though it fell short of the heinousness of his guilt, was yet thought too severe by *Cain*, who complained, that *his punishment was greater than he could bear*; since he was to be banished from the presence of GOD, and from his near relations, and being a vagabond

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that *Adam* assigned his sons their several employments in the fiftieth year of the world (as *Eusebius* says he did), that *Cain* and *Abel* made their offerings A. M. 100, and that thirty years after *Abel* was killed. But neither reason nor scripture lead us to believe, that *Cain* concealed his resentment so many years (1). The place where *Abel* was slain, according to an antient tradition, is said to be still shewn at the foot of a hill near *Damascus* (2). As to the manner wherein *Cain* committed this murder, there is a great variety of opinions. *Eutychius* and the *Arabs* say, he struck him on the head with a stone; some *Jews* tell us, that he tore him in pieces with his teeth; others, that he killed him with the jawbone of an ass, which is the weapon the painters generally put into *Cain*'s hand: some arm him with a fork; St. *Chrysostome* with a sword; St. *Irenæus* with a scythe, and *Prudentius* with a pruning-hook (3).

Whether *Abel* was a married man or not has been disputed. Some of the antient fathers have maintained the affirmative (4), as did also some heretics called *Abelians* (5). But it is improbable he should continue single if he lived to be near one hundred and thirty: the world wanted peopling too much to allow any room for such continency. Nor do St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin* (6) seem to doubt of his being married, though *Moses* makes no mention of his offspring.

The *Rabbins*, and some Christians (7) say, that *Adam* and *Eve* mourned for *Abel* one hundred years, during which time they lived separate; *Adam* particularly in a valley near *Hebron*, thence named *the valley of tears* (8). The inhabitants of *Ceylon* pretend, that the salt lake on the mount of *Colombo* was formed by the tears, which *Eve* shed on this occasion (9).

(1) *See* Bayle *Dict. Hist. Art. Abel, Rem. C.* (2) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hist. Patr. t.* 1. *p.* 126. (3) *Vid.* Bayle *ubi sup. Rem. G.* (4) Basil & Ambros. *apud* Corn. *a* Lapide *in Genes.* iv, & v. (5) *Vid.* Bayle *Dict. Hist. Art. Abeliens.* (6) *Vid* Salian. *Annal. tom.* 1. *p.* 184. (7) Eutych. *p* 16. (8) *Vid.* Salian. *ubi sup. p.* 190. (9) *Vid.* Chevreau, *Hist. du Monde*, tom 4. *p.* 255.

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and friendless, would be in danger of being killed by the next that should meet him (O). But GOD told him, that whoever slew *Cain*, vengeance should be taken on him seven-fold; and the more effectually to secure him from that apprehension, was pleased to give him a sign (P) (probably by some sensible

(O) These words of *Cain* are variously interpreted. The first sentence, which our version renders, *My punishment is greater than I can bear*, some translate, *My sin is greater than can be forgiven* (for נָשָׂא signifies *iniquity* rather than *punishments*, and נָשָׂא *to forgive*, as well as *to bear*; and others interrogatively, *Is my sin too great to be forgiven?* which last is the sense followed by the *Hebrew* expositors, and seems to be the best (12). The latter words, in the *English* translation, *And it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me*, have also been rendered, *I wish that any person that finds me may kill me* (13).

That there were such numbers of men in the world, at the time of *Abel*'s murder, that *Cain* might justly apprehend some danger from them, will appear from the calculations hereafter made of the increase of mankind before the flood. Mr. *Bayle* (14) thinks, that *Cain* was not so much afraid of his kindred, the descendants of *Adam*, (though he might justly fear the resentment of *Abel*'s children, if he left any) but of some strangers whom he apprehended he should meet in his banishment, where he would be friendless, and have none to support him; and therefore supposes, that, in his flight, he either did not consider, there were no men in the world but what were the off pring of his father, or else feigned an apprehension, to move GOD's compassion. But we conceive, there will be no occasion for either of those suppositions, if we consider in how few descents the degrees of kindred, at least of affection, decrease, and at length vanish; and that *Cain* might justly be looked on, even among his relations, as a common enemy. Not to mention the vast numbers of men, which he could not but think, would in a few years to come overspread the earth, and have probably little knowledge of, or respect for him.

(P) This is the true sense of this passage, and not that GOD *set a mark upon* Cain (15), according to the common exposition; in pursuance of which, many ridiculous conjectures have been made as to that imaginary mark. Some say (that God stigmatized *Cain* on the forehead with a letter, which was to serve him as a passport, being taken either from the name of *Abel* (16), or the ineffable name of GOD (17), or from the word *repentance*; that every one might perceive *Cain* had repented. Others say this mark con-

(12) See Shuckford's *Connexion*, *vol.* 1. *p.* 6. (13) Lightfoot, *vol.* 1. *p.* 3. (14) *Dict. Hist. Art. Cain, Rem. A.* (15) *Vid.* Shuckford, *p.* 8. (16) *Veters Hebræi apud Genebrard.* (17) R. Solom. Yarhi. *Vid.* Selden. *Otia Theol. p.* 345.

sifted

fible miracle) that none that met him ſhould take away his life [t].

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CAIN ſoon after this unfortunate affair, having wandered about ſome time, at length ſettled with his wife and family in the land of *Nod*, where he built a city, and called it after the name of his ſon, *Enoch* [u].

He goes into baniſhment, and builds a city.

WHERE the land of *Nod* (which word ſignifies *wandering*) was ſituate, is uncertain. *Moſes* places it, according to our tranſlation, *on the eaſt of* Eden; and it has been obſerved, that *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Anuchtha* in *Suſiana*, or *Khuzeſtan*, a country lying eaſtward from *Chaldea*: which ſituation, and the near reſemblance of the name *Anuchtha* to the original *Hanokh* (for *that* is ſuppoſed to be only the *Chaldee* termination) induced the learned *Huet* to believe it to be the ſame with that built by *Cain*. But it ſeems very improbable, that the city of *Enoch* built before the flood, ſhould either withſtand the deluge, or retain its antient name after ſo great an alteration of the face of things. Beſides, *Suſiana*

[t] Geneſ. iv. 9.—15. [u] Ibid. ver. 16, 17.

fifted of three letters, which compoſed the name of the *Sabbath* (4), or elſe that it was the ſign of the croſs (5). Others ſuppoſe, that *Abel*'s dog was given him as a conſtant companion, either to warn people not to attack him (6), or to prevent his taking any dangerous road (7). Others ſay, that his face was covered with leproſy (8). Others, that the mark was nothing but a wild aſpect, with bloody eyes, which rolled in a horrid manner 9. Moſt of the fathers imagined, that his body continually trembled to that degree, that he could not get his victuals to his mouth (10). The *Septuagint* verſion favours this opinion; for inſtead of *a fugitive and a vagabond*, they have tranſlated στένων καὶ τρέμων, *lamenting and trembling*; and the *Hebrew* words do indeed import a reſtleſsneſs and uneaſineſs of mind, with which *Cain* is ſuppoſed to have been afflicted all his life (11). Some ſay, that where ever he ſtopped, the earth ſhook and trembled around him (12). Others pretend, that GOD inſpired him with extraordinary courage, and rendered him void of all fear. And another notion, as well founded as any of the former, is, that *Cain* had a horn grew on his forehead, to warn folks to avoid him (13).

(1) *In Tanchuma, fol* 4. (5) Selden. *ubi ſup.* (6) *Ibid.* (7) Corn a Lapide *in Geneſ.* iv. (8) Selden. *ubi ſup.* (9) *Vid.* Sallian. *annal. tom.* 1. *p.* 192. (10) Procopius *in Geneſ.* iv. *Vid. etiam* Hieronym. *Epiſt. cxxx. ad Damas.* (11) *Vid.* Eutych. *p.* 16. (12) *Apud* Selden. *ubi ſup.* (13) *Apud* Sallian. *ubi ſup. Vid.* Bayle *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cain, Rem. B.* & Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patr. tom.* 1. *p.* 129.

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being a very fertile and pleasant country, it is not likely *Cain* should be banished thither, but rather to some barren and desolate land, remote from the place of his nativity, and separated by mountains, or other natural obstructions, from the commerce of his relations. For which reason *Grotius* and *Junius* are of opinion, that the country into which *Cain* retired was the desert *Arabia*; but that lying on the west, and not on the east of *Eden*, to remove so formidable an objection, it is said, that the words which we translate *on the east of* Eden, signify no more than *before*, or *over against* Eden, as the *Septuagint* have rendred it [w].

WHEN *Cain* built this city cannot be conjectured by any circumstance recorded by *Moses*; but it is probable he did it not till many years after his banishment, and when his posterity was greatly increased. *Philo* supposes he also built six other cities, named *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jesca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*, but what foundation he had for it we cannot conceive [x].

Grows more wicked.

JOSEPHUS says, that the punishment inflicted on *Cain* was so far from effecting any amendment in him, that he grew worse, and became a reprobate to all sense of goodness, indulging himself in all manner of pleasures, though he wronged his neighbours to procure them; that he got together abundance of wealth by rapine and violence, encouraging his followers in luxury and robbery, and becoming their instructor in evil courses. That he first corrupted that simplicity wherein men till then lived, by the invention of measures and weights, changing their innocence of life, which was happily ignorant of such things, and their greatness of mind, into fraud and cunning: and that he also first set bounds to fields and possessions, and walled the city which he had built, obliging his dependants to live in community [y], the better, it is probable, to secure their ill-gotten wealth.

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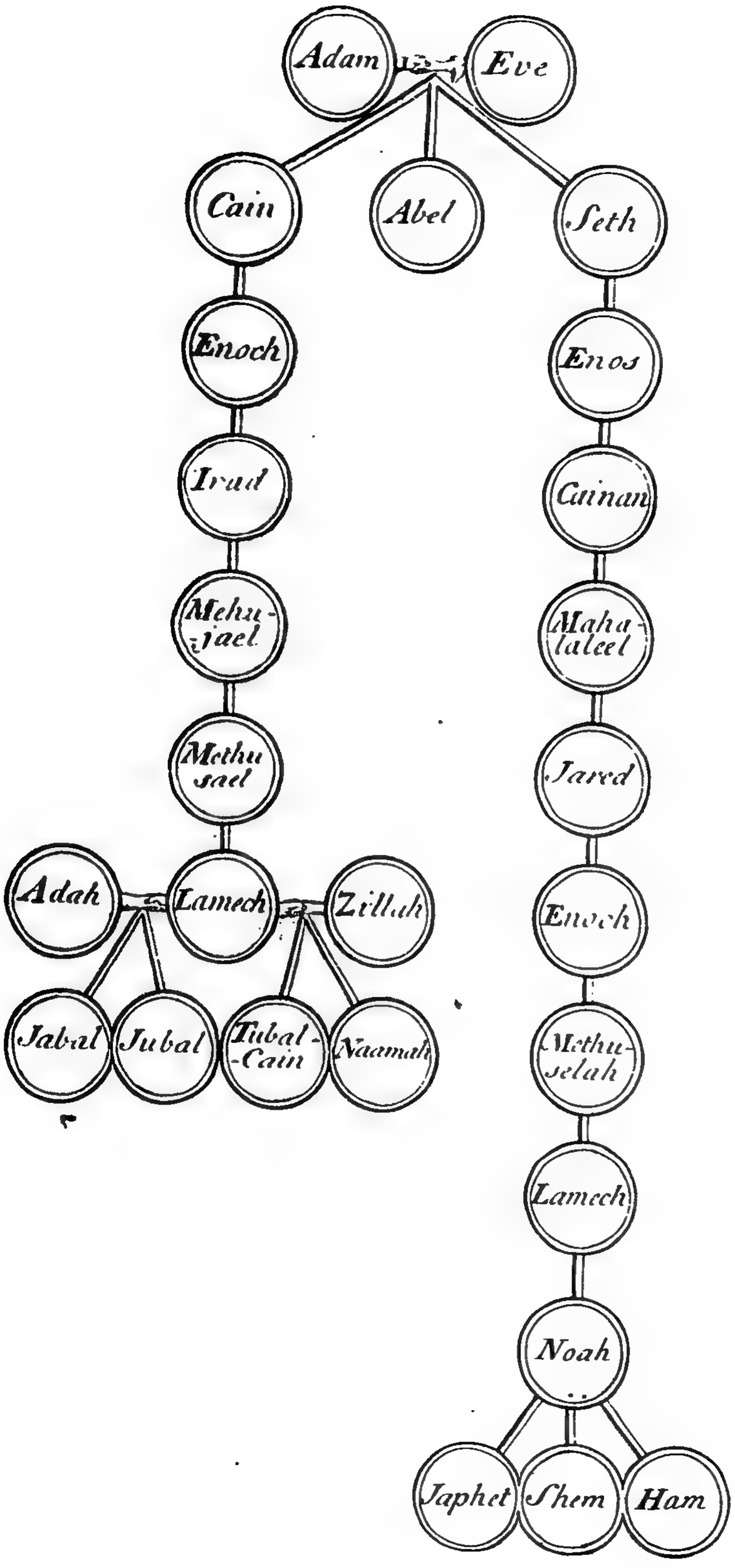
SOON after the murder of *Abel*, and probably the next year, his loss was made up to his parents in another son they had, whom *Eve* named *Seth*, that is, *appointed*, because he was *appointed instead of* Abel *whom* Cain *slew* [z].

Seth *born.*

As the whole progeny of *Adam*, of whom we have any mention in scripture, were the descendants of *Cain* and *Seth*, it may be proper to give a genealogical table of the antediluvians.

[w] See WELL's Geogr. of the old Testament. [x] See RALEIGH's Hist. of the World, book I. c. 6. § 4. [y] JOSEPH. Ant. I. 1. c. 2. See BAYLE Dict. Hist. Art. Cain, Rem. D. [z] Genes. iv. 25.

THE


Adam
Eve
Cain
Abel
Seth
Enoch
Enos
Irad
Cainan
Mehu-jael
Maha-laleel
Methu-sael
Jared
Adah
Lamech
Zillah
Enoch
Jabal
Jubal
Tubal-Cain
Naamah
Methu-selah
Lamech
Noah
Japhet
Shem
Ham

THE ſacred hiſtorian confining himſelf chiefly to the line of *Seth*, from whence *Noah* was deſcended, has acquainted us with very few particulars relating to that of *Cain*; nor can we thence form any conjectures, how long he (Q) or any of his deſcendants lived. All that we have recorded is, that *Lamech*, the fifth in deſcent from him, married two wives, *Adah* and *Zillah* [a], which is obſerved to be the firſt known inſtance of polygamy; that by the former he had two ſons, *Jabal*, who was the firſt that dwelt in tents, and fed cattle (R); and

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Of the line of Cain.

[a] Geneſ. iv. 19.

(Q) There is an oriental tradition, which was believed by ſeveral chriſtians in St. *Jerom*'s time (1), that *Cain* was accidentally killed by *Lamech*, one of his own poſterity: for they ſay that *Cain* being old and dim-ſighted, and in continual terror on account of the murder he had committed, uſed to wander up and down in the woods, and one day ſat down in a thicket to reſt himſelf; and that *Lamech*, who was alſo blind, being a hunting, attended by a youth (whom ſome will have to be his ſon *Tubal-Cain*) either himſelf heard a ruſtling, or was informed by the lad, that there was ſomething in the buſhes which he took to be a wild beaſt, and thereupon letting fly an arrow, he ſtruck *Cain* (for it proved to be him) to the heart; when he came to know what he had done, he in a rage fell upon his conductor, and killed him alſo (2). Others relate the latter circumſtances differently, and ſay, that he killed *Cain* with a ſtone which he flung at him, and the youth ignorantly, as he clapped his hands in ſorrow for what he had done (3). And this, they ſay, was the occaſion of thoſe words of *Lamech* to his wives, mentioned in a following note. This accident ſome place in the ſeven hundred and thirtieth year of *Cain*'s age (4), others in the years of the world ſeven hundred and one, or eight hundred and ſeventy five (5): According to *Toſtatus*, *Cain* lived near eight hundred years (6). There are ſome who fix his death in the year of the world nine hundred and thirty one, and pretend that he was knocked on the head by the fall of a houſe (7). *Paul de Burgos* makes him periſh in the deluge (8); and there are others who ſay he killed himſelf (9).

(R) This ſeems to be underſtood, as *R. Solomon Yarhi* explains the paſſage, of feeding cattle in the deſert, and removing with

(1) *Vid.* Hieronym. *in Epiſt. ad Damas.* (2) R. Gedaliah *in Shalſheleth hakkah. p.* 92. *Vid.* Eutych. *p.* 22. (3) Elmacin. *or rather* Ebn al Amid. *p.* 7. (4) Eutych. *ubi ſupr.* (5) *Apud* Salian. *annal. t.* 1 *p.* 214. (6) *Apud eund. Ibid.* (7) St. Romuald *Abregé Chronol. citing* Cedrenus. Syncell *p.* 11. (8) *Apud* Pererium *in Geneſ.* iv. ver 23, 24. (9) Armeni *apud Guidon. Carmelitam citante Prateolo, in elencho hæres. p.* 63.

their

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and *Jubal*, the inventor of muſick: and by the other, a ſon named *Tubal-Cain*, who found out the art of forging and working of metals (S); and a daughter *Naamah* [b], ſuppoſed by ſome [c] to have invented ſpinning and weaving (T). And that on ſome occaſion or other, *Lamech* made a ſpeech to his wives [d], the explication of which has greatly puzzled the interpreters (U).

HOWEVER,

[b] Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22. [c] R. LIPOMAN. in catena, & GENEBRARD in Chron. Vid. VOSSIUM de Idolol. l. 1. c. 17. [d] Geneſ. iv. 23, 24.

their tents and herds from place to place, as they found paſture, which is the way of life of the *Arabs*, thence called *Scenitæ*: for others, and in particular *Abel*, followed a paſtoral life before *Jabal* (S).

(S) *Joſephus* (9) commends *Tubal-Cain* (whom he calls *Thobel*) for his great ſtrength and ſkill in war; to the perfecting of which art, he probably contributed by the invention of arms.

(T) Some imagine *Naamah* to have been the wife of *Noah* (10), others of *Ham* (11); and that ſhe being ſaved from the deſtruction of the deluge, was therefore mentioned by *Moſes*. Her name ſignifies *delightful* or *beautiful*; and her perſon is ſaid to have been ſo charming, that *Aza*, and *Azael*, two angels, fell in love with her, and begat on her *Dæmons* called *Gedim* (12).

Many authors from ſome affinity in the names and inventions of theſe children of *Lamech*, have thought *Jubal* to have been the *Apollo*, *Tubal-Cain* the *Vulcan*, and *Naamah* the *Venus*, or *Minerva* of the heathens. And not to omit *Jabal*, it has been imagined he was their *Pales* (13). But theſe are at beſt ſuppoſitions only, and very precarious ones too, as will be ſhewn in a more proper place.

Joſephus makes the whole number of *Lamech*'s iſſue by his two wives to be ſeventy ſeven (14).

(U) His words, according to our tranſlation, are; *Hear my voice ye wives of* Lamech, *hearken unto my ſpeech: for I have ſlain* a *man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If* Cain *ſhall be avenged ſevenfold, truly* Lamech *ſeventy and ſevenfold* Almoſt to the ſame purpoſe are the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and *Syriac* verſions; and they are commonly explained by the above-mentioned tradition of *Lamech*'s unfortunately killing *Cain*, and the youth that attended him; which being an undeſigned act, he had reaſon to think, he deſerved a much leſs puniſhment than *Cain* (15).

(S) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patr. t.* 1. *p* 141. (9) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c* 2. (10) Bereſchit Rabb. R. Soi. Yarhi. (11) Cumberland's *Rem. on* Sanchoniatho, *p.* 107. (12) *In libro* Zohar. (13) *Vid* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patr. t.* 1. *p.* 141. & *ſeq.* (14) Joſeph. *antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 2. (15) *Vid.* Perer *in locum.*

Others

HOWEVER, we are assured by other historians [e], and it is highly probable, that the posterity of *Cain* were enormously wicked, exceeding their father, if possible, in all manner of villainies; every succeeding generation growing worse than the former, and becoming wholly addicted to rapine and brutish lusts. This reprobate race is generally supposed to be meant by *Moses* under the designation of *men*, and the *daughters of men*, as the other family of *Seth* is by that of the *sons of* GOD [f].

Seth had this year a son named *Enos*; about which time it is thought that his descendants, who were as eminent for piety and virtue, as those of *Cain* were for the reverse, had the appellation we have just mentioned given them. For it is conceived, that those words [g] which in our translation are rendered, *then began men to call upon the name of the* LORD, properly signify, *then men began to be called by*, or *after the name of the Lord*, that is *the sons of* GOD [h]. But some take the words, according to the former version, to mean, that then the public worship of GOD was first set up, and proper ceremonies and stated times appointed for that service [i]: and

Year of the World 235. Year before Christ, 4071. Enos *born.*

[e] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 2. EUTYCH. p. 25. EBN AL AMID, &c. [f] Vid. HEIDEGG. ubi supr. p. 136. [g] Genes. iv. 26. [h] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 1. p. 148. SHUCKFORD'S Connex. Vol. I. p. 41. [i] PERER. DRUSIUS, MERCERUS, &c. Vid. SIMSON Chron. col. 56.

Others take these words to be a thrasonical menace of *Lamech*, (whom they suppose to be a vindictive impious person) spoken on occasion of some quarrel he had with his wives; and that the sense is, *I will*, or *would kill a man if he wounded me, and a young man if he hurt me*, &c. (16).

The *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, and the *Arabic* translation read the passage interrogatively, or negatively, *Have I slain a man?* that is, *I have not slain a man, that I should bear the guilt or be punished for it; nor have I killed a young man, that my seed should be destroyed for it.* And it is thought *Lamech* spoke them on occasion of some terror, or apprehension his family were in, lest *Abel*'s murder should be revenged on them; which fear he shews to be groundless, because he had done nothing to deserve any ill treatment (17). This interpretation seems the most reasonable, but cannot be depended on; the speech being introduced by *Moses* very abruptly, and without any connexion with what precedes, or follows it.

(16). *Vid.* Heidegg. *ubi sup. p.* 140. Bayle *Dict. Hist. Art. Lamech, Rem. D. E.* (17) *See* Shuckford's *Connexion, Vol.* I. *p.* 10, *&c.*

others,

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others, particularly the *Jews*, suppose they intimate that idolatry, or the deifying of men, had its rise about this time, either adhering to the latter version, or translating the passage thus; *Then men profaned in calling upon the name of the* Lord [k] (X).

Of the three next descendants of *Seth*, *Cainan*, *Mahalaleel*, and *Jared*, and of *Methuselah* and *Lamech*, the grandfather and father of *Noah*, *Moses* has recorded no more than their several ages. The oriental authors commend them, as they do *Seth* and *Enos*, for their piety, and the salutary injunctions they left behind them, forbidding their children all intercourse with the race of cursed *Cain* [l].

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Enoch *translated.*

Enoch, the son of *Jared*, and father of *Methuselah*, was a person of most extraordinary piety, walking with God, as the scripture expresses it, for at least the last three hundred years of his life: as a reward for which exemplary behaviour in so corrupt an age, he was taken up by God into heaven, without tasting death [m] (Y).

That

[k] Vid. Selden de diis Syris proleg. c. 3. [l] Vid. Eutych. p. 20, &c. Elmacin. [m] Genes. v. 22, & 24.

(X) The interpretation of *Onkelos* is, *Then men left off calling upon the name of the* Lord; as if the worship of God began then to be neglected.

Some of the *Jews* (particularly *Maimonides*) have gone so far as to charge *Enos* himself with being the author of idolatry, and inventing images, by whose mediation men might address themselves to God (1).

But the introduction of the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies and angels, is by the *Sabians*, the professors of it, referred to *Seth* himself. They give him also a son called *Sabi*, from whom the sect seems to have taken its name, unless it be rather derived from צבא *Saba*, or *the host of heaven*, the objects of their worship: of this sect we shall take occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, observing only in this place, that they call the book which contains the fundamentals of their religion and morality, *the book of* Seth, and reckon the patriarch *Enoch* also among the propagators of *Sabiism* (2).

(Y) *Moses* expresses it thus: *and* Enoch *walked with* God, *and he was not: for* God *took him.* Which passage the writer of the epistle to the *Hebrews* paraphrases in this manner; *By faith* Enoch *was translated, that he should not see death; and was not found, because* God *had translated him: for before his translation he had this*

(1) *Vid.* Hottinger, *Smegma Orient. p.* 230. Heidegg. *ubi sup. p.* 148. (2) *Vid.* Pocock. *Specim. Hist. Arab. p.* 138.

testimony

THAT *Enoch* was a prophet, and that ſome prophecy of his was preſerved either in writing, or (as is moſt probable) by *teſtimony, that he pleaſed* GOD (3). By which words it ſeems plain, that *Enoch* did not die, but ſuffered only ſuch a change as was neceſſary to fit him for the place whither he was going (4). Yet ſeveral of the *Jews* believe he actually died (5). Year of the World 887. Year before Chriſt, 3419.

The *Jewiſh* commentators ſuppoſe, *Enoch* was carried into the terreſtrial paradiſe (6). Of the ſame opinion were ſome of the chriſtian fathers (7). And it has been imagined, that both he and *Elias* will return from thence at the coming of *Antichriſt*, with whom they are to wage war (8). But theſe notions are juſtly rejected by the moſt judicious interpreters. The *vulgate* tranſlation of an apocryphal book ſays, indeed, that *Enoch* was tranſlated into paradiſe, *Henoch placuit Deo, & tranſlatus fuit in paradiſum, ut det gentibus pœnitentiam* (9); but it has been obſerved, that the *greek* ſays only, that he was *tranſlated*, without making any mention of paradiſe.

The *Koran* mentions the aſſumption of *Enoch* (10), who is there called إدريس *Edris*, which name is derived from דרש, in *Hebrew, to enquire into*, and in *Arabic, to read or ſtudy with attention*; and was given him for his ſuppoſed eminent learning and great knowledge. The *Mohammedan* commentators ſay, that *Edris* is now alive in one of the ſeven heavens, being carried thither after he had taſted death, but that GOD reſtored him to life (11).

The learning of *Enoch*, and particularly his ſkill in the mathematical ſciences, has been celebrated by *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mohammedans*.

The *Jews* ſay, he firſt invented letters, and became acquainted with the ſigns of heaven (12). They call him *Metatron*, (13) (though ſome take this to be a name of the angel *Gabriel*) (14), which the *Targum* of *Jonathan* ſeems to interpret by the following Words, *the great ſcribe*: but *Buxtorf* (15) is rather inclined to think it ſignifies the *ambaſſador*, or meſſenger of GOD, and is the ſame with the latin word *Metator* (16).

The *Greek* chriſtians ſuppoſed *Enoch* to be the ſame with the firſt *Egyptian Hermes*, who dwelt at *Sais*, that he firſt diſcourſed of ſupe-

(3) *Heb.* xi. 5. (4) *Vid.* 1 *Corinth.* xv. 50. (5) Aben Ezra, Hiſcuni, &c. *apud* Heidegg. *ubi ſupr. p.* 169. (6) Kimhi *in lib.* 2. *Reg.* ii. 1. (7) Irenæus, Procop. Gazeus, Juſtin Martyr. *apud* Heidegg. *p.* 171. *See alſo* Abu'lfarag. *p.* 7. (8) Heidegg. *ibid.* (9) *Eccles.* xliv. 16. (10) Al Koran *cap.* xix. ver. 54, 55. (11) Jallalo'ddin, &c. (12) *Vid.* Hotting. *Smegma Orient. p.* 239. (13) Juchaſin *p.* 5. Zohar *ex Midraſh Ruth fol.* 81. (14) *Vid.* Hyde *de Rel. vet. Perſar. p.* 263. (15) *In Lexico Talmud.* (16) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patr. tom.* 1. *p.* 167.

rior

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by tradition, even to our SAVIOUR's time, appears from the passage quoted thence by St. *Jude* [n]. However the piece under the title of *the scripture*, or *prophecy of* Enoch, of which we have some fragments extant (Z), is allowed to be a manifest forgery; though several of the fathers had a better opinion of it than it deserves [o]. Many passages are quoted thence

[n] Jude v. 14. 15.

[o] TERTULLIAN. de habitu mulier. IRENÆUS, CYPRIAN, LACTANTIUS, &c.

rior substances, and foretold the deluge; and that he built the pyramids, engraving thereon the figures of artificial instruments, and the elements of the sciences, fearing lest the memory of them should perish in that general destruction (17). *Eupolemus* (18) also attributes the invention of astronomy to *Enoch*, and says, he was the same with *Atlas*, to whom the *Greeks* ascribe the same thing. *Origen* (19) mentions a book attributed to *Enoch*, different from his prophecy, containing secrets concerning the names of the parts of heaven, and of all the stars and constellations, which is said to be extant among the *Ethiopians* in their tongue (20). The learned Mr. *du Peirese* used his utmost endeavours to get it from thence, but to no purpose (21).

The *Mohammedan* authors say, that *Edris* received thirty books of revelations from GOD, wherein the secrets of the most occult sciences were written; and that he found out the use of the pen, the needle, (for they pretend he was a taylor, and the first of the trade) arithmetic, and astronomy. They also tell us, he was the first who took up arms for religion, or the cause of GOD; for being sent to preach to, and reclaim the posterity of *Cain*, who refused to give ear to him, he thereupon made war upon them, carrying their wives and children into slavery. The same authors say, that *Enoch* was the innocent cause of idolatry; for one of his friends missing him after his assumption, at the suggestion of the devil, made a statue of him, to which he paid peculiar honours, which in time degenerated into a superstitious adoration (22).

Father *Bartolocci* has endeavoured to shew, from the testimony of the more antient *Jews*, that *Enoch*, surnamed *Edris*, was a different person from the antediluvian *Enoch*, and that he lived many ages after him (23).

(Z) These fragments were first published by *Joseph Scaliger*, in his notes on the *Greek Chronicon* of *Eusebius* (24); and afterwards more correctly by *J. Goar*, in his edition of the Chronography of *George Syncellus* (25). We shall give the reader the substance of them by and by.

(17) Abu'lfarag. *p* 9. (18) *Apud Eusеb. de præp. Ev.* l. 9. *c.* 17. (19) *Homil.* 28. *in lib. Numer.* & *in Anaceph. l. de principe.* (20) Genebrard *Chronol. p.* 14. (21) D' Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 310. (22) *Vid.* Reland. *de Relig. Moham. p.* 22. D'Herbelot *ubi sup.* Abu'lfarag. *p* 10. (23) *Bibl. Rabbin. t.* 2. *p.* 845. (24) *p.* 404, &c. (25) *p.* 11, &c. *and p.* 24, &c.

in that very antient writing, the Teſtament of the twelve patriarchs, and it is alſo cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus* [p], St. *Auſtin* makes mention of the ſcripture of *Enoch*, but denies it to be genuine [q]. And when *Celſus* objected its authority to *Origen*, he replied, that the books attributed to *Enoch* were not looked upon by the church as divine writings [r]. That there was a book, under the name of *Enoch*, in the hands of the *Jews*, appears from its being referred to in their antient book *Zohar* [s]. Year of the World 887. Year before Chriſt, 3419.

Adam, having ſeen a numerous poſterity iſſued from his own loins (A), after a life of nine hundred and thirty years (B), paid that natural debt, to which he had by his diſobedience ſubjected himſelf and them [t]. That he repented of his ſin, and made his peace with GOD, is very reaſonable to believe (C), notwithſtanding Year of the World 930. Year before Chriſt, 3376.

[p] In Eclogis ex prophet. p. 801, 808. [q] De civit. Dei, l. 15 c. 23. & l. 18. c. 38. [r] ORIGEN. contr. Celſ. l. 5. [s] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 1. p. 176. [t] Geneſ. v. 5. Adam *dies.*

(A) Beſides *Adam*'s three ſons named by *Moſes*, and the ſuppoſed twin-ſiſters of *Cain* and *Abel* (5), we are told he had two daughters, one named *Aſuam*, or *Saué*, who married *Cain*, and the other *Azúra*, who was the wife of *Seth* (6).

(B) The oriental authors are ſo exact as to fix the very day and hour of the death of *Adam*, and alſo of ſeveral of the other patriarchs (7). But we preſume our omitting thoſe niceties will not be judged a fault.

(C) The *Jews* ſay, both *Adam* and *Eve* were very penitent (8), and that he in particular was ſo exceedingly afflicted for his ſin, that he had died of grief had not GOD ſent the angel *Raziel* to comfort him (9). They even acknowledged him to have been favoured with the gift of prophecy, and that he foretold the flood (10). The *Mohammedans* alſo do not only reckon him among the prophets, but make him one of the ſix (the others being *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *Jeſus* and *Mohammed* who introduced a new diſpenſation; and ſay, that GOD gave him ten books of revelations, containing laws, promiſes, threatnings, and prophecies (11): which notion perhaps they borrowed of the *Jewiſh* authors, who pretend, that *Adam* wrote the book intitled *Sepher Jeſira*, or *the book of the Creation* (which others attribute to *Abraham*), and certain treatiſes

(5) *See before, p.* 146, *in the Notes.* (6) Syncellus *ex parva Geneſ. p.* 11. & Sethiani *Hæretici, apud Epiphan. l.* 1. *p.* 287. (7) *Vid.* Eutych. *p.* 19, *&c.* Elmacin. *p.* 0. *&c.* (8) *Vid.* R. Eliezer *Pirk. c.* 20. R. Gedal *p.* 92. (9) *Lib.* Jeſira. *Vid.* Reuchlin. *de arte cabaliſtica, p* 8. (10) Joſeph. *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 2. (11) *Vid.* Hotting. *Hiſt. Orient. p.* 15. Reland. *de rel. Moham. p.* 21.

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notwithstanding the uncharitable opinions of some to the contrary (D).

Conjectures concerning the place of his burial.

Where he was buried cannot be collected from scripture. St. *Jerom* [u] seems to approve of the opinion of those who imagine he was buried at *Hebron* (E) in the cave of *Machpelah*, or the double cave, which *Abraham*, many ages after, bought for a burying-place for himself and family [w]. The oriental christians say, that when *Adam* saw death approaching he called *Seth*, *Enos*, *Cainan*, and *Mahalaleel* to him, and ordered them to embalm his body with myrrh, frankincense, and cassia, and deposite it in a certain cave on the top of a mountain, which he had chosen for the repository of his remains thence named the cave of *al Konûz* [x] (F). The primitive

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A commentator has an odd ſtory, which is abſurdly enough fathered on ſome *Jews*; that *Seth*, at the command of an angel, put into *Adam*'s mouth, when he was interred, a ſeed of the tree of knowledge, which afterwards grew to be a tree, and that CHRIST's croſs was made of it (6).

To accompany this ſtory, we ſhall add two more of the ſame ſtamp, though not ſo properly belonging to this place. One is, that *Eve* broke a branch from the tree of knowledge, of which ſhe made a cudgel, and by that cogent argument prevailed on her huſband to eat of the forbidden fruit (7). The other, that *Seth* planted a branch of the tree of life, which had been either brought to *Adam* by an angel, or begged by *Seth* at the gate of paradiſe; and that the ſame becoming a tree, *Moſes* afterwards from that tree took

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rhetorical flouriſhes and alluſions [z]. The *Mohammedans* will have *Adam*'s ſepulchre to have been on the mountain *Abu-kabis*, near *Mecca*; and the antient *Perſians* in *Serendib*, or *Ceylon*, where it was for ſome time, as they pretend, guarded by lions [a].

THE time of the death of *Eve*, the mother of all living (H), is not intimated in ſcripture, but there are ſome who venture to tell us, that ſhe out-lived her huſband ten years [b].

AFTER the death of *Adam*, the *Eaſtern* writers ſay, that *Seth* with his family ſeparated themſelves from the profligate race of *Cain*, and removed to the mountain where *Adam* was buried, which they choſe for their habitation; *Cain* and his family remaining below in the valley where *Abel* was ſlain [c]. But how this near neighbourhood is conſiſtent with ſcripture, which plainly intimates *Cain*'s baniſhment into a country at ſome conſiderable diſtance from the reſidence of *Adam* and his poſterity by *Seth*, we cannot conceive: unleſs it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that *Cain* or his deſcendants, left their own ſettlements to diſpoſſeſs *Seth* and his offspring; or elſe, that the poſterity of both were by this time ſo greatly encreaſed, that after gradually extending their borders on both ſides, they at length met, and ſtraitned each other. However this be, the *Eaſtern* tradition is, that the progeny of *Seth* lived in the ſaid mountain in great ſanctity and purity of manners (I). Their conſtant employment was praiſing GOD, from which they had few or no avocations; for their only food was the fruits of the trees which grew on the mountain, ſo that they had no occaſion to undergo any ſervile labours, nor the trouble of ſowing or getting in harveſt; they were utter ſtrangers to envy, injuſtice, or deceit. Their only oath was by *the blood of*

[z] See BAYLE Dict. Hiſt. Art. Adam, Rem. L. [a] Vid. D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. p. 56. [b] Apud SALIAN. t. 1. p. 231. [c] EUTYCH. p. 19.

his rod, with which he performed ſo many miracles, the bough, with which he made ſweet the bitter waters of *Marah*, and the pole whereon he fixed the brazen ſerpent (8).

(H) From whence ſhe had her name, which is properly written *Havvvah*, and derived from the root חיה *Haya*, *to live* (9).

(I) Our authors, if we may credit them, tell us, that paradiſe was ſo little higher than the mountain, that the children of *Seth* could hear the voices of the angels celebrating the praiſes of GOD, and even join them in that ſervice (10).

(8) *Vid. eund. p.* 608. & Moebium *de æneo ſerpente.* (9) *Geneſ.* iii. 20. (10) Elmacin. *p.* 6. Eutych. *p.* 20.

Abel;

Abel; and they every day went up to the top of the mountain to worship GOD, and to visit the body of *Adam*, as a means of procuring the divine blessing [d]. Year of the World 930. Year before Christ, 3376.

HOWEVER, what time they had to spare in these happy circumstances, they seem to have employed in cultivating their minds, and in sublime speculations; while the children of *Cain*, seeking no farther than present convenience and pleasure, were taken up with improving agriculture, and inventing mechanical arts and musical instruments. For it is said, that the offspring of *Seth*, by contemplation of the heavenly bodies, laid the foundations of the science of astronomy, and left their inventions should be forgotten, or lost before they were publickly known, understanding from a prediction of *Adam*'s that there would be a general destruction of all things, once by the rage of fire, and once by the violence and multitude of waters, they made two pillars, one of brick, and the other of stone, and engraved their inventions on each of them; that if the pillar of brick happened to be overthrown by the flood, that of stone might remain; which *Josephus* [e] tells us, was to be seen in his time in the land of *Siriad* (K).

HOW

[d] EUTYCH. p. 20. ELMACIN. p. 6. [e] JOSEPH. Ant. l. 1. c. 2.

(K) Where this land of *Siriad* was, is a great dispute. The name is variously written in the manuscripts, κατὰ τὴν Σιριάδα, & Συριάδα; by others Σίριδα (1), and by *Eustathius* Σπιριάδ, which last seems the more correct. Some place it in *Syria*; others (2), with a little more probability, have taken it to be the same with *Seirath* mentioned in scripture (3), and suppose the פְּסִילִים *pesilim*, which the *English* translation renders the *quarries*, near *Gilgal*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, were the ruins of *Seth*'s stone pillar. Yet others (4) understand those *pesilim*, or τὰ γλυπτὰ, *the sculptures*, as the *Septuagint* translate the word to have been certain idols, lately set up there by *Eglon*.

But the more certain opinion (5) is, that the *Syriadic* land was in *Egypt*; for we are told, that *Manetho* extracted his history from certain pillars there, whereon inscriptions had been made by *Thoth*, or the first *Mercury*, in the sacred letters and dialect; but were,

(1) Malela, Glycas, Cedrenus, & Vetus Interpr. (2) Vossius *de* LXX *Interpr. p.* 271. & *de ætat. mundi. c.* 10. Marsham *Canon. Chron. p.* 39. (3) *Judg.* iii. 26. (4) Chytræus, &c. (5) *Vid.* Dodwell. *Dissert. de Sanchon. p.* 26, 36. Fabric. *Bibliotb. Gr. l.* 1. c. 11. Stillingfleet *Orig. Sacr. l.* 1, c. 2. & *alios.*

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The defection of the sons of Seth.

How long the descendants of *Seth* continued thus religious, and imitators of their father's virtue, is uncertain. *Moses* says, *That when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the sons of* God *saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose*[f]. By which it appears, that the beginning of their corruption was their marrying into the wicked family of *Cain*, by which means their manners were soon debauched, and at length degenerated so far, that *the wickedness of man was very great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually*[g]. *Josephus* writes, that the family of *Seth* persevered in the true worship of God, and in the pursuit of virtue for seven generations; after which, in process of time, they neglected both, shewing twice as much eagerness after wickedness, as they had formerly shewn zeal for virtue; by which means they drew down on themselves the indignation of God[h].

The oriental writers place the beginning of this defection somewhat sooner, in the days of *Jared*[i], and in his fortieth year[k]; when they say one hundred of the sons of *Seth*, hearing the noise of the music, and riotous mirth of the

[f] Genes. vi. 1, 2. [g] Ibid. ver. 5. [h] Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 3. [i] Elmacin. p. 9. Eutych. p. 27. [k] Abu'l-farag. p. 8. Vid. etiam Epiphan. Heres. l. 1.

after the flood, translated from the sacred dialect into the *Greek* tongue, but written in the sacred letters, and laid up in books by the second *Mercury* in the sacred receſſes of the *Egyptian* temples (6). These pillars were in subterraneous caverns near *Thebes*, and beyond the *Nile*, not far from the sounding statue of *Memnon*, in a place called *Syringes* (7), which are described to be certain winding apartments under ground, and which (as it is said) those who were skilled in antient rites, foreseeing the coming of the deluge, and fearing lest the memory of their ceremonies should be obliterated, built and contrived in vaults dug with vast labour in several places; cutting on the walls many sorts of birds, and beasts, and innumerable kinds of animals, which they called hieroglyphic letters (8). And that *Seth* was not a name unknown to the *Egyptians*, appears from *Plutarch*, who tells us, that they constantly called *Typhon*, which was a *Greek* name, *Seth* (9); and hence, it is probable, *Josephus* was led into the mistake of ascribing these pillars to the son of *Adam*.

(6) Syncell. p. 40. Marcell. l. 22. p. 232. (7) Pausan. l. 1. p. 78. (8) Ammian. (9) Plut. *de Isid. & Osir.* p. 351, & 357

Cainites,

Cainites, agreed to go down to them from the holy mountain. And on their arrival among them were so captivated with the beauty of the women, who were naked, that they immediately defiled themselves with them [l]. And so these sons of *Seth* perished by whoring with the daughters of *Cain*; for when they offered to return again to their former abode, the stones of the mountain (it is said) became like fire, and permitted them to pass no farther [m]. The lubricity of the *Cainites* is described in very strong terms. The men neighed after the women like horses, and the women in the same manner after the men, committing whoredom and all manner of filthiness promiscuously with one another in public; the old women being, if possible, more brutish and lewd than the young. The fathers lay with their daughters, and the young men with their mothers, so that the children could not distinguish their parents, nor the parents their children. Year of the World 930. Year before Christ 3376.

THE appellation of the sons of GOD, given by *Moses* to the children of *Seth*, led *Josephus* [n], *Philo Judæus* [o], and several of the fathers [p] into a strange interpretation of this passage, as if the angels, who are also called in scripture the sons of GOD [q], were thereby asserted to have had to do with women, and to have begotten on them the insolent and impious race we shall mention immediately (L). This supposition *The opinion of those who supposed angels defiled themselves with women.*

[l] Idem, ibid. [m] EUTYCH. p. 27. [n] Jos ubi sup. [o] PHILO JUD. de gigant. p. 284. [p] JUSTIN M. TERTULLIAN, ATHENAG. CLEMENS ALEXANDR EUSEB. LACTANTIUS, AMBROSIUS, & alii apud Sixtum Senens. Bibl. S. l. 5. annot 77. SULP. SEVER. Hist. Sacr. l. 1. p. 8. [q] Job. i. 6. ii. 1. xxxviii. 7.

(L) This opinion seems to have been originally occasioned by some copies of the *Septuagint*, which in the days of St. *Austin*, had in this place *the angels of God* (1). *Lactantius* supposes the angels, who were guilty of this enormity, had been sent down by GOD to guard and take care of mankind, and being endued with free will, were charged by him not to forfeit the dignity of their celestial nature, by defiling themselves with the corruptions of the earth; but that the devil at length enticed them to debauch themselves with women. He adds, that being not admitted into heaven, by reason of the wickedness into which they had plunged themselves, they fell down to the earth, and became the devil's ministers. But that those who were begotten by them, being neither angels nor men, but of a middle nature, were not received

(1) August. *de civit. Dei.* lib. 15. c. 23.

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fition we think needs no refutation, being utterly repugnant to

into hell, no more than their parents were into heaven. Hence arose two kinds of dæmons, celeſtial and terreſtrial. Theſe are unclean ſpirits, the authors of whatever evils are committed, and whoſe prince is the devil (2). From hence very probably proceeded the notions of *Incubi*, or dæmons, who are ſuppoſed to have carnal knowledge of women (3).

But the fancy of angels defiling themſelves with women, has been greatly propagated by that forgery we have mentioned above, entitled the prophecy of *Enoch*. The fragments we have ſtill extant of which, give a more particular hiſtory of theſe imaginary tranſactions; wherefore we ſhall here inſert an extract of thoſe fragments, though ſome particulars might perhaps be more properly reſerved for another place.

When men were greatly encreaſed, they had daughters of ſuch excellent beauty, that the *Egregori*, or watching angels (4), fell in love with them, and propoſed to one another, that they ſhould go down, and chooſe themſelves wives of the daughters of men: to which *Semiazas*, their prince, replying, that he was apprehenſive they would not go through with the affair, but leave him to bear the guilt alone, they all ſwore and bound themſelves under imprecations, that they would not recede from their reſolution. The number of theſe *Egregori* was two hundred, who, in the days of *Jared*, deſcended on the top of mount *Hermon*, which was ſo called from the oath they had taken. Their princes were twenty, whoſe names (if the readers have any curioſity to know them) follow:

Semiazas, their chief,	*Zaciel*,	*Samiel*,
Atarcuph,	*Balciel*,	*Sarinas*,
Araciel,	*Azalzel*,	*Eumiel*,
Chobabiel,	*Pharmarus*,	*Tyriel*,
Orammame,	*Amariel*,	*Jumiel*,
Raniel,	*Anagemas*,	*Sariel*.
Sampſich,	*Thauſael*,	

Theſe, and the reſt of them, in the year of the world one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy, took themſelves wives, and began to commit lewdneſs with them, which they continued to do until the flood; and the women bore to them three generations. The firſt generation were the giants, the giants begat the *Nephilim*, and the *Nephilim* thoſe named *Eliud*, and they were multiplied according to their ſtature, and taught themſelves and their wives magic and enchantments. The tenth of their princes, named *Azalzel*, taught them to make ſwords, breaſt-plates, and inſtruments of war; as alſo the working of metals, particularly gold and ſilver, and

(2) Lactantius *de orig. err.* l. 2. c. 15. (3) *Vid.* Auguſt. *ubi ſup.* cap. 65. (4) *See* p. 101. *before in the notes.*

faſhioning

to the notions we have of the nature of those spiritual beings who

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fashioning various ornaments for the women: he also instructed them in the preparing of cosmetics, the polishing of precious stones, and the art of dying. These things the sons of men provided for themselves and their daughters, and they transgressed; and also seduced those that were virtuous among them, and wickedness prevailed greatly in the earth. *Semiazas*, the chief of these angels, taught the force of poisonous roots and herbs; *Pharmarus* the eleventh, charms and incantations; the ninth, *astroscopy*; the fourth, astrology; the eighth, aeroscopy; the third, the signs of the earth; the seventh, those of the sun; the twentieth, those of the moon; and in like manner each of them revealed certain secrets to their wives and children. Afterwards the giants began to devour human flesh: by which means the number of men daily decreasing, those that remained cried to heaven against their cruelty, and besought GOD to remember them. This the four arch-angels hearing, looked down upon the earth, and beholding a great deal of blood-shed thereon, and that all manner of impiety and disorder was committed, made their report thereof to GOD, and at his command bound the princes of those transgressors, and threw them into the abyss, there to be kept to the day of judgment (5). *Uriel* in particular was sent to *Noah*, the son of *Lamech*, to acquaint him, that the whole earth was to be destroyed by a deluge, and instruct him by what means to escape it. *Raphael* was ordered to bind *Azael* [*Azalzel*] hand and foot, and to throw him into darkness, in the desert of *Dudael*, and to lay him upon sharp stones, and cover him with darkness, that he might dwell therein for ever, being destined to the punishment of fire on the day of judgment. The words which follow, directing him to heal the earth of the wounds caused therein, by the secrets revealed by the *Egregori*, are something dark, and deserve not the trouble of an explication. *Gabriel*'s charge was to destroy the giants, the sons of the *Egregori*, by exciting them to mutual and intestine wars, that they might fall by each others hands; and *Michael* was commanded to bind *Semiazas*, and the rest of his companions, and to lead them, after they had seen the slaughter of their beloved sons, to the utmost parts of the earth, where they were to be confined for seventy generations, till the consummation of all things, and the day of judgment, when they were to be thrown into the gulph of fire. The giants, being begotten by a mixture of spirit and flesh, were condemned to become evil spirits, doing mischief upon the earth, appearing as spectres, and taking no food; but were to rise with mankind at the general resurrection. Therefore from the day of the slaughter of the giants, the *Nephilim*,

(5) *Ex primo libro* Enoch *apud Syncellum*, p. 11, 12, 13. *Vid.* 2 Pet. ii. 4.

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who are neither married nor given in marriage[r]; though it be hard to accuse, as some have done[f], those who have fallen into this mistake of heresy and blasphemy. Others indeed, and particularly several of the *Jewish* writers, by the sons of God, understand the fallen angels (M), who seeing the daughters of *Cain* walking in the nakedness of the flesh, and painting their eyes like whores, wandered after them, and took wives from among them [t].

While

[r] Matth. xxii. 30. Luke xx. 35, 36. [f] Philastrius Brixiensis. adv. Hær. cap. 108. Chrysost. Homil. 22. in Genes. c. v. [t] R Eliezer, c. 23.

the mighty men of the earth, and the great men of renown, the spirits which went forth from their souls, as from flesh, were to continue their mischievous employments till the last day. It was also decreed, that mount *Hermon*, where those angels mutually bound themselves by an oath, should never be without snow and cold till the day of judgment, when it should melt like wax. Mankind are also threatned with a general destruction, and that their life should be but one hundred and twenty years (6).

This is the substance of those fragments, many parts of which are so greatly corrupted, that it is difficult to make sense of them; but the best is, the loss is not great.

(M) Two of them were *Aza* and *Azael*, mentioned before (7). *Shamhazai* (whose name comes very near that of *Semiazas*) was another; he was the companion of *Azael*, and begat on some women *Hiyah* and *Hhiyah*, who begat *Sihon* and *Og*. *Shamhazai* is said to have repented of his crime, and in penance for the same to have hung himself up between heaven and earth, in which posture he still remains; but *Azael* continuing impenitent, presides over the womens toilets (8), and is the same with the goat *Azazel* mentioned by *Moses* (9). A fourth of these debauched angels, named *Mahzael*, is said to have lain with *Ham*'s wife about the time of the flood, and *Sihon*, it is pretended, was the issue of that adultery (10)

These antient traditions concerning angels were not unknown to *Mohammed*. The *Korân* (11) mentions two, named *Harût* and *Marût*, who taught magic at *Babel*. These, the commentators say, were sent down to be judges on earth, which office they executed with integrity for some time, till *Zohara*, or the star *Venus*, descended, and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint against her husband (though others say she was really a woman). As soon as they saw her, they fell in

(6) *Ex eod. ibid. p.* 24, 25, 26. (7) *Page* 154. *in the notes.* (8) Bereshi Rabba *in Genes.* vi. 2. (9) *Levitic.* xvi. 8. (10) Juchasin. (11) *Cap.* ii. *v.* 102, *&c.*

love

WHILE we were on this head, it may not be amiſs to mention another opinion, more reaſonable than the laſt, which is embraced by the *Jewiſh* interpreters [u]; they ſuppoſe, that by the ſons of GOD in this place, are meant the princes, great men, and magiſtrates of thoſe times, who, inſtead of uſing their authority to puniſh and diſcountenance vice, were themſelves the greateſt examples and promoters of lewdneſs and debauchery, taking the daughters of men, or the inferior and meaner ſort of people, and debauching them by force (N). Year of the World 930. Year before Chriſt, 3376.

THE example of theſe ſons of *Seth*, who tempted by the allurement of the daughters of *Cain*, firſt left their ſeat of innocence, was afterwards followed by others, who from time to time deſcended in great numbers from the holy mountain, and took them wives in like manner of that profligate and abandoned race [w]. From theſe unhappy marriages iſſued a generation, which ſeem to have been no leſs extraordinary for their great ſtature and ſtrength, than for their monſtrous impiety and injuſtice. *There were in thoſe days giants* (O) *in the earth* [x], *The iſſue of the Sethites and the daughters of Cain, and their impiety.*

[u] TARGUMIM ONKELOS & BEN UZZIEL. R. SOL. YARHI, ABEN EZRA, &c. [w] EUTYCH. p. 27.

love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to ſatisfy their deſires; but ſhe flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels alſo returned, but were not admitted. On the interceſſion of a certain man, they were allowed to chooſe, whether they would be puniſhed in this life or in the other; whereupon they choſe the former, and now ſuffer puniſhment accordingly in *Babel* (12). This ſtory was taken directly from the *Perſians*, who make mention of two rebellious angels of the ſame names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downward, in the territory of *Babel* (13).

(N) To ſupport this interpretation, they tell us that the verb לקח, which is generally rendered *to take*, ſignifies alſo to *raviſh*, or *take by violence*.

(O) The *Hebrew* word is נפילים *Nephilim*, from נפל *Naphal*, to *fall*; which derivation is urged in defence of that opinion, which makes them incarnate ſpirits, or the fallen angels, under the ſhape of men (14). The targum of *Ben Uzziel* agrees with this interpretation, and names two of thoſe angels then converſant on earth, *viz. Shambazai* and *Uziel*. But the root ſignifies alſo to *fall upon*, to *ruſh with violence*, &c. According to which ſenſe *Symmachus* tranſlates *Nephilim* βιαίους, & *Aquila* ἐπιπίπτοντας. The other tranſlations generally rendering it *Giants*.

(12) *Vid.* Maracc. *in Alcor. p.* 44. (13) *Vid.* Hyde *de rel. vet. Perſar. cap.* 12. (14) *Vid.* Paul. Burgenſ. *in loc.*

Some

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earth [x], who being most probably of *Cain*'s race, both by father and mother, and born before the conjunction of the two families

[x] Genes. vi. 4.

Some take these *Nephilim* to have been men of ordinary stature, and so called on account only of their enormous impiety, rapaciousness, and insolence (15), which, as it seems, was the opinion of *Josephus* (16). But others, with greater reason, believe they were also of extraordinary stature and strength, (17); the word *Nephilim* being manifestly used elsewhere in scripture (18) to denote men above the common size. Not but that it may also signify those that *fall away*, *apostates* (19).

That there were in these antient times men of a gigantic size and strength, is a thing very credible, both from later instances, in historians, both sacred and prophane, and modern instances in our own times (20). But we must not hence conclude, as some have done, that mankind in general were in the first ages of a much larger stature than they are at present (21); giants being manifestly spoken of as rarities, and the wonders of their time, though their number seems to have been much greater before the flood.

The opinion of *J. Bolduc* (22), the *Capucine*, is too singular to be omitted. He supposes, that the different words by which giants seem to be intended in scripture, as *Nephilim*, *Raphaim*, *Zuzim*, *Gibborim*, *Enakim*, *Zamzummim*, *Elim*, &c. do not, for the most part, denote the uncommon size, but the strength and excellence of the piety and truth of the holy patriarchs, the first propagators of mankind and divine worship. The *Nephilim*, in particular, he imagines to be those who were distinguished from others, in that they worshipped God by *falling down*, or prostration; in the same manner as the fathers of the order of St. *Francis* of *Assise* are remarkable for adoring in the same posture, and kissing the earth, before the host.

Some authors have inquired into the original cause of this monstrous stature of the giants; St. *Cyrill* thinks it a judgment of God on the lust of their parents (23). They who suppose them to be the issue of the fallen spirits, say, it was by their artful promoting and raising the lechery and pleasure of the women with whom they had to do (24); some attribute it to the vigour of the sons of *Seth* (25);

(15) Philo Jud. *de Gigant.* Gorop. Becanus *in Gigantomach.* Temporarius. (16) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 3. (17) *Vid.* August. *de civit. Dei. l.* 15. *c.* 4. Chrys. *in loc.* Theodoret. *quæst.* 48. *in Genes.* R. Sol. Yarhi, Aben Ezra. (18) *Numb.* xiii. 32, 33. (19) *See* 2 *Kings* xxv. 11. *Jerem.* xxxvii. 13. *and* xxxviii. 19. (20) *Vid.* Derham's *Physico-Theol. b.* v. *c.* 4. Grew's *Cosmol. Sacr. b.* 1. *c.* 5. § 25. (21) *Vid.* Homer. Virgil. (22) *In tract. de ecclesia ante legem.* (23) *Lib.* 3. *in Genes.* (24) *Vid.* Fr. Vales. *de Sacra Philos. c.* 8. (25) *Vid.* Heid. *Hist. Patr. t.* 1. *p.* 202.

while

families (P), made use of their superior power to spoil and tyrannize over the weaker. And the same course of life was followed by the new mongrel offspring, who signalized themselves also by robberies and oppressions, and *became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown* [y].

MANKIND running thus headlong into all manner of vice, and the posterity of *Seth*, who had for some ages retained their integrity, becoming at length, by their imprudent alliance with the race of *Cain*, infected with the same contagion of profaneness and immorality, so that all sorts of wickedness began to overspread the earth; and this, notwithstanding the frequent admonitions they probably received by persons from time to time sent by GOD; the divine vengeance might with justice have been immediately executed on so perverse a generation: but GOD, out of his great mercy, was pleased to grant them a convenient time for repentance, no less than one hundred and twenty years; during which space, but no longer his spirit should *strive* with *man* [z], or endeavour to awaken and reclaim them from their wicked course of life (Q).

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The 120 years of God's forbearance.

AMIDST

[y] Genes. vi. 4. [z] Ibid. v. 3.

while others make *Seth*'s descendants in general to have been of a very large size, and those of *Cain* on the contrary of a less (26).

(P) This the words of *Moses* seem to imply; *There were giants* (says he) *in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of* GOD *came in unto the daughters of Men, and they bare children to them*, &c. So that there appear to have been two distinct races of *Nephilim*; one of which arose pretty early in the world, being of the posterity of *Cain*; and another, which began some ages after, being the issue of the sons of *Seth* by the daughters of *Cain* (27); and both of them probably continued to the flood.

(Q) This passage of scripture is variously interpreted; the *English* translation seems to give the true sense of the *Hebrew*; but the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and *Syriac* versions render the word יָדוֹן (which we translate) *strive with, continue, or dwell in*; supposing the meaning to be, either that GOD's spirit of admonition, or forbearance, would not always wait on man; or else that the spirit, or breath of life, should not always continue in him; that is, no longer than the space of one hundred and twenty years, after which if he continued impenitent, he should be destroyed. And this is the sense of *Onkelos*. The *Jews* have much useless learning in their comments on this text (28). But they who infer from hence, that the standard of man's life was now reduced and limited

(26) Chrysost. *in loc.* Eutych. (27) *Vid.* Heid. *ubi supr. p.* 185. (28) *Vid. eundem ibidem. p.* 343, *&c.*

to

Year of the World 1287. Year before Christ 3019.

Noah preaches.

AMIDST this general corruption, one man however was found to be just and perfect in his generation (R), walking with GOD [a]. This extraordinary person was *Noah* (S), the son of *Lamech*, who, not thinking it sufficient to be righteous himself, unless he did his utmost to turn others likewise to righteousness, by admonition as well as example, became a preacher [b] to the abandoned race among which he lived, employing both his counsel and authority to bring them to a reformation of their manners, and to restore the true religion among them (T). But all he could do was to no purpose, for

[a] *ibid. v.* 9. [b] 2 Peter ii. 5.

to one hundred and twenty years (13), are manifestly mistaken; for that reduction was not made immediately after the flood, nor till the days of *Moses*; and St. *Peter* plainly approves the other sense, when he observes, that *the long suffering of God waited in the Days of* Noah, *while the ark was preparing* (14): yet this notion spread even among the heathen writers (15).

(R) From this expression some *Jews* would infer, that *Noah* was a good man comparatively speaking only, in respect of the great wickedness of the rest of the world: but that had he lived in *Abraham*'s time he would have had but a small share of reputation for virtue (16). But this unjust surmise, had it any foundation in the words of *Moses*, is refuted by the testimony of *Ezekiel* (17), who names him as one of the three that had been most eminent for righteousness, and should save their lives by their own merits in the most universal calamities. It is true, they give another reason for their opinion, *viz.* because *Noah* did not intercede for the old world as *Abraham* did for *Sodom*.

(S) *Lamech* gave his son this name, which signifies *comfort*; for *this same*, says he, *shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed.* Which words, not expressing the means by which *Noah* was thus to comfort his friends, some writers have thence inferred, that he invented the tools and instruments of husbandry (18).

(T) The eastern christians say, that when GOD ordered *Noah* to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of in the *East*, at this day, instead of bells to call the people to church, and named in *Arabic* ناقوس, *Nákûs*, which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an

(13) Joseph. *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 3. Philo *de gigant.* Procop. *in locum.* (14) 1 *Pet.* iii. 20. *Vid.* Augustin. *de civit. Dei. l.* 15, *c.* 24. (15) *Vid.* Treb. Pollion. *in Claud.* (16) Philo Jud. *de Abraham, p.* 354. R. Sol. Yarhi *in locum.* (17) *Ch.* xiv. 14, 18. (18) Yarhi *in locum.* Zohar, *paraſh.* 1.

opportunity

for they continued incorrigibly obſtinate; ſo that at length (as *Joſephus* c tells us) finding himſelf and family in imminent danger of ſome violence, in return for his good will, he departed from among them with his wife and children. Year of the World 1287. Year before Chriſt, 3019.

ON his departure, it is probable, they fell into greater diſorders than before, having now none to controul, or even to trouble them with unwelcome advice. *Moſes* aſſures us, that *the wickedneſs of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was continually evil* d, and that *the earth was corrupt and filled with violence, all fleſh* (U) *having corrupted his way upon the earth* e. Which words leave no room to inquire into the particular crimes of the antediluvian world, which ſeems to have been over-run with a complication of all manner of debauchery and wickedneſs, and above all with violence and injuſtice towards one another. Whether idolatry was practiſed before the flood, is a queſtion we ſhall diſcuſs elſewhere; but the eaſtern authors are for the affirmative, and ſay, the children of *Seth* were ſeduced to it by the *Cainites* f. *Mankind incorrigible.*

THINGS being in this ſtate, GOD, as the ſacred hiſtorian pathetically expreſſes it, *repented, that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart* g. And the time of forbearance being elapſed, he paſſed the ſentence of their utter deſtruction by a flood of waters, and not only of them, but of the beaſts of the earth, and every creeping thing, and Year of the World 1307. Year before Chriſt, 2909.

c Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. d Geneſ. vi. 5. e Ib. v. 11, 12.
f EUTYCH. Annal. p. 31. g Geneſ. vi. 6.

opportunity of daily admoniſhing his people of the impending danger of the deluge (2).

The *Mohammedans* likewiſe agree to make *Noah* a prophet, and, as has been obſerved, one of the ſix principal ones (3), though he had no written revelations delivered to him (4). The *Korân* mentions his preaching to thoſe of his time in ſeveral places (5) Some of their writers pretend he was ſent to convert *Zohâk*, one of the *Perſian* kings of the firſt race, who refuſed to hearken to him. He then went to peach GOD's unity publickly, but could make no more proſelytes than eighty, who went with him into the ark (6).

(U) The oriental writers agree in making this defection ſo univerſal, that at laſt, they ſay, there was none left in the holy mountain, of all *Seth*'s race, except only *Noah* and his wife, and his three ſons and their wives (7).

(2) Eutych. *Annal. p.* 37. (3) *See before, p.* 159. *in the notes.* (4) *Vid.* Reland. *de rel. Moham. p.* 34. (5) *Cap.* 11 *v.* 26. *cap.* 26. *v.* 105, *&c.* (6) *Vid.* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 675. (7) Eutych. *Annal. p.* 35.

Year of the World 1307. Year before Christ 2999.

of the fowls of the air [h], which became involved in the calamity of their masters. But *Noah found grace in the eyes of the* LORD [i], who had before, probably at the beginning of the one hundred and twenty years, acquainted him with his design of bringing a deluge on the earth; and as a means to preserve him and his from that calamity, directed him to make an ark, or vessel of a certain form and size, capable of containing not only himself and family (for he had three sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, who were all married before the flood), but such numbers of animals of all sorts, which were liable to perish in the flood, as would be sufficient to preserve the several species and again replenish the earth, together with all necessary provisions for them [k]. All which *Noah* performed, and so, by GOD's peculiar favour and providence, he and those that were with him escaped this tremendous and, otherwise, general destruction; which event, the most extraordinary that is recorded in history, and deserving our greatest attention, must be the subject of a future discourse, after we shall have taken a view of what the prophane writers offer us towards the history of this period.

The whole world destroyed by a flood, except Noah *and his family.*

SECT. V.

The prophane history before the flood.

Accounts of antediluvian affairs besides that of Moses.

BESIDES the particulars in the preceding section taken from the writings of *Moses*, the only records to be depended on in these early times, we have some farther accounts relating to this period, transmitted to us by antient writers; particularly those of the *Phœnician*, *Babylonian*, and *Ægyptian* antiquites, which we must not omit; leaving, however, the reader to judge of their credibility.

Sanchoniatho's Phœnician *history.*

SANCHONIATHO, who wrote the *Phœnician* antiquities (X), began his history from the origin of the world and of mankind; but his work being apparently written with a design to apologize for idolatry [l], instead of deducing the history (as *Moses* has done) from *Adam* in the line of *Seth*, the worshippers of the true GOD, he has, according to the most probable hypothesis (Y), given us that of the idolatrous line

[h] Ib. ver. 7. [i] Ib. ver. 8. [k] Ib. ver. 14, &c. [l] See the introd. p. 24.

(X) The credit of the fragments we have remaining of this work and the age of its author, are inquired into in the preface.

(Y) *Viz.* That of bishop *Cumberland*, the substance of whose remarks the reader will find in the following notes.

of

of *Cain*; that the religion which this author, or those he transcribed, patronized, might appear to be introduced by the elder branch, a circumstance which they might think, gave it no small lustre and reputation.

IN the following extract from the remaining fragments of this author, we might justly be surprized to find not so much as the least mention of the deluge, did we not consider, that destruction was a judgment on the idolatrous world, with which the professors of the true religion probably reproached the heathens, and which the latter were therefore desirous to conceal, to bury, if possible, the very memory of so extraordinary a monument of divine vengeance and their own shame.

SANCHONIATHO having delivered his cosmogony, or ge- *Generation* neration of the other parts of the world [m], begins his history I. of mankind with the production of the first pair of mortals [n], whom *Philo*, his translator, calls *Protogonus* and *Æon* (Z), the latter of whom found out the food which is gathered from trees.

THEIR issue were called *Genus* and *Genea* (A), and dwelt *Generation* in *Phœnicia*: but when great droughts came, they stretched II. forth

[m] Vid. ibid. p. 23. [n] Vid. ibid. p. 95.

(Z) That these two were *Adam* and *Eve*, appears not only from their being the first of human kind, but also from their names, Πρωτόγονος *the first produced*, and Ἀιὼν *life* (which is the signification of that word in the feminine gender, the masculine article τον, prefixed to it in the original, being a mistake of the transcriber;) the latter of them bearing a near resemblance to *Eve* both in sense and sound. What our author immediately mentions of the woman's first gathering food from trees, seems to allude to *Eve*'s first eating the forbidden fruit (1).

(A) *Genus* abating the termination, makes a fair approach in sound to the name of *Cain*; and by its signification seems very proper to denote the man who was the first-begotten in the ordinary course of nature. The *Greek* word γνάω, whence the *Latin gigno* comes, being also probably derived from קנה *Kana* (*K* and *G* being letters of the same organ, and consequently easily changed into each other), the root from which the name of *Cain* was formed. *Genea* may signify only the wife of *Genus*, as *Caia* does the wife of *Caius* in the civil law (2).

As to what follows, that *Cain* and his wife dwelt in *Phœnicia*, this seems repugnant to the *Mosaic* history, where *Nod* is said to

(1) *Vid.* Grot. *de veritate Rel. Christ. in notis ad* lib. 1. §. 16. Cumberl. *on Sanchon.* p. 215, &c. (2) Cumberl. *ibid.* p. 219, &c.

be

forth their hands to heaven towards the ſun (B); for him they thought the only God and Lord of heaven, calling him *Beel-ſamen*, which in *Phœnician* is *Lord of heaven*, and in *Greek Zeus*. For we, ſays our author, not vainly, have frequently diſtinguiſhed thoſe names, but with reſpect to the later ſignification of names accruing to them from later things; which the *Greeks* not knowing, have conſtrued otherwiſe, being deceived with the ambiguity of their ſignifications.

Generation III. AFTERWARDS from *Genus*, the ſon of *Protogonus* and *Æon*, other mortal iſſue was begotten, whoſe names were *Phos*, *Pur*, and *Phlox*, that is, *Light*, *Fire*, and *Flame* (C). Theſe found out the way of generating fire, by the rubbing of pieces of wood againſt each other, and taught men the uſe

be on the eaſt of *Eden*. But it may not be impertinent to add, what has been obſerved, that there was a city in *Canaan* called *Cain*, within the bounds aſſigned to the tribe of *Judah* (3). In the beſt maps it is ſituated not far from the ſea, on a promontory lying within the country, which the *Philiſtines* kept long in their poſſeſſion; and it is not likely, that any who owned themſelves derived from *Seth*, ſhould build a city, and then brand it with the odious name of *Cain*; but it is poſſible, it might be either built by ſome of his family before the flood, and its ruins be repaired afterwards ſtill keeping his name; *Joppa*, another city in that Neighbourhood, being alſo ſaid to be more antient than the deluge (4). Or it might be built by the old *Philiſtines* before *Joſhua*'s time; and they being deſcended from *Mizraim*, might, though falſely, believe, as *Sanchoniatho* reports, that he was of *Cain*'s line, and thence might call this city by his name (5).

(B) This ſeems to have been the firſt introduction of idolatry, which began with the worſhip of the ſun; ſeveral of *Cain*'s deſcendants added other methods of idolatrous worſhip, diſtinctly ſet down by this author; they proceeded to deify the ſeveral parts of nature and men after their death, and even to conſecrate plants ſhooting out of the earth, which the firſt men, or thoſe in the elder ages, judged to be gods, and worſhipped, as thoſe that ſuſtained the lives of themſelves and their poſterity, as well as of their anceſtors: to theſe they made their meat and drink offerings; which *Sanchoniatho* ſays, were the devices of worſhip agreeing with the weakneſs and want of boldneſs in their minds (6).

(C) *Hebrew* names like theſe, though unuſual among us, are mentioned in after times in ſcripture; as, *Ur*, *Uri*, *Baor*, and *Lahabim*, which ſignify *fire* and *flames*, and anſwer *Philo*'s well enough. It is ſuppoſed, they were ſo called from their inventing the method of kindling and uſing fire (7).

(3) *Joſh.* xv. 57. (4) Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* l. 5. c 13. (5) Cumberl. *ubi ſupr* p. 220, &c (6) Sanchon. *apud Euſeb. ubi infra.* (7) Cumberl. *ubi ſup. p.* 237.

thereof.

thereof. Theſe begat ſons of vaſt bulk and height, whoſe names were given to the mountains on which they ſeized: ſo from them were named mount *Caſſius*, and *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and *Brathys* (D). *Generation* IV.

OF theſe laſt were begotten *Memrumus* and *Hypſuranius* (E), but they were ſo named by their mothers, the women of thoſe times, who without ſhame lay with any man they could light upon (F). *Hypſuranius* inhabited *Tyre*, and he invented the making of huts of reeds, and ruſhes, and the *papyrus*. He alſo fell into enmity with his brother *Uſous* (G), who firſt invented a covering for his body out of the ſkins of the wild beaſts which he could catch. And when violent tempeſts of winds and rains came, the boughs in *Tyre* being rubbed againſt each other, took fire, and burnt the wood there. And *Uſous*, having taken a tree and broke off its boughs, firſt was ſo bold as to venture upon it into the ſea. He alſo conſecrated two rude ſtones, or pillars, to fire and wind, and he worſhipped them, and poured out to them the blood of ſuch wild beaſts as had been caught in hunting (H). But when theſe were dead, *Generation* V

(D) This generation were inhabitants and lords in the great mountains which took their names from them. So *Seir*, a name of *Edau*, is ſuppoſed to have been given to the mountain which he poſſeſſed, though it be proleptically given to that country before his birth (2).

(E) *Bochart* makes theſe two but one perſon, reading, Memrumus, *who is alſo called* Hypſuranius, the latter name ſeeming to be a tranſlation of the firſt, which *Bochart* thinks has loſt a ſyllable, *Mem* being left inſtead of *Samen*, or שמים *Shamaim*, ſignifying *heaven*, to anſwer Ὕψιστος in *Philo*'s tranſlation, as *Rum* does ὕψος or *high*. *Scaliger* thinks it only put inſtead of מרום *Mimum*, *from on high*. Biſhop *Cumberland* derives it with leſs change from רום *Rum*, and מים *Maim*, ſignifying *waters from on high*, or rain from above (3).

(F) The immorality of the womens proſtituting their bodies, ſo plainly confeſſed by our author, agrees with the intimation which *Moſes* gives concerning the debauchery of theſe ages, and the general corruption of the world which enſued upon it.

(G) *Uſous* is thought to be the ſame with עוץ *Ous*, i. e. *ſtrong*, a name long after given to the ſon of *Aram*, whom *Joſephus* calls *Uſus*, and we write *Uz*; the termination in *Joſephus* only differs from *Philo*'s *Ouſous*. (4).

(H) The wind and fire, to which theſe two pillars were conſecrated, ſeem to have been thoſe violent ones that had burnt the wood. This is the oldeſt inſtance of worſhipping theſe lower to

(2) *Vid eund. ibid.* (3) *Idem. ibid. p* 231. (4) *Idem ibid p* 238.

forth their hands to heaven towards the ſun (B); for him they thought the only God and Lord of heaven, calling him *Beelſamen*, which in *Phœnician* is *Lord of heaven*, and in *Greek Zeus*. For we, ſays our author, not vainly, have frequently diſtinguiſhed thoſe names, but with reſpect to the later ſignification of names accruing to them from later things; which the *Greeks* not knowing, have conſtrued otherwiſe, being deceived with the ambiguity of their ſignifications.

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(3) *Joſh.* xv. 57. (4) Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* l. 5. c. 13. (5) Cumberl. *ubi ſupr.* p. 229, &c. (6) Sanchon. *apud Euſeb. ubi infra.* (7) Cumberl. *ubi ſup.* p. 237.

thereof.

thereof. These begat sons of vast bulk and height, whose names were given to the mountains on which they seized: so from them were named mount *Cassius*, and *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and *Brathys* (D). *Generation* IV.

OF these last were begotten *Memrumus* and *Hypsuranius* (E), but they were so named by their mothers, the women of those times, who without shame lay with any man they could light upon (F). *Hypsuranius* inhabited *Tyre*, and he invented the making of huts of reeds, and rushes, and the *papyrus*. He also fell into enmity with his brother *Usous* (G), who first invented a covering for his body out of the skins of the wild beasts which he could catch. And when violent tempests of winds and rains came, the boughs in *Tyre* being rubbed against each other, took fire, and burnt the wood there. And *Usous*, having taken a tree and broke off its boughs, first was so bold as to venture upon it into the sea. He also consecrated two rude stones, or pillars, to fire and wind, and he worshipped them, and poured out to them the blood of such wild beasts as had been caught in hunting (H). But when these were dead, *Generation* V

(D) This generation were inhabitants and lords in the great mountains which took their names from them. So *Seir*, a name of *Esau*, is supposed to have been given to the mountain which he possessed, though it be proleptically given to that country before his birth (2).

(E) *Bochart* makes these two but one person, reading, Memrumus, *who is also called* Hypsuranius, the latter name seeming to be a translation of the first, which *Bochart* thinks has lost a syllable, *Mem* being left instead of *Samen*, or שמים *Shamaim*, signifying *heaven*, to answer Ὑψιστος in *Philo*'s translation, as *Rum* does ὕψος or *high*. *Scaliger* thinks it only put instead of מנרום *Minrum*, *from on high*. Bishop *Cumberland* derives it with less change from רום *Rum*, and מים *Maïm*, signifying *waters from on high*, or issue from above (3).

(F) The immorality of the womens prostituting their bodies, so plainly confessed by our author, agrees with the intimation which *Moses* gives concerning the debauchery of these ages, and the general corruption of the world which ensued upon it.

(G) *Usous* is thought to be the same with עוץ *Ous*, i. e. *strong*, a name long after given to the son of *Aram*, whom *Josephus* calls *Ouses*, and we write *Uz*; the termination in *Josephus* only differs from *Philo*'s *Ousous*. (4).

(H) The wind and fire, to which these two pillars were consecrated, seem to have been those violent ones that had burnt the wood. This is the oldest instance of worshipping these lower sort

(2) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (3) *Idem. ibid. p.* 231. (4) *Idem. ibid. p.* 238.

dead, thoſe that remained conſecrated to them ſtumps of wood and pillars, worſhipping them, and kept anniverſary feaſts unto them (I).

Generation VI. MANY years after this generation, came *Agreus* and *Halieus* (K), the inventors of the arts of hunting and fiſhing, from whom huntſmen and fiſhermen are named.

Generation VII. OF theſe were begotten two brothers, the inventors of iron and of the forging thereof: one of theſe, called *Chry-*

of naturally immortal gods; which it is probable were worſhipped becauſe the fire and winds are of kindred to celeſtial or ethereal matter. The *Greek* does not expreſly ſay, that the blood of the wild beaſts was poured out, but it is conceived neceſſary ſo to underſtand the words σπένδειν ἐκ θηρίων, becauſe there is nothing elſe in them, beſides their blood, which can be poured out as a libation. This is therefore obſerved to be the firſt offering of blood to inferior deities. And becauſe this was that of hunted wild beaſts, of whoſe blood no great quantity could be gotten to be poured out of veſſels; we may infer, that *Uſous* offered ſome part of their fleſh, with their blood dropping out of their limbs. And ſince there is no reaſon to doubt, but he eat part of what he had taken in hunting, as he offered part; this is the firſt example of eating fleſh before the flood; and the reſtriction under which it was afterwards granted to *Noah*, ſeems to intimate, that the wild antediluvian ſons of *Cain* had fallen into the barbarity of eating raw and bloody fleſh, forbidden therefore to *Noah* and his poſterity, both in the caſe of ſacrifice and of ordinary diet, to prevent all correſpondence with their ſavage practices (5).

(I) Here is the connexion of the worſhip of men after death, with that of the parts of nature. But it does not appear, any ſacrifice or prayer was as yet made to them as gods, as is expreſly ſaid hereafter of *Vulcan*.

(K) Theſe names are *Greek*, and therefore *Philo*'s tranſlation of ſome eaſtern names of like import. All that can be underſtood of this age is, that the arts or employments here mentioned, were then much improved, for *Uſous* was a huntſman before.

Though the connexion of this generation with the preceding, be expreſſed more ambiguouſly than any other in the whole pedigree, by the words, *after much time*; which may occaſion a doubt, whether this generation was the immediate offspring of the laſt or not; yet if we conſider, how far ſome of the antediluvians were advanced in years before their children were born, we muſt allow, that no argument can be built thereon for the negative. And an interpolation of other generations cannot be admitted without owning ſo many more generations in *Cain*'s line before the flood, which would make his line to have more links in it than *Seth*'s, a circumſtance we have no reaſon to believe (6).

(5) *Idem, ibid. p.* 239, 240. (6) *Idem, ibid. p.* 242, *&c.*

for (L),

for (L), the ſame with *Hephæſtus*, or *Vulcan*, exerciſed himſelf in words, and charms, and divinations; and he found out the hook, bait, and fiſhing line, and boats ſlightly built, and he was the firſt of all men that ſailed. Wherefore he alſo was worſhipped after his death for a god, and they called him *Zeus Michius*, or *Jupiter* the engineer (M); and ſome ſay, his brothers invented the way of making walls of brick.

AFTERWARDS from this generation came two brothers, one of which was called *Technites*, or *the Artiſt*, the other *Geïnus Autochthon* (N), *the home-born man of the earth*. Theſe found out to mingle ſtubble, or ſmall twigs, with the bricky earth, and to dry them in the ſun, and ſo made tiling. *Generation* VIII.

BY theſe were begotten others, of which one was called *Agrus* [Field] and the other *Agrouerus*, or *Agrotes* (O) [huſbandman] *Generation* IX.

(L) *Bochart*'s origination of this name from חרשׁ־אור *Choresur*, which he renders Πυριτεχνίτης, *an artificer by fire*, is not improbable. Yet Biſhop *Cumberland* rather derives it from a ſimple root חרץ *Charas, to beſtir one's ſelf vigorouſly, to cut*, &c. from whence χρῦσος, *beaten, or cut gold*, is allowed to come, and why not *Chryſor?* ſince it differs only in termination, and compoſitions muſt not be admitted in eaſtern words without neceſſity.

This *Chryſor* is the firſt man our author informs us of, who was worſhipped as a god after his death, a plain confeſſion that ſuch worſhip was not from the beginning. It is remarkable, that as this ſort of idolatry began in the eighth generation, and the flood was drawing near in the next generation but one, ſo it is more than probable, that all, or moſt of thoſe who were concerned in this firſt deifying of men, if they lived to be any thing near the age of their contemporaries of *Seth*'s line, were drowned therein (1).

(M) The original is *Diamichius*. But our learned biſhop chooſes to divide the word, and derives *Michius* from מחי *Machi, a machine* (2).

(N) *Technites* ſeems to be a tranſlation of the eaſtern name *Malachi*, from מלאכה *Malâca, workmanſhip, art*. The other, *Geïnus*, ſignifying *earthy* has ſome affinity with *Epher*, and *Ephron*, *Canaaniti/h* names, and probably uſed by *Sanchoniatho* (3)

(O) This generation is remarkable, becauſe to the men thereof, the firſt ſtatue, or idol to be worſhipped, and the firſt temple we read of, was erected in *Phœnicia*; a ſmall temple, or rather tabernacle, it was like that of *Moloch* and his ſtar *Chiun*, or *Remphan* (4), and drawn by oxen, in the ſame manner as the ark, or epitome of GOD's tabernacle, was ſent home by the *Philiſtines* ſucceſſors to the old *Phœnicians* in their religion and abode, upon a new cart, drawn by milch-kine (5).

(1) *Idem, ibid p.* 244, &c. (2) *Idem, ibid p.* 232. (3) *Ibid. p.* 246. (4) *Amos v.* 26. *Acts. vii.* 43. (5) 1 *Sam. vi.*

[husbandman] who had a ſtatue much worſhipped, and a temple carried about by one, or more yoke of oxen in *Phœnicia*: and among thoſe of *Byblus* he is eminently called the greateſt of the gods. Theſe found out how to make courts about mens houſes, and fences, and caves, or cellars. Huſbandmen, and ſuch as uſe dogs in hunting, derive from theſe; and they are alſo called *Aletæ*, and *Titans*.

Generation X.

Of theſe were begotten *Amynus* and *Magus* (P), who ſhewed men to conſtitute villages and flocks.

The names of theſe men import gods of huſbandry, as *Pan*, *Pales*, and *Sylvanus* among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Biſhop *Cumberland* gueſſes that in *Sanchoniatho*, the perſon whom *Philo* expreſſes by *Agrus*, might be called *Siddim*, or *Sadid*, a name whereby one of *Cronus*'s ſons is afterwards called; either of which will anſwer the *Greek* (12).

The *Egyptians* whoſe religion and deſcent was the ſame with that of the old *Phœnicians*, beſides *Pan*, had an antient deity, named *Aroueris*, mentioned by *Plutarch*, and by ſome taken to be *Apollo*, by others *Orus Senior*, and by *Scaliger* (13) *Anubis*. But biſhop *Cumberland* thinks, he was the ſame that is here called *Agrouerus*; and if the *g* is allowed to melt away, as it often does, or if we take Ἄρῳὸς and Ἄρυρα as *Synonima*, the name is the ſame, for the termination is arbitrary (14).

(P) *Amynus* ſeems to import in this place a *defender from enchantment*, and *Magus* a *ſorcerer*; though both words are capable of a more favourable interpretation. Yet in the loweſt dregs of *Cain*'s race, we may believe the worſt the words will bear (15).

This generation being the tenth from *Adam* incluſive, was that generation which, excepting *Noah* and his family, was entirely deſtroyed by the flood, together with their children. But thoſe idolaters, from whom *Sanchoniatho* took his genealogies, ſuppreſſed all mention of the flood, as he does; and pretended, that the line in which their idolatry began, was continued on to ſucceeding ages. And this being impoſſible to be done, in inſtances of men that ever had any being in the earth, any other way than by taking men out of *Noah*'s line, and annexing them as ſons to the laſt men of that family, which in truth was wholly extinguiſhed in the flood, they proceed to carry on the genealogy with *Miſor* and *Sydic*, two perſons who in reality, as it will be attempted to ſhew, were deſcendants of *Noah* (16). Wherefore we reſerve the hiſtory of them and their poſterity until after the deluge.

(12) Cumberl. *ubi ſupr. p.* 247, *&c.* (13) *De emend. temp.* (14.) Cumberl. *ubi ſup. p.* 249. (15) *Iaem ibid p.* 250. (16) *Idem ibid. p.* 177.

In

IN theſe mens age there was one *Elium* (Q) which imports in *Greek Hypſiſtus* [the moſt high], and his wife was named *Beruth*, who dwelt about *Byblus*; and by him was begotten one *Epigeus*, or *Autochthon* (R), whom they afterwards called *Uranus* (S) [heaven], ſo that from him that element which is over us, by reaſon of its excellent beauty, is called heaven; and he had a ſiſter of the ſame parents called *Ge* (T) [the earth], and by reaſon of her beauty the earth had her name given to it.

HYPSISTUS, the father of theſe, dying in fight with wild beaſts, was conſecrated, and his children offered ſacrifices and libations to him. But *Uranus* taking the kingdom of his father, married his ſiſter *Ge*, and had by her four ſons, *Ilus*, who is called *Cronus* [or *Saturn*] *Betylus*, *Dagon*, who is *Siton*, or the god of corn, and *Atlas* (U); but by other wives *Uranus* had much iſſue. THUS

(Q) In *Hebrew* עליון *Elion*. This perſon, as will appear when we conſider his deſcendants, muſt be *Lamech*, the father of *Noah*, of the line of *Seth*, which is here introduced abruptly and imperfectly, as being that of the profeſſed enemies of the falſe religion which our author patronizes (17).

(R) Theſe two *Greek* names having ſome relation to the earth, it is likely they tranſlate the title which *Moſes* gives *Noah*, who is here meant, *viz. a man of the earth* (18) which we render *an huſbandman*; and that may alſo be the reaſon why his wife's name is ſaid to be *Ge, the earth* (19).

(S) This name, and that of *Elium*, are ſuppoſed to have been given to *Noah* and his father, by *Thoth* and other idolaters by way of ſneer, becauſe they worſhipped the only ſupreme GOD in heaven, in oppoſition to their earthly gods, which had been men (20) But a better reaſon is, that it was the conſtant cuſtom to give new and magnificent names to perſons deified (21), as *Elium* and *Uranus* both were; though they had no conſiderable part of the idolatrous worſhip, which was chiefly employed in ſerving *Cronus*, and his wives and children (22).

(T) The *Atlantian* theology, which ſeems to agree with *Sanchoniatho*, in ſaying that *Uranus* gave his name to the heavens, to imprint a greater idea of himſelf in the minds of the people, tells us, however, that his wife's firſt name was *Titæa*, (perhaps from טיט *Tit, mud*) and that ſhe being, after her death, conſecrated into a goddeſs, was called *Ge* (23).

(U) The firſt of theſe four ſons was *Ham*, the arguments to prove which will be produced hereafter in a more proper place; who the

(17) *Idem ibid. p.* 152. (18) *Geneſ. ix.* 20. (19) Cumberl. *ubi ſup. p.* 151. (20) *Idem ibid. p.* 182, *&c* (21) *Ibid. p.* 291, *&c.* (22) *Ibid, p.* 152. (23) Diodor. Sicul. *l.* 3. *p.* 189, *&c.*

Thus far *Sanchoniatho*; the thread of whose history we break off here, and shall resume in the next period. But before we dismiss this author, we shall in the following table compare the pedigree of *Cain*'s line given by him, with that given by *Moses*; first observing, that though *Moses* hath not recorded ten generations in this line, as *Sanchoniatho* has, yet it does not thence follow, that there were not ten generations in this line before the flood; for *Moses* does not tell us that those he has named were all the descents before the flood, nor that the last generation which he mentions was drowned, though probably it was so. However, it is very improbable, that eight generations in *Cain*'s line should live as long as the ten in *Seth*'s, especially considering that *Cain* in all likelihood had children before *Seth* was born: wherefore it is more reasonable to believe, that *Moses* has passed over two generations of *Cain*, as not worthy of mention; and the rather, because he does not say, that *Enoch begat Irad*, but only, *unto Enoch was born Irad* (X); which will be true if he was not his son, but his grandson, or great grandson; skipping over two generations, which added to the eight mentioned will make ten, as in *Seth*'s line before the flood°, thus:

A Table *of the Descendants of* Cain.

According to Moses.	According to Sanchoniatho.
1. *Adam*, *Eve*,	1. *Protogonus*, *Æon*,
2. *Cain*,	2. *Genus*, *Genea*,
3. *Enoch*,	3. *Phos*, *Pur*, *Phlox*,
4. -------	4. *Cassius*, *Libanus*, &c.
5. -------	5. *Memrumus*, *Usoüs*,
6. *Irad*,	6. *Agreus*, *Halicus*,
7. *Mehujael*,	7. *Chrysor*, or *Hephæstus* (Y)
8. *Methusael*,	8. *Technites*, *Genus*,
9. *Lamech*,	9. *Agrus*, *Agrouerus*,
10. *Jabal*, *Jubal*, *Tubal-Cain*.	10. *Amynus*, *Magus*.

° Vid. Cumberl. on Sanchon, p. 303, &c.

other three sons here named were, will also be considered elsewhere: we shall only observe here, that none of them are either *Shem*, or *Japhet*, who, according to the bishop's hypothesis, are found under other names, viz. those of *Sydic* and *Nereus*.

(X) The like expression to the same sense is found in another passage (22), where it is foretold, that *Josiah should be born to the house of* David, or be of the posterity of *Rehoboam*, then reigning, though he was many generations after him.

(Y) *Sanchoniatho* here places his chief artists in the seventh and eighth generation, whereas *Moses*, according to this table, places

22) 1 *Kings* xiii. 2.

them

THE *Babylonian* antiquities were collected by *Berosus* (Z), a *Chaldean* by birth, who lived in the time of *Alexander* the Great [p]. But of that work we have now remaining only some few fragments, the substance of which, so far as comes within the present period, we here subjoin. Berosus's Babylonian *antiquities.*

AFTER a description of *Babylonia*, he writes, that in the first year there appeared out of the red sea, at a place near the confines of that country, a certain irrational animal (A), whose name was *Oannes*. He had his whole body like that of a fish, but beneath his fishes head he had another head grew; he had also feet like a man, which proceeded from the fishes tail, and a human voice, the picture of him being preserved to that very day. This animal conversed with men in the day-time without eating any thing; he delivered to men the knowledge of letters and sciences, and skill in various arts; he taught them to dwell together in cities, to erect temples, to introduce laws, and instructed them in geometry; he likewise shewed them how to gather seeds and fruits; and in short, imparted to mankind whatever was necessary and convenient for a civilized life. But after this time there was no- *The manner of mens acquiring the knowledge of arts and sciences.*

[p] ALEX. POLYHIST. apud Syncell. p. 28.

them in the tenth. If we suppose the two last generations, and not the fourth and fifth, to be those omitted by *Moses*, they will come much nearer. Dr. *Cumberland*, to obtain a fuller agreement, conjectures, that these two links in *Sanchoniatho*, have been transposed, and that *Chrysor* should be in the eighth place, and *Technites* in the seventh; or else, that the father in the seventh generation might invent those arts, and on that account be celebrated by *Thoth*, or his scribes; and the sons might bring them to greater perfection in the eighth generation, and for that reason be rather taken notice of by *Moses* (23).

(Z) Of this author, the reader will find a more particular account in the preface.

(A) The *Greek* is ζῶον ἄφρενον; but the sequel plainly shews him to have been nothing less than *irrational:* some corruption may therefore very justly be supposed.

As to the names of *Oannes* and *Annedotus* given to this person, and those of the same appearance who are mentioned below, it may seem a Folly to offer at any explanation of them. By their coming up out of the sea, it is most probable, they were strangers, and arrived in *Chaldea* by shipping (24). The *Syriac* word ܐܘܢܕܐ *Onûdo*, signifies a *traveller* or *foreigner*, and might without much violence be converted into either of the said names.

(23) Cumberl. *ubi sup. p.* 232, *&c.* (24) *Vid.* Newton's *Chronol. p.* 210, 211.

thing excellent invented. When the ſun ſet, this animal retired into the ſea again, and ſtayed there in the night-time, being of the amphibious kind. After him there appeared ſeveral other animals of the ſame form, mentioned in the enſuing hiſtory. This *Oannes* did not deliver his inſtructions by word of mouth only, but as our author aſſures us, wrote of the origin of things [q], and of political œconomy [r].

Other authors have alſo made mention of this *Oannes*, *Helladius* calls him *Oes* (if it be not rather the ſcribes way of of abbreviating *Oannes*), and agrees in general with the foregoing account; but adds, that he had the hands, as well as the head and feet of a man; that it was reported, he was produced from the primigenial egg (as his name teſtified (B) and that he was in reality no more than a man, though he ſeemed to be a fiſh, becauſe he was compleatly dreſſed in a fiſhes ſkin [s]. *Hyginus* likewiſe writes, that *Euahanes*, a name not very diſtant from *Oannes*, came out of the ſea in *Chaldea*, and explained aſtrology [t].

The ante-diluvian kings of Chaldea.

Berosus proceeds to give us a ſeries of ten kings who reigned in *Chaldea* before the flood; but as there are ſome ſmall variations in the authors who have tranſcribed that hiſtorian, we ſhall here exhibit them to the readers view.

A Table *of the* Chaldean *Kings before the Flood, from* Berosus.

According to *Africanus* [u].	Sari.	Years.	According to *Abydenus* [w],	Sari.	According to *Apollodorus* [x].	Sari.
1. *Alorus* reigned	10		1. *Alorus* reigned	10	1. *Alorus* reigned	10
2. *Alaſparus*	3		2. *Alaparus*	3	2 *Alaparus*	——
3. *Amelon*	13		3. *Amillarus*	13	3. *Amelon.*	——
4. *Amenon*	12		4. *Ammenon*	12	4. *Ammenon*	——
5. *Metalarus*	13		5. *Megalarus*	18	5. *Megalarus*	18
6. *Daonus* ——		99	6. *Daos*	10	6. *Daonus*	10
7 *Euedorachus*	13		7. *Euedoreſchus*		7. *Euedoreſchus*	18
8. *Amphis*	10		8. *Anodaphus*		8. *Amempſinus*	10
9 *Otiartes*	8		9. ——		9. *Otiartes*	8
10. *Xixuthrus*	18		10. *Siſithrus*		10. *Xiſuthrus*	18
	110	99		120		120

[q] See before, p. 29. [r] Alex. Polyhist. ex Beroſo apud Syncell. p. 28. [s] Hellad apud Photium, Bibl. Cod. cclxxix. col. 1504. [t] Hygin. fab. 274. The printed editions of *Hyginus* have *Eubadnes*. [u] Apud Syncell. p. 18. [w] Apud eund p. 38. C. [x] Apud eund. p. 39. B. Vid. Chron. Græc. Euseb. p. 5.

(B) An egg in *Greek* is called *Oon*.

The

THE reigns of these kings *Berosus* computes by *Sari*, or decads of years (C), which seems to be a very convenient method in those times, when the lives of men were at least ten times as long as they have been in latter ages. According to which way of reckoning, the sum of all their reigns amounts to twelve hundred, or more nicely eleven hundred and ninety nine years; which offers no violence to the *Mosaic* chronology. *The length of thier reigns.*

As these ten successions exactly answer the ten generations from the creation to the flood, the first king *Alorus* has been supposed to be the same with *Adam*[y], as *Xisuthrus* plainly appears to be *Noah*. *Alorus* gave out, that GOD himself had declared him the pastor of the people[z]; and, indeed, if any man could pretend to dominion by divine right, it must have been *Adam*. *Remarkable events under them.*

OF *Alasparus*, the second king, nothing remarkable is related. His successor *Amelon*, or *Amillarus*, was of the city of

[y] PERIZON. Orig. Ægypt. c. 2. [z] ABYDEN. ex Berosо apud Syncell. p. 38.

(C) *Berosus* wrote his chronology by the computation of *Sari*, *Neri*, and *Sosi*; which being antient measures of time, and well known when the original records were written, could not, it is conceived, have wanted explanation in those records. But *Berosus*, or some later writers, have either out of ignorance, or design, magnified these measures of time beyond all imagination, and tell us, that the *Sarus* contained the interval of three thousand six hundred years, the *Nerus* of six hundred years, and the *Sosus* of sixty (1). However, other authors have taken those years for days only, and blame *Eusebius* for not perceiving them to be days (2); and, as it seems, with great reason: for not to insist on the incredible length of the reigns of those princes, on the first hypothesis, which no writer of common sense or modesty could offer to impose on the world, it plainly appears, they were no more than days, from the reign of the sixth king, which is more exactly expressed in the first table to be ninety nine years, but in the others, by the round number of ten *Sari*, or 100 years; and the word *Sarus*, throwing away the termination, is no other than the *Chaldee*, or *Syriac* 'Sar, *ten*. The *Sarus* therefore contained three thousand six hundred days, or just ten old *Chaldean* years of three hundred and sixty days each: and that before the deluge, not only the civil year, but also the tropical solar, and lunar year consisted of just twelve months of thirty days a-piece, or three hundred and sixty days in the whole, has been fully proved by a veary learned gentleman (3).

(1) *Vid.* Syncell. *p.* 17. & Abyden. *apud eundem*, *p.* 38, C.
(2) Annianus & Panodorus *apud* Syncell. *p.* 35. *Vid. eund p.* 17.
(3) *Mr.* Allin's *Disc. of the antient year, in Mr.* Whiston's *Theory, book* II. *p.* 144. *Vid. etiam* Scaliger. *in Græc. Euseb. p* 406.

Pantibibla

Pantibibla (D): In his reign, according to *Abydenus*, a second *Annedotus*, or animal resembling the demi-god *Oannes*, arose out of the sea, twenty six *Sari*, or two hundred and sixty years after the beginning of this monarchy [a]; but *Apollodorus* writes, that he appeared under the next prince *Amenon*, after forty *Sari*, or four hundred years: which if they be computed from the creation (according to the *Samaritan* chronology) will end in that king's reign; but if from the first year of *Alorus*, will reach twenty years within that of *Metalarus*. Others, supposing this *Annedotus* was the hateful *Oannes* himself, blame *Polyhistor* for anticipating the time of his coming, by placing him in the first year [b].

After *Amenon* and *Metalarus*, who were both of *Pantibibla*, succeeded *Daonus*, who was of the same city, and a shepherd. In his time four animals (E) of a double form, half man and half fish, came out of the sea to land, whose names were *Euedocus*, *Eneugamus*, *Eneubulus*, and *Anementus* [c].

Under the next prince, *Eucdoreschus*, who was likewise of *Pantibibla*, there appeared another animal, like the former, named *Odacon*. All these explained more particularly what *Oannes* had summarily and concisely delivered [d].

The eighth and ninth kings were both of another city called *Laranchi* [e]. When the latter of them, *Otiartes*, or, as *Polyhistor* calls him, *Ardates*, was dead, he was succeeded by his son *Xisuthrus*.

The Chaldean *account of the flood.*

In his reign happened the great deluge, of which our author gives the following account: *Cronus*, or *Saturn*, appeared to *Xisuthrus* in a dream, and warned him, that on the fifteenth of the month *Dæsius* mankind would be destroyed by a flood;

[a] Idem ib. & p. 39, C. [b] Vid. Syncell. p. 39, C. [c] Abyden. ib. [d] Apollodor. ex Berof. ib. [e] Idem, ib.

(D) Of this city of *Pantibibla*, as *Scaliger* observes (1), the antients have taken no notice. It seems to be the same with *Sippara*, hereafter mentioned, (probably the *Sippbara* of *Ptolomy*) where *Xisuthrus* deposited the records he wrote before the flood. This latter name may be derived from the *Chaldee* ספר *Sephar*, or *Sphar*, a *book*, or *record*, ; and *Pantibibla* is the translation of that name into *Greek* (2). Sir *Isaac Newton* (3) takes it to be the *Sepharvaim* of the scripture (4).

(E) *Appollodorus* says only that the fourth *Annodotus* appeared at this time (8); but the reading of *Abydenus* seems the more correct.

(1) *Ubi supra*, p. 407. (2) *See* Cumberland *on Sanchon.* p. 255. (3) Chron. p. 275. (4) 2 *Kings* xix. 13. (8) *Apud* Syncell. p. 39. and

and therefore commanded him to write down the original, intermediate ſtate, and end of all things, and bury the writings under ground in *Sippara*, the city of the ſun; that he ſhould alſo build a ſhip, and go into it with his relations and deareſt friends, having firſt furniſhed it with proviſions, and taken into it fowls and four-footed beaſts; and that when he had provided every thing, and was aſked whither he was ſailing, he ſhould anſwer, *To the gods, to pray for happineſs to mankind.* *Xiſuthrus* did not diſobey, but built a veſſel, whoſe length was five furlongs, and breadth two furlongs. He put on board all that he was directed, and went into it with his wife, children, and friends. The flood being come, and ſoon ceaſing, *Xiſuthrus* let out certain birds, which finding no food, nor place to reſt upon, returned again to the ſhip. *Xiſuthrus*, after ſome days, let out the birds again; but they came back again to the ſhip, having their feet daubed with mud: but when they were let go the third time, they came no more to the ſhip, whereby *Xiſuthrus* underſtood, that the earth appeared again; and thereupon he made an opening between the planks of the ſhip, and ſeeing that it reſted on a certain mountain, he came out with his wife, and his daughter, and his pilot; and having worſhipped the earth, and raiſed an altar, and ſacrificed to the gods, he and thoſe who went out with him diſappeared. They who were left behind in the ſhip, finding *Xiſuthrus*, and the perſons that accompanied him, did not return, went out themſelves to ſeek for him, calling him aloud by his name: but *Xiſuthrus* was no more ſeen by them; only a voice came out of the air, which enjoyned them, as their duty was, to be religious; and informed them, that, on account of his own piety, he was gone to dwell with the gods; and that his wife, and daughter, and pilot, were partakers of the ſame honour. It alſo directed them to return to *Babylon*, and that, as the fates had ordained, they ſhould take the writings from *Sippara*, and communicate them to mankind; and told them, that the place where they were was the country of *Armenia*. When they had heard this, they offered ſacrifice to the gods, and unanimouſly went to *Babylon*; and when they came thither, they dug up the writings at *Sippara*, built many cities, raiſed temples, and rebuilt *Babylon* again [i].

THE *Egyptians*, who would give place to no nation in point of antiquity, have alſo a ſeries of kings, who, as is pretended, *The antediluvian kings of Egypt.*

[i] ALEXAND. POLYHISTOR ex BEROSO, apud SYNCELL. p. 30, 31. & apud CYRIL. contra JULIAN. l. 1. ABYDENUS, ex eodem, apud SYNCELL. p. 38, 39. & apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 12.

reigned

reigned in *Egypt* before the flood; and, to be even with the *Chaldeans*, began their account the very ſame year that theirs does, according to *Beroſus* [g].

There was an antient chronicle extant among the *Egyptians*, not many centuries ago [h], which contained 30 dynaſties of princes who ruled in that country, by a ſeries of 113 generations, through an immenſe ſpace of 36,525 years (F): during which *Egypt* was ſucceſſively governed by three different races; of whom the firſt were the *Auritæ*, the ſecond the *Meſtræi*, and the third the *Egyptians* (G).

But this extravagant number of years *Manetho* (H) (to whoſe remains we muſt chiefly have recourſe for the antient

[g] Syncell. p. 17. [h] Vid. eund. p. 51. & Euseb. Chron. Græc. p 6.

(F) This number appears manifeſtly to have been not a real chronological, but a fictitious aſtronomical calculation, being produced by multiplying 1461 by 25; and is the period of the grand revolution of the zodiac, ſo famous in the *Egyptian* and *Greek* fables; at the end of which it will return to the point whence it began to move, *viz.* the firſt minute of the firſt degree of *Aries* (1).

From ſome ſuch computation, it is probable, *Diodorus* took the numbers he mentions of 18,000 years, the ſpace which the gods and heroes reigned, and 15,000 from *Orus*, the ſon of *Iſis*, the laſt of them, to the 180th olympiad, during which time *Egypt* was governed by men (2); or thoſe, which he elſewhere tells us were the number of years from *Iſis* and *Oſiris* to *Alexander* the Great, *viz.* above 10,000, or ſomewhat leſs than 23,000 (3). Other extravagant numbers were alſo by the *Egyptian* prieſts impoſed on *Herodotus* and *Plato*, as we may obſerve elſewhere.

(G) Theſe three races, if there be any ſhadow of truth in this account, ſeem moſt probably to have been the gods, demigods, and mortal men, which are by other authors ſaid to have reigned ſucceſſively in *Egypt*: the *Auritæ* (which name *Goar* (4) derives from *Abaris*, or *Avaris*, though that city was built long after the flood by the *Paſtors*; and *Perizonius*, more probably, from אור *Our*, *light*) being the gods, or antediluvian princes; the *Meſtræi*, the demigods, or poſtdiluvians of the race of *Mizraim*; and the *Egyptians*, the mortal kings, the firſt of whom was *Menes* (5): and this hypotheſis, as will be obſerved by and by, accounts tolerably well for the chronology.

(H) This writer was ſomewhat later than *Beroſus*. See the preface.

(1) *Vid.* Syncell. *p.* 52. (2) Diod. Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 41. (3) *Idem ib. p.* 20. (4) *In notis ad* Syncell. *Vid.* Marſham. *Canon. Chron. p.* 107. (5) *Vid.* Perizon. *Antiq. Ægypt. p.* 23, *&c.*

Egyptian

Egyptian history) has not adopted, however in other respects he is supposed to have been led into errors in chronology by this old chronicle [i], which yet seems to have been a composition since *Manetho*'s time. That writer [k] began his history with the following 16 dynasties, or reigns of princes; the first of whom were called gods, and the other nine demigods. These, he says, reigned one thousand nine hundred and eighty five years (I); and the first of them, *Vulcan*, nine thousand (K).

A TABLE

[i] SYNCELL. ibid. [k] MANETHO apud SYNCELL. p. 18. & EUSEB. Chron. Græc. p. 7.

(I) This number of years in *Manetho* (which the modern chronologers unjustly correct to eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty five, or eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty eight, to make them agree with the larger numbers in the old chronicle, or in some other interpolators of *Manetho*) plainly shews the nine thousand years, if it be not a corrupted number, [or if those years were not lunar years] allowed here to the reign of *Vulcan* alone, did not belong to those dynasties themselves, but rather to that immense interval of time before the reigns of the antediluvian gods, or kings were reckoned, or before the present settlement of the world began. Accordingly the old chronicle, as will be seen by and by, ascribes no number of years to this *Vulcan*, but thirty thousand to the *Sun*. *Diodorus* also assures us, that some reckoned *Vulcan* as the first of those gods, and others the sun (1); which agrees well with the inscription on the *Egyptian* obelisk, to be produced hereafter, which calls *Vulcan* not an ordinary god himself, but the *father of the gods (2)*.

(K) This exorbitant number of years has been taken by several of the later *Greek* historians not for solar, but lunar years or months; and accordingly, dividing the number of days of so many lunar revolutions by three hundred and sixty five, the number of days in a year, they reduce the nine thousand to seven hundred twenty four years and a half and four days; which way of reckoning though *Syncellus* ridicules (3), yet it should seem from the testimony of antient writers, to omit those of *Africanus* and *Eusebius* (4) to be the original computation; excepting only a small mistake which we shall mention presently. For *Diodorus* says, some of the most antient kings of the succession of the gods reigned above twelve hundred years apiece; and that this appearing incredible, some supposed, that the motion of the sun being not known in the first times, the year was described by the revolution of the moon (5); and with

(1) Diodor. Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 13. (2) Whiston's *Appendix to his Essay to restore the true text, &c. p.* CXC. (3) Syncell. *p.* 18. (4) *Apud eund. p.* 17, & 40. (5) Diodor. Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 22.

this

A Table *of the gods and demigods, who are ſuppoſed to have reigned in* Egypt *before the flood.*

Gods.

	Yrs.	Mon.	Days.
1. *Hephæſtus*, or *Vulcan*, reigned	724	6	4
2. *Helios*, or the *Sun*, the ſon of *Vulcan*,	86		
3. *Agathodæmon*,	56	6	10
4. *Cronus*, or *Saturn*,	40	6	
5. *Oſiris* and *Iſis*,	35		
6.			
7. *Typhon*,	29		

Demigods.

8. *Orus*,	25
9. *Ares*, or *Mars*,	23
10. *Anubis*,	17
11. *Hercules*,	15
12. *Apollo*,	25
13. *Ammon*,	30
14. *Tithoes*,	27
15. *Soſus*,	32
16. *Zeus*, or *Jupiter*,	20

As to this table it muſt be obſerved, that the numbers were no part of the original record, but added by ſome moderns, who have mangled the chronology according to their own fancies[1], and therefore deſerve no regard; though we have tranſcribed them as we found them in *Syncellus*.

[1] See the Note (L).

this do other authors of good credit (6) agree, who aſſure us, that the old *Egyptian* year was lunar. It muſt only be obſerved, that the antediluvian year containing but three hundred and ſixty days (7), the abovementioned calculation muſt be rectified in that reſpect; and then the nine thouſand years of *Vulcan*'s reign will make juſt ſeventy five *Sari*, or ſeven hundred and fifty years; which ſeems indeed a little diſproportionate to the reigns of his ſix ſucceſſors, which together can amount to no more than four hundred and fifty years. However, this way of computation will reduce this and the other extravagant numbers we meet with in the *Egyptian* hiſtory within ſome bounds of credibility.

(6) Plutarch *in Numa*, *p.* 72. Plin. *Hiſt. nat. l.* 7. *c.* 48. Macrob. *Sat. l.* 1. *c.* 14. Lactant. *Inſtit.* 2. 12. Eudoxus *apud Proclum*, *in Tim. l.* 1. *p.* 31. (7) *See before*, *p.* 185. *in the notes.*

Though

THOUGH the transcribers of *Manetho* [m] have generally taken it for granted, that this succession of princes were supposed by *Manetho* himself to have reigned before the flood; yet we very much doubt, whether that historian really made the nine last, called demigods, to be antediluvians. For it appears from the sum of the years, which these gods and demigods are said to have reigned, that all of them could not possibly have reigned before the flood, even according to the *Hebrew* account; and if the epoch of the *Egyptian* kingdom began the same year with that of the *Babylonians*, as is expressly said, the total of the reigns of their antediluvian princes could not exceed twelve hundred years. Besides, the number of sixteen kings seems too large in proportion to that of the *Babylonian* kings, and of the generations of *Moses* in the same period. It is therefore more conformable to *Manetho*'s chronology, to suppose the first seven only, whom he calls *Gods*, and the old chronicle *Auritæ* [n], were antediluvians; and that they reigned twelve hundred years, part of the nineteen hundred and eighty five (L), the remainder of which will be accounted for hereafter. And this hypothesis seems to be confirmed from the consideration of the last of these gods *Typhon*, who probably reigned immediately before the flood, and perished therein. For several circumstances of the deluge are mentioned in the history of *Osiris* and *Typhon*; particularly

The first seven of them only reigned before the flood.

[m] AFRICANUS, EUSEBIUS, PANODORUS, & SYNCELLUS.
[n] See the note (G) in p. 188.

(L) Mr. *Whiston* (1) says that this very number nineteen hundred and eighty five, for the antediluvian gods and semigods of *Egypt*, will not be at all too large for the present chronology, if we suppose it to extend from the beginning of the world to the death of the last of these semigods, *Jupiter Hammon*, or *Ham*; it only implying, that he then outlived the deluge either three hundred and twenty nine, or four hundred and twenty nine years, [that is, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, or the *Samaritan* of Mr. *Whiston*] which exactly agrees with the length of men's lives at that time. But this cannot be allowed by us, who follow the chronology of the present *Samaritan* copy; for then *Ham* would live six hundred and seventy eight years after the flood, which would be above one hundred and fifty more than *Shem*. Besides, it is unreasonable to suppose the first of these reigns commenced at the creation, and directly contrary to the original author, who makes the *Babylonian* and *Egyptian* kingdoms coeval, and to Mr. *Whiston*'s own way of reckoning elsewhere (2): nor is it reasonable to continue *Ham*'s reign (if he was *Jupiter*) immediately from the flood.

(1) *Appendix, ubi supra, p.* cxci. (2) *In his Chronological Table.*

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cularly the very day when it began, or when *Osiris* (who is taken for *Noah*) was shut up in the ark [o]: the name of *Typhon*, according to some learned men, signifies also a deluge, or inundation (M); whence the *Egyptian* priests called the sea *Typhon* [p]: and *Typhon*, or, as the *Latin* poets call him, *Typhœus*, is represented as a monstrous gyant warring against heaven, and at last overcome by *Jupiter*, and submersed in water [q]. From all which it appears probable, that he was one of those mighty men which were of old, whose wickedness was so exceeding great, that it drew down that judgment upon them [r].

THE first of these gods, *Vulcan*, from his inventing the working of metals, and instructing mankind therein, which is on all hands attributed to him, has been thought to be the same with the *Tubal-cain* of *Moses*, and to have been contemporary with *Noah* [s]. But it seems a little inconsistent, that a person in the eighth generation from *Adam*, and the last recorded by *Moses* in the line of *Cain*, should have no less than six successors, whose reigns, together with his own, amounted to no less than twelve hundred years; when it cannot be supposed that *Tubal-cain* could be born at the soonest before the year of the world four hundred, according to the *Samaritan*, or five hundred according to the *Hebrew* chronology.

BY these gods *Manetho*, as he elsewhere explains himself, meant no more than mortal men, who for their wisdom and goodness were severally promoted to the regal dignity, and afterwards made immortal [t]. Their particular inventions, and prudent institutions, which gained them this honour from the people, we may more conveniently consider, when we enter on the history of the *Egyptian* nation: since, besides the interruptions which must be occasioned by attempting it in this place, there are so great disagreements throughout concerning these gods [u], that it would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile the foregoing table with the accounts of the *Greek* authors, which seem rather to relate to the times after the flood. For the *Greeks* were very liberal in bestowing the names of their gods, with, or without, foundation; and frequently

[o] PLUTARCH. de Isid. & Osir. p. 356. [p] Idem. ibid. p. 363.
[q] APOLLON. Argon. l. 2. ver. 1215, &c. [r] Vid. Mr. ALLIN's Disc. of the antient year, in Mr. Whiston's Theory, p 169, &c.
[s] TZETZES, Chiliad. 10. ver. 492, &c. [t] MANETHO, apud Euseb. de præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 1. p. 45. Vid. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 8.
[u] DIOD. SIC. ibid. p. 21.

(M) The *Arabs* at this day express the general deluge by the word الطوفان *al tufan*.

gave

gave the same name to several persons; which has introduced a confusion that might have been avoided, had they given us the true *Egyptian* names, instead of undertaking to interpret them. Nor is this the only instance in which those writers, especially the later *Greek* chronographers, have corrupted and confounded *Manetho*'s history, as will be observed hereafter.

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THUS have we put together the most material pieces of history to be found in prophane authors, relating to the times preceding the flood; among which, though there be some which bear apparent marks of truth, yet we believe the greater part will be judged to deserve little credit: however, as every thing which has the least pretence to so great antiquity, cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our labour in collecting them will not be condemned as useless.

SECT. VI.

Of the Deluge.

THIRTEEN hundred and odd years after the earth was made and inhabited, it was overflowed and destroyed in a deluge of water. Not a deluge that was national only, or over-run some particular region, but over-spread the face of the whole earth, from pole to pole, and from east to west, and that in such excess, that the floods over-reached the tops of the highest mountains; the rains descending after an unusual manner, and the fountains of the great deep being broke open; so as a general destruction and devastation was brought upon the earth and all things in it, mankind and other living creatures; excepting only *Noah* and his family, who, by a special providence of GOD, was preserved in a certain ark, or vessel, with such kinds of living creatures as he took in to him. After these waters had raged for some time on the earth, they began to lessen and shrink, and the great waves and fluctuations of this deep, or abyss, being quieted by de-

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grees, the waters retired into their channels and caverns within the earth; and the mountains and fields began to appear, and the whole habitable earth in that form and shape wherein we now see it. Then the world began again, and from that little remnant preserved in the ark, the present race of mankind, and of animals, in the known parts of the earth, were propagated. Thus perished the old world, and the present arose from the ruins and remains of it [a].

This is a short story of the greatest event that ever yet happened in the world; the greatest revolution, and the greatest change in nature; which therefore justly deserves to be more particularly considered in all its circumstances.

Propiane testimonies of this catastrophe.

That there was such an universal destruction by water, as is related by *Moses*, is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of several of the most antient writers and nations in the world. What account the *Chaldean* records give of it, we have already seen [b]. The *Indian* and *Persian* traditions we may mention hereafter. That the *Egyptians* were no strangers to this event, appears, not only from those circumstances in the story of *Osiris*, and *Typhon* mentioned above [c], but from the testimony of *Plato*; who says, that a certain *Egyptian* priest recounted to *Solon*, out of their sacred books, the history of the universal flood, which happened long before the particular inundations known to the *Grecians* [d]. The inhabitants of *Heliopolis* in *Syria* shewed a chasm, or cleft in the earth in the temple of *Juno*, which, as they say, swallowed up the waters of the flood [e] (N). Nay, the very *Americans* are said

[a] Vid. Burnet's Theory, Book 1. c. 2. [b] Pag. 186, 187. [c] Pag. 191. [d] Plato, in Timæo. [e] Lucian. de Dea Syria. t. 2. p. 882.

(N) The author, who mentions this, says, the *Greeks* gave an account of the universal deluge, [which they and others (1) have confounded with that of *Deucalion*] too curious to be omitted. The tradition goes, proceeds he, that the present race of men was not the first, for they totally perished, but is of a second generation, which, being descended from *Deucalion*, encreased to a great multitude. Now of these former men they relate this story: They were very insolent, and addicted to unjust actions; for they neither kept their oaths, nor were hospitable to strangers, nor gave ear to suppliants; for which reason this great calamity befel them. On a sudden the earth poured forth a vast quantity of water, great showers fell, the rivers overflowed, and the sea arose to a prodigious height; so that all things became water, and all men were de-

(1) *Vid.* Ovid. *Metam. l.* 1. *v.* 260, *&c.*

stroyed:

said to acknowledge, and speak of it in their continent [f]: and we are told, that there is a tradition among the *Chinese*, that *Puoncu*, with his family, escaped out of the general deluge [g]; though another expressly asserts, the *Chinese* annals make no mention at all of the flood, and that it is a mistake in those who imagine they do [h]: however, it seems their historians do speak of a flood, which some suppose to be that of *Noah* [i], but they do not make it universal (O). Most nations have some

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[f] J. DE LAET. de orig. gent. Americ. p. 115. *Vid.* etiam ACOSTAM, HERRERAM, &c. [g] VOSSIUS, Ep. ad Andr. Colvium, p. 409. [h] COUPLET, Præf. ad Tab. Chronol. p. 3, 8. [i] Vid. MARTINII Hist. Sinic. l. 1. p. 12, & 39.

stroyed: only *Deucalion* was left unto a second generation, on account of his prudence and piety. He was saved in this manner; he went into a large ark, or chest [λάρακα] which he had, together with his sons and their wives; and when he was in, there entered swine, and horses, and lions, and serpents, and all other creatures which live on the earth, by pairs. He received them all, and they did him no hurt, but the gods created a great friendship among them; so they sailed all in one chest while the water prevailed. These things the *Greeks* relate of *Deucalion*. But as to what happened after this, there is an antient tradition among those of *Hierapolis* which deserves admiration; *viz.* that in their country a great chasm opened, and received all the water: whereupon *Deucalion* erected altars, and built the temple of *Juno* over the chasm. This same chasm, says our author, I have seen, and it is a very small one, under the temple; whether it was formerly bigger, and since lessened, I cannot tell, but that which I have seen is little. In commemoration of this history they do thus: twice in every year water is brought from the sea to the temple, and not by the priests only, but all *Syria* and *Arabia*; many come from beyond *Euphrates* to the sea, and all carry water, which they first pour out in the temple, and afterwards it sinks into the chasm, which, though it be small, receives abundance of water. And when they do this, they say, *Deucalion* instituted the ceremony in that temple as a memorial of the calamity, and of his deliverance from it (z).

(O) An *Arab*, who travelled into *China* about the beginning of the ninth century, giving an account of a conversation he had with the emperor, among other things, says; that mentioning the flood to that prince, on occasion of a picture of *Noah* which he shewed him, and telling him, that that prophet, and those who were saved with him in the ark, peopled the whole earth; the emperor laughed and said, "Thou art not deceived as to the Name of

(z) Lucian. *de Dea Syria. tom.* 2. *p.* 822. *Ed. Benedict.*

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some traditions of a deluge, which happened in their respective countries: but it must be owned at the same time, that several of them were particular inundations only, and therefore carefully to be distinguished from that of *Noah*; though antient and modern writers frequently confound them together (P), and relate circumstances of the one, which belong only to the other.

Topical.

Some difficulties, which seem to attend the *Mosaic* account of the deluge, such as the finding out waters sufficient to drown the world, and the improbability of all sorts of animals being preserved in the ark, have induced some, even men of learning, to suppose, that *Noah*'s flood was not universal, but national only, and confined to *Judæa*, and the regions thereabouts (Q), or perhaps to that tract of land which lies between the four seas, the *Persian*, *Caspian*, *Euxine*, and *Mediterranean* [k], or at most reached no farther than the continent of *Asia* [l]. And to support this presumption they alledge, that since the primary design of the flood was to destroy mankind only, who could hardly be thought in so short a time to have overspread the face of the whole earth, there was

[k] See Le Clerc's dissertations. [l] Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacr. Book 3. c. 4. p. 540. Vid. Vossium, de æt. mundi. p. 283.

" *Noah*; but as to the universal deluge we know nothing of it. " It is true, that the deluge did drown a part of the earth, but it " did not reach so far as our country, not yet to the *Indies* (3)." *Ebn Shohnah* ranks the *Chinese* among those who deny the flood.

(P) Not only *Deucalion*'s flood in *Thessaly*, but those of *Ogyges* in *Attica*, and *Prometheus* in *Egypt*, have been thought the same with that of *Noah* (4). Those spoken of by the *Americans* seem to have been national; as was that of *Asia minor*, mentioned by *Diodorus* (5), from the *Samothracian* tradition; which yet they pretended was the most antient of all: to omit several others enumerated by Sir *W. Raleigh* (6), some of which he has taken from the spurious *Xenophon* of *Annius*.

(Q) *Melo*, who wrote a book against the *Jews*, speaking of the deluge, seems to make it topical, and not to have reached *Armenia*. His words are these: " At the time of the deluge, a man who had " escaped with his sons, went from *Armenia*, being driven out of " his possessions by those of the country; and passing over the " intermediate region, came into the mountainous part of *Syria*, " which was then desolate (7).

(3) *Anciennes relations des Indes & de la Chine, p.* 67. (4) *Vid.* Heidegger. *Hist Patr. tom.* 1. *Exerc.* 18. § 52. (5) *Lib.* 5. *p.* 322 (6 *Hist. of the world, p.* 1, *b.* 1. *c.* 7. §. 6. (7) Melo *apud Euseb. de præp. Ev. l.* 9. *c.* 19.

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no neceſſity to carry the waters beyond the bounds of what was inhabited; and though in this caſe all the animals in the world (which were probably farther propagated than man, being created in greater numbers, and perhaps in divers parts) might not have been deſtroyed, yet it is conceived, that it was neceſſary to ſave ſome in the ark for future propagation, and that men might have them ready for their uſe preſently after the flood, which could not otherwiſe have been [m]. One author indeed has gone ſo far as to ſuppoſe, that all mankind did not periſh in the deluge, and has endeavoured to prove, from a peculiar expoſition of the curſes of *Cain* and *Lamech*, that the *Africans* and *Indians* are of their poſterity [n]. But as he has elſewhere himſelf confuted this opinion by the ſtrongeſt arguments [o], we ſhall ſay no more of it. And it is eaſy to ſhew, againſt thoſe who hold the former opinion, that they deny a matter of fact to get over a difficulty, and that the deluge was univerſal in its extent as well as effect.

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FOR, 1. The ſcriptures put this matter out of doubt, expreſly telling us, that all the high hills under the whole heaven were covered by the waters, and that all fleſh died that moved upon the earth, except only *Noah*, and thoſe that were with him in the ark (R). Nor will the terms of *Moſes* allow the word

[m] STILLINGFLEET, ibid. [n] See BEDFORD's Scripture Chronol. p. 39. [o] See WHISTON's Theory, &c. p. 258, 288, &c.

(R) The words of *Moſes*, one would think, are too plain to admit any ſubterfuge. GOD *looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all fleſh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And* GOD *ſaid unto* Noah, *the end of all fleſh is come before me — and I will deſtroy them with the earth* (9). *Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to deſtroy all fleſh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth ſhall die* (10).—*Every living ſubſtance that I have made, will I deſtroy from off the face of the earth* (11).--*And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all fleſh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beaſts, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man. All in whoſe noſtrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living ſubſtance was deſtroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were deſtroyed from the*

(9) *Geneſ.* vi. 12, 13. (10) *Ibid. v.* 17. (11) *Geneſ* vii. 4, and

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word *earth* in this place to be restrained, as it may in some others, to *Judæa* (S), or any other particular tract of land: for, unless the laws of nature were miraculously suspended, before the waters in one region, much less a whole continent, could exceed the tops of the highest mountains, they would certainly diffuse themselves, and overflow the rest of the earth. 2. If the deluge was topical, there was no need of the ark; *Noah* and his family needed only to have retired to another country, which he might do with more ease and in less time than build so vast a vessel; the beasts might have saved themselves by flight, or their loss, especially those of the unclean kinds, have been replenished from other places; and the birds might, without much difficulty, have flown to another continent. 3. The number of mankind before the flood, was vastly superior to what the present earth is, perhaps, capable of sustaining, as will appear hereafter; and the waters must therefore have overspread, in all probability, a larger part of the earth than is now known to be inhabited; and consequently the whole globe, that none might escape the divine vengeance, must have been overflowed. 4. The earth itself seems to offer us a demonstrative argument of the universality of the deluge, from the vast numbers of the shells, and teeth of fish, bones of animals, entire, or partial vegetables, and other strange things, which are to be found on the tops of the highest mountains, and in the bowels of the earth, at a great distance from the sea, and were probably left by the flood [p] (T).

It

[p] Le Clerc's Dissert. Burnet's Theory, Book 1. c. 3. and Whiston's Theory ubi supra, & p. 275, &c.

earth; and Noah *only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark* (12).

(S) *Peyrerius*, one part of whose præ-adamite system is, that the flood extended no farther than *Judæa*, which he supposes to be all that *Moses* meant by *the earth*, would also persuade us, that writer by *mankind* which were to be destroyed, intended the posterity of *Adam*; by *the living creatures*, the *Gentiles* or præ-adamites, mixed with the race of *Adam*; and by the *great deep*, the sea of *Palestine* (13).

(T) This argument is offered with some diffidence: for though the most experienced philosophers now agree, that these shells, &c. are not mock-productions of nature, or originally formed in the places where they are found by some plastic power of salts, or

(12) *Ibid. v.* 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

(13) Peyrer. *præ-adamit.*

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IT is now time to conſider, by what means this terrible devaſtation was brought on the earth, and in what manner thoſe that eſcaped it were preſerved.

IF the deluge were univerſal, the quantity of water required to effect it is ſo immenſe, that it has been generally thought extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to ſay, whence it came, or whither it went. The proportion of water ſufficient to cauſe ſuch an inundation, has been computed at eight oceans[q]; but a perſon well able to make the calculation, ſays, that there muſt have been, at the loweſt computation, twenty-two oceans[r]. And where to find this is the queſtion. There are the clouds above, and the deeps below, and in the bowels of the earth; and theſe are all the ſtores we have for water (U):

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Conjectures as to the manner wherein the deluge was effected.

[q] BURNET's Theory, Book I. c. 2. [r] Dr. KEILL, in his Remarks on Whiſton's Theory. Vid. RAY's Diſc. p. 118.

other minerals, (which was the conjecture of Dr. *Plot* (14), and other naturaliſts) inaſmuch as they are not to be diſtinguiſhed from real ſhells, teeth, &c. by the niceſt examination of the eye, and even the microſcope, and burn not immediately into a calx or lime, as all tophaceous, or ſtony ſubſtances do, but firſt into a coal, and then into a calx, which is the known quality of things of a bony, or fleſhy nature; yet they do not agree, that theſe things were brought in by the univerſal deluge, for this reaſon, among ſeveral others, that living animals, or fiſh, have been found in ſome of thoſe foſſil ſhells (15), and that ſuch marine ſubſtances are ſometimes formed and generated in human bodies (16); and therefore it is ſuppoſed, they were formed by a ſpermatic principle, as fiſh ſpawn received into the chinks, and other *meatus's* of the earth, and falling down in rains, &c. (17); which may be allowed, indeed of the ſeveral kinds of ſhell-fiſh, whoſe ſhells might preſerve them in the earth, but can hardly be admitted as to others of thoſe foſſils, ſuch as the *Gloſſopetræ*, or teeth of the ſhark, and the other bones of larger creatures. As to the ſubterraneous woods, and foſſil trees, there ſeems to be no great reaſon to believe, they were thrown down by the deluge, and have lain buried in the earth ever ſince; it being much more probable, that they either were occaſioned by inundations of the ſea, or were felled by men in the places where they now lie; as is undeniable of many of them, which ſtill ſhew the marks of the ax (18).

(U) *Moſes*, in his account of the creation, ſpeaking of *waters above the firmament* (19), though it be generally underſtood of the

(14) *Nat. Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire.* (15) *See Mr.* LLWYD's *letter in Mr.* Ray's *Phiſol. Diſc. p.* 181. (16) *Ibid. p.* 185. (17) *Ibid. p.* 190, &c. (18) *Vid.* Ray's *Phiſol. Diſc. p.* 228. (19) *Gen.* i. 6, 7.

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and *Moses* directs us to no other for the causes of the deluge; *The fountains of the great deep*, says he, *were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights*[r]. By the *great deep* some understand the ocean[t], but others, with more reason, the subterraneous abyss, or vast collection of waters in the bowels of the earth (X). But it is thought, the waters, which either the abyss or the rain could afford, will fall prodigiously short of the proportion required. According to the observations made of the quantity of water that falls in rain, the rains could not afford one ocean, nor half an ocean, and would be a very inconsiderable part of what was necessary for a deluge[u]. If it rained forty days and forty nights throughout the whole earth at once, it might be sufficient to lay all the lower grounds under water, but it would signify very little as to the overflowing of the mountains; so that it has been said, that if the deluge had been made by rains only, there would have needed not forty days, but forty years to have brought it to pass[w]. And if we suppose the whole atmosphere condensed into water, it would not at all have been sufficient for this effect;

[r] Genes. vii. 11, 12. [t] Vid. Cleric. Comment. in loc. [u] Vid. Mersenn. Cogit. Physico-mech. p. 221. [w] Auct. catenæ in Genes. vii. 4.

clouds and aqueous vapours sustained in the middle region of the air (20), yet some have fancied them to be waters placed above the heavens, and have been willing to make use of them for a supply, when they could not find enough under the heavens, to make up the mass of the deluge; though if these imaginary waters were there, how to get them down, or to lift them up again, is not easy to tell. But since the system of the world has been better known, and the nature of the heavens, it is presumed, there are none that would assert these super-celestial waters much less make that extravagant use of them, as to bring them down hither for a cause of the deluge (21).

X) Notwithstanding the word תהום *Tehom*, *depth*, in some passages (22) is supposed to signify the sea, yet it may be there much better interpreted of subterraneous waters, as it manifestly must in other places (23). And being here joined with the epithet רבה *rabbah*, *great*, it seems *Moses* intended, that vast collection of waters, which the most sagacious naturalists place in the womb of the earth, the receptacle of the greatest part of that *deep*, which covered the earth at the beginning of the creation. (24).

(20) *See the Introd. p.* 87. (21) Burnet's *Theory, Book* 1, *c.* 2. (22) *Psal.* xxxiii. 7. *Prov.* viii. 27, 28. (23) *Deut.* viii. 7. *Ezek.* xxxi. 4. (24) *Genes.* i. 2. *Vid.* Burnet, *ubi sup. c.* 7.

for

for it is certain, that it could not have risen above thirty two foot, which is well known to be the usual height to which water can be raised by the pressure of the atmosphere [x]; for the weight of the whole air, when condensed into water, can be no more than equal to its weight in its natural state, and must become no less than eight hundred times denser, for that is the difference between the weight of the heaviest air and that of water [y]. And as to the abyss, if by it we intend the sea, that is not higher than the land, as some have formerly imagined, and therefore could contribute nothing to the deluge; it would keep its bed as it does now, and take up the same place: and if we understand the subterraneous waters, they would be quiet in their cells, and not ascend otherwise than by force; and if force were used to draw them out on the surface of the earth, their places must be filled again with other waters, so as this turns to no account upon the whole [z]. Year of the World 1307. Year before Christ, 2999.

THIS being the case, some cut the knot which they cannot loose, and shew us the naked arm of omnipotence; saying, that GOD created waters on purpose to make the deluge, and then annihilated them again when the deluge was to cease. But our business is not here to enquire what GOD could work by his almighty power, but to account for this event in the best manner we can from natural causes; nor are we rashly to fly to the divine omnipotence, especially for the creation of new matter. *Moses* plainly assigns natural causes of the deluge, forty days rain, and the disruption of the abyss; and St. *Peter* has assigned a cause also, the natural constitution of the world [a]; and neither of them mention a word of a new creation of waters. Others therefore, instead of a creation, suppose a transelementation, and say the air was changed into water, and that was the great instrumental cause of the deluge [b]. But this opinion agrees as little with the philosophy of *Moses*, or St. *Peter* as the last, and renders the opening of the abyss perfectly needless [c]: besides, such a transmutation would in effect be no more than a condensation, the insufficiency of which has been already shewn. According to a third expedient, the rain and sea-waters were rarefied so as to reach the determined height: but if the waters were fifteen times rarer than they naturally are (as in that case they must have been) it is hard to say how they could either drown man or beast, keep alive the fish, or support the ark [d]. A fourth opi-

[x] VOSSIUS in epist. ad And. Colvium, p. 385. [y] See Dr. HALLEY's Dissert. in the Philos. Trans. Vol. XVI. p. 104. [z] BURNET ubi sup. [a] 2 Pet. iii. 5. [b] KIRCHER. de Arca Noc. l. 2. [c] Vid. BURNET ubi sup. & c. 3. [d] Vid. VOSS. ubi sup.

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nion is, that the antediluvian earth, with all its stones, metals, mineral concretions, and all fossils whatsoever that had obtained any solidity, was totally dissolved in the deluge, the cohæsion of its parts perfectly ceasing: that the corpuscles of these solid fossils, together with the corpuscles of those which were not before solid, such as earth, sand, and the like; as also animal bodies and parts of animals, bones, teeth, shells; vegetables and parts of vegetables, trees, shrubs, herbs; in short, all bodies whatsoever which were either in the earth, or that constituted the mass of it, if not quite down to the abyss, yet at least to the greatest depth we ever dig, all these were promiscuously taken up into the waters, and made one common mass: that at length they subsided downwards together, generally, and as near as might be expected in such a confusion, according to the laws of gravity; and thus formed the *strata* of stone, marble, coal, and the rest, of which the earth manifestly consists; and there being bodies of different kinds and constitutions, which are nearly of the same specific gravity, it thence happened that bodies of quite different kinds subsided at the same instant, and fell together with the same *stratum*; for which reason the shells of cocles, escallops, and the rest, which have a greater degree of gravity, were enclosed and lodged in the *strata* of stone and marble, and the heavier kinds of terrestrial matter, the lighter shells not sinking down till afterwards, and so falling among the lighter matter, as chalk and the like [d]. But this strange and bold hypothesis, to which the author was driven to solve these phænomena of the interior parts of the earth, (which yet might possibly be otherwise accounted for [e]) is so little consistent with the *Mosaic* history of the deluge, takes so little notice of the *opening the windows of heaven*, and is so contrary to the universal law of mutual attraction, and the specific gravities of bodies, accounts for so few of the phænomena of the deluge, implies such a new sort of formation, or creation of the earth at the deluge without warrant for the same, and is so much more than his observations require, or will support, that it cannot engage the assent of any considering person [f]. A fifth opinion is, that though the rains might afford a vast quantity of water towards a deluge, yet the chief cause was the changing the centre of the earth, and setting it nearer to the centre, or middle of our continent; whereupon the *Atlantic* and *Pacific* oceans must needs press upon the subterrancous abyss,

[d] Woodward's Nat. Hist. of the earth. [e] See before p. 199 and after § 7. [f] See Whiston's Theory, p. 276, &c. and Ray's Disc. p. 165, &c.

and

and ſo by mediation thereof force the water upwards, and compel it to run out at thoſe wide mouths and apertures, made by the divine power breaking up the fountains of the great deep. - Theſe waters thus poured out from the orifices of the fountains upon the earth, the declivity being changed by the removal of the centre, could not flow down to the ſea again, but muſt needs ſtagnate upon the earth, and overflow it, and afterwards, the earth returning to its old centre, return alſo to their former receptacles. This hypotheſis gives a fair and eaſy ſolution of all the phænomena of the deluge, ſave only the generality of it, making it topical, and confining it to our continent: for which reaſon a very ſagacious naturaliſt, who otherwiſe approves it, propoſes a ſixth way of ſolving them; and that is, by ſuppoſing, that the divine power might at that time, by the inſtrumentality of ſome natural agent, to us at preſent unknown, ſo depreſs the ſurface of the ocean, as to force the waters of the abyſs through the before-mentioned channels and apertures, and ſo make them a partial and concurrent cauſe of the deluge. And it appears from inſtances, that there are, at ſome times, in the courſe of nature, extraordinary preſſures on the ſurface of the ſea (Y), which force the waters outwards upon the ſhores to a great height [g]. But this we fear is too occult a cauſe to give much ſatisfaction to a philoſophic enquirer. Year of the World 1307. Year before Chriſt, 2999.

WE have ſtill to conſider the hypotheſes of two perſons well known in the republic of letters, whoſe theories we have conſulted on other occaſions; Dr. *Burnet* and Mr. *Whiſton*.

TO have a complete idea of that of the former, we muſt remember, that he conceives the firſt earth, from the manner of its formation, to have been externally regular and uniform, of a ſmooth and even ſurface, without mountains, and without a ſea; and that the waters belonging to it were wholly encloſed within, or under its upper cruſt, which formed a ſtupendous vault around them [h]. This vaſt collection of wa- *Dr.* Burnet's *Theory.*

[g] RAY, ibid. p. 117, &c. [h] See the Introduction, p. 77.

(Y) We had upon our coaſts, not many years ago, an extraordinary tide, wherein the water roſe ſo high as to overflow all the ſea-banks, drown multitudes of cattle, and fill the lower rooms of the houſes of many villages that ſtood near the ſea, ſo that the inhabitants, to ſave themſelves, were forced to get into their upper rooms and garrets. And how this could be effected, but by an unuſual preſſure on the ſuperficies of the ocean, our author cannot well conceive (1).

(1) Ray, *Diſc.* c. 2. *p.* 119.

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ters he takes to have been the great deep, or abyſs of *Moſes* [i], and that the diſruption of it was the chief cauſe of the deluge. For he ſuppoſes, that the earth being for ſome hundreds of years expoſed to the continual heat of the ſun, which, by reaſon of the perpendicular poſition he imagines the earth's axis then had to the plane of the ecliptic, was very intenſe, and not allayed by that diverſity of ſeaſons, which now keeps our earth in an equality of temper [k], its exterior cruſt was at length very much dried; and when the heat had pierced the ſhell, and reached the waters beneath it, they began to be rarefied and raiſed into vapours, which rarefaction made them require more ſpace than they needed before, and finding themſelves pent in by the exterior earth, they preſſed with violence againſt that arch to make it yield to their dilatation. And as the repeated action of the ſun gave force to thoſe encloſed vapours more and more, and made them more ſtrong and violent, ſo on the other hand it weakened more and more the arch of the earth that was to reſiſt them, ſucking out the moiſture that was the cement of its parts, and parching and chapping it in ſundry places; and there being no winter to cloſe up its parts, it grew more and more diſpoſed to a diſſolution, and at length, when GOD's appointed time was come, the whole fabric broke, and the frame of the earth was torn in pieces as by an earthquake; and thoſe great portions, or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the abyſs, ſome in one poſture, and ſome in another [l].

THIS hypotheſis, the author thinks, not only agrees with the narration of *Moſes*, and anſwers the aſſertion of St. *Peter*, that the firſt earth was obnoxious to a deluge from its conſtitution [m], but ſupplies all the defects of other explications. The fall of thoſe prodigious fragments would raiſe a vaſt commotion in the abyſs, and throw its waves to a great height, which would overwhelm the mountains, now firſt formed, for ſome time: for after the firſt violent ſhock, he imagines there were ever and anon ſome ſecondary ruins which broke, and made new commotions, till at length, when all the ruins were ſettled and fixed, the waters began to ſettle too, and the dry land to appear. Thus the earth put on a new form, and became divided into ſea and land; the greateſt part of the abyſs conſtituting our preſent ocean, and the reſt filling up the lower cavities of the earth, mountains and hills appeared on the land, iſlands in the ſea, and rocks upon the ſhore.

[i] BURNET's Theory, b. 1. c. 7.
[l] BURNET ubi ſup. c. 6. p. 95, &c.
[k] See before, p. 136.
[m] 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7.

And

And so providence at one stroke dissolved the old world, and made a new one out of its ruins, which we now inhabit [n]. Year of the World 1307. Year before Christ, 2999.

But though it be reasonable to believe, the first earth had its axis inclined to the plane of the ecliptic as well as the present, and had the same vicissitudes of seasons; yet allowing the theorist's supposition of its parallel position to be true, it is not conceivable, the heat of the sun would even then have had the power he imagines, or affect the earth in such a degree as to cause great cracks or fissures in it, or to raise the water under it into vapours, since we find no such effects in the hottest country or season; nor is it probable, such rarefaction, were it possible, should be so extreme as to break through an arch of some hundred miles thick. Besides, it is to be feared, that if the action of the sun was so strong, the abyss, the only store-house of waters in the first earth, would have been near exhausted (Z) before the time of the deluge. This account also seems not very consonant to the *Mosaic* history, which describes a gradual rise and abatement, and long continuance of the flood, not a violent transient shock, which would not have lasted many days, if hours [o]: not to mention the little use our author makes of the rains, which he supposes indeed to have fallen throughout the earth (though he does not know how that could proceed from natural causes), and to have contributed to the disruption of the abyss, by weakening the arch of the earth, and stopping its pores, which would make the vapours struggle the more violently; and that nothing but a miracle could save the ark in so prodigious a storm and convulsion of nature [p].

THE expedient of the other learned theorist is the trajecti- *Mr.* Whiston's *Theory.*

[n] BURNET ubi sup. p. 101, &c. [o] Vid. KEILL's Examination of BURNET's theory. [p] BURNET ubi sup. p. 133, 136, &c.

(Z) Dr. *Keill* has made a plain calculation of this matter, and concludes that, since none of the antediluvian rivers, according to the theorist, returned into the abyss again, it must needs follow, that in eight hundred and twelve years it would be quite empty, upon supposition that there were as many rivers in the primitive earth, as are in ours: but as there was then twice the land, if there were no seas, so there must be allowed twice as many rivers, to water it; and by such a double quantity, the abyss would be emptied in half that time (1).

(1) Keill's *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory. p.* 164.

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on of a comet (A), which he ſuppoſes paſſed ſo cloſe by the body of the earth, at the time of the deluge, as to involve it in its atmoſphere and tail. On which hypotheſis, he proceeds to account for the deluge in this manner:

He ſays, that when the earth had paſſed through the tail and atmoſphere of the comet, which he ſuppoſes to conſiſt of vapours rarefied, and expanded in different degrees, and in which it would remain, on calculation, for about two hours, it muſt have acquired a large cylindrical column of vapours, whoſe baſis were ſomewhat larger than one of the earth's greateſt circles, and whoſe altitude were equal to the diameter of the comet's atmoſphere: that theſe vapours would be impeded from deſcending towards the ſun by the earth's interpoſition and attractive power, and ſo would fall down with great violence on its ſurface; a great part of which being in a very rare and expanded condition, after their primary fall, would immediately be mounted into the air, and afterwards, on their condenſation, deſcend in violent and outrageous rains on the face of the earth, and very naturally occaſion the forty days and forty nights rain mentioned by *Moſes*.

That the preſence of this comet, as it approached and came below the moon, would cauſe a double tide, as well in the ſeas above, as in the abyſs below; that in the ſeas would be leſs conſiderable, but the other would be vaſtly great, and produce mighty effects. For on the neareſt approach of the comet, the ſurface of the abyſs would put on an elliptic, or oval, inſtead of its former ſpherical figure, and the orb of earth which reſted on it would be obliged to accommodate itſelf to that larger oval ſurface; which being impoſſible for it to do while it remained ſolid, it muſt of neceſſity enlarge it ſelf, and by the violent force of the increaſing ſurface of the abyſs be ſtretched, cracked, and have innumerable fiſſures made quite through it; or rather the tide muſt open and

(A) That a comet actually appeared at the deluge, is atteſted by ſeveral authors (1): *Pliny* (2) mentions one which appeared in the reign of *Typhon*, that is, at the flood, or immediately before it; and ſpeaks of the direful effects of it. And our author has endeavoured to prove, that the laſt moſt remarkable comet, which was ſeen in theſe parts in the year 1680, (whoſe revolution he computes to be in about 575 years, and whoſe trajectory Sir *Iſaac Newton* has delineated) was that very comet which came by the earth at the beginning of *Noah*'s deluge, and which was the cauſe of the ſame (3)

(1) *Vid.* Hevelij *cometograph. l.* 12. *p.* 794. (2) *Hiſt. nat. l.* 2. 25. (3) Whiſton's *Theory, p.* 187.

enlarge

enlarge those fissures, which were produced at the commencement of the diurnal rotation. Thus would the fountains of the deep be broken up, and sufficient gaps made for a communication between the abyss below and the surface of the earth above; which was no sooner done, than the fall of the cometic waters began, and quickly covered the earth, and crouded the air with vast quantities thereof; which waters being adventitious, and of a prodigious weight, must press downwards with a mighty force, and endeavour to sink the orb of earth deeper into the abyss according as the entire weight of each column of earth and its incumbent water together did now require, agreeably to the laws of hydrostatics; which laws he supposes not to have been exactly complyed with at the earth's first subsiding into the abyss, otherwise he could scarce have expected any elevation of the subterraneous waters. But since the lower strata of the earth were, according to him, in a good measure settled, and consolidated together before the upper were all formed, the whole compages would arch-wise sustain itself much higher than the law of specific gravity would otherwise require; and so, upon the disruption of the upper earth, its several columns, as there was room, would settle themselves lower than they were at first, and their weight, augmented by the additional waters of the comet, would squeeze and press on the surface of the abyss; which being a fluid mass, and incapable of sustaining a pressure on one part without equally communicating it to all the rest, must burst out wherever such pressure was wanting, and throw itself up the fissures, through which it would ascend with a mighty force, and carry up with it whatever was in its way, whether earth, or water, and thereby add to the quantity of water already on the face of the earth, and become a fresh augmentation of that deluge, which began already to overwhelm and destroy the inhabitants thereof [q].

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THE abatement and decrease of the waters of the deluge, our author supposes, was first by a wind, which dried up some; and secondly, by their descent through those breaches and fissures, (at which part of them had ascended) into the bowels of the earth, which received the rest. To which latter also the wind, by hurrying the waters up and down, and so promoting their lighting into the beforementioned fissures, was very subservient. The air he grants could sustain a very inconsiderable quantity in comparison of the entire mass; but as he supposes the antediluvian earth, though it was not destitute of lesser seas and lakes, yet to have had no great ocean,

[q] WHISTON's Theory, p. 376, &c. 380, &c.

separating

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separating one continent from another, and covering so large a portion of it, as the present earth has[r]; he conceives the upper region of the earth, being generally dry and porous, and of a great thickness, was capable of receiving a much greater quantity of water, than was on the earth at the time of the deluge [s].

To this theory objections have been made, as well as to the former; for, though there are some surprising coincidents, which make it indeed probable, that a comet did really come very near, and passed by the earth when the deluge began, and might cause a prodigious tide in the sea, and in the abyss; yet it has been thought somewhat strange, that the swelling of the abyss should have such an effect as to make convenient fissures in the solid crust of earth which enclosed it, without shattering its whole frame. Nor has the theorist's account of draining off the waters from the surface of the earth been judged satisfactory; it being difficult to conceive, that those subterraneous cavities, which he supposes could contain but a small proportion of the waters requisite to make the deluge, should yet be capable of receiving the greatest part of them when it was over. These difficulties however might possibly receive a solution: but the greatest objection of all is, that it is far from being clear, whether the atmosphere of a comet be a watery substance or no; or if it were, that it should afford such a vast quantity of water as the theory has occasion for, on the earth's bare passing through it. For it is said the observations of the most curious enquirers make it not improbable, that the circle about the body of the comet is nothing but the curling and winding round of the smoak, rising at first to a determinate height from all parts of the comet, and then making off to that part of it which is opposite to the sun. And if this opinion be true, the earth, by passing through the atmosphere of the comet, ran a greater risque of a conflagration than a deluge [t].

The most rational account of the deluge.

It seems therefore, after all, that the divine assistance must be called in on this occasion. For though the waters which covered the earth at the creation, might be sufficient to cover it again, yet how this should be effected by mere natural means, cannot be conceived. The waters which were suspended in the clouds, might indeed descend upon the earth, and that in cataracts, or spouts of water (as the *Septuagint* interpret the *windows of heaven*) like those in the *Indies*,

[r] Whiston's Theory, p. 374. See also p. 61. [s] Ibid. p. 401, &c. [t] Vid. Keill's Remarks on Whiston's Theory, and Nicholl's Conference, Vol. I.

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where the clouds frequently, instead of dropping, fall with a terrible violence in a kind of torrent [u]; and this alone might cause a great inundation on the lower grounds: but as the clouds could pour down no more water than they had, which would soon be exhausted at this rate, it seems from the length of the rains continuance, that the showers were rather moderate and gradual. The subterraneous stores would afford a much more plentiful supply to compleat the deluge, and probably contain more water than enough to drown the world to a greater height than *Moses* relates (B): the only difficulty is to draw it out of the abyss on the surface of the earth. And here, since we can assign no natural cause, we apprehend, we may, not unphilosophically, resolve it into the divine power, which might on this occasion so far controll (no greater a miracle than that of continuing) the usual course of nature, as to effect its purpose. And indeed the event was so extraordinary, and the consequences thereof so considerable, that it is very reasonable to believe, GOD did in an especial manner interpose therein. The *Stoics*, who supposed alternate destructions of the earth by fire and water, made no doubt of the possibility of a general deluge. "There are vast lakes, says *Seneca*, which we do not see, "great part of the sea lies hidden and concealed, and many "rivers glide in secret; so that there may be causes of a de-"luge on all sides, when some waters flow in under the "earth, others flow round about it, and being long pent "up,

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[u] Vid. PATRICK's Comment. and RAY ubi sup. 116.

(B) Though Sir *W. Raleigh* (1) allows thirty miles for the height of the mountains, yet the highest in the world will not be found to be above five direct miles in height. *Olympus*, whose height is so extolled by the poets, does not exceed a mile and a half perpendicular, and about seventy paces. Mount *Athos*, which is said to cast its shade into the isle of *Lemnos* (according to *Pliny* eighty seven miles) is not above two miles in height; nor *Caucasus* much more (2); nay the pike of *Teneriff*, reputed the highest mountain in the world, may be ascended in three days, (according to the proportion of eight furlongs to a day's journey) which makes it about the height of a *German* mile perpendicular (3). And the *Spaniards* affirm, that the *Andes*, those lofty mountains of *Peru*, in comparison of which, they say, the *Alps* are but cottages, may be ascended in four days compass (4).

(1) *Hist. of the World*, *Book* 1. *c.* 7. § 6. (2) *Vid.* Mos. *in Melam. l.* 2. *c.* 2. (3) *Vid.* Varen. *Geogr. l.* 1. *c.* 10. *prop.* 3. (4) Stillingfleet's *Orig. Sacr. p.* 554.

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" up, overwhelm it; and as our bodies sometimes dissolve " into sweat, so the earth shall melt, and, without the help " of other causes, shall find in itself what shall drown it, " there being in all places, both openly and secretly, both " from above and from beneath, an eruption of waters, " ready to overflow and destroy it [w].

Of the Ark.

HAVING thus considered the efficient causes of the deluge, we must next take a view of the ark, whereby *Noah* and his family were delivered from this destruction.

Its size and figure.

WE might presume, if *Moses* had not told us so, that a vessel proportionable and adapted to the use designed, must have been of more than human contrivance, and built by the direction of GOD himself. The length of it was 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30; but what was the exact measure of the cubit here mentioned is disputed. Some fearing the capacity of the ark would be otherwise too small for the intended purpose, have enlarged the dimensions even to extravagance (C): but the general opinion of learned men is, that they were but common cubits [x], one of which, though formerly supposed equal to eighteen of our inches [y], is now allowed to contain almost 22, or more exactly 21.888 [z]. According to which measure the ark must have been 547.2

[w] SENEC. Nat. quæst. l. 3. c. 27. [x] Vid BUTEON. de Arca Noe. POOL's Synopsis, in loc. [y] Vid. BERNARD. de mensuris & ponder. antiq. l. 3. [z] See the preface.

(C) When *Celsus* objected, that the ark was a monster with all things in its belly (1), *Origen* answered, that the ark was like a great city, whose base was 90,000 cubits long, and 25,000 broad (2); but in another place he is more moderate, and without encreasing the number of the *Mosaic* cubits, supposes they were geometrical cubits, each containing six ordinary cubits (3); which last opinion is approved by St. *Austin* (4). Some, who cannot digest these geometrical cubits, suppose, the ark was measured by a larger cubit of three foot (5), or by the sacred cubit, which was larger by a hand's breadth than the common cubit (6), all without the least ground or intimation to that purpose in the sacred historian. Sir *Walter Raleigh* (7) supposes, the antediluvian cubit was larger than that which was after in use, because, as he imagines, mankind were then of a larger stature: but this gains no room in the ark, because the bulk of its cargo must have been encreased in proportion.

(1) Αλλήκοσον ἅπαντα ἴσον ἴχνεσιν. (2) Origen. *cont. Celf. l.* 4. *Vid.* Kircher, *de arca Noe, c.* 8. (3) *Idem, Homil.* 2. *in Genes.* (4) *De Civit. Dei, l.* 15. *c.* 27. (5) Cappell. *Hist. Sacr. p.* 30. (6) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hist. patr. Tom.* I. *Exerc.* 17. § 10. (7) *Ubi sup.* § 9.

English

English feet long, 91.2 broad, and 54.72 high, and the solid contents 2,730,781.9008 feet, almost double to what they would be by the former computation. The form of it was an oblong square, or parallelopiped, with a flat bottom, and a sloped roof raised a cubit in the middle [a]; it had neither sails nor rudder, nor was it made sharp so as to cut the water; which form, as it was admirably contrived for lying steadily on the water without rolling, which might have endangered the lives of the animals within it, so it was very unfit for swimming to a great distance, or for riding in a boisterous sea. It consisted of three stories, each of which, abating the thickness of the floors, might be about eighteen foot high, and was partitioned into a great many rooms, or apartments [b]. This vessel was without doubt so contrived as to have the benefit of the air and light on all sides *(D)*, though the particular construction of the windows be not mentioned; and the whole seems to have had another covering besides the roof, probably made of skins, like that of the tabernacle *(E)*. Year of the World 1307. Year before Christ, 2999.

THAT the space in the ark was abundantly sufficient to contain both *Noah*, and his family, and the animals, and all necessary provisions for them, does evidently appear from the geometrical calculations of learned men (F), who have yet generally

[a] Genes. vi. 14, 15, 16. [b] Ibid. v. 14, 16.

(D) There are various translations of the word צֹהַר *Sohar* (8), which is found but once in the whole bible in this sense. Our version renders it *window*, as it seems very properly; for the root in the *Chaldee* signifies to *shine*, or to *give light*; wherefore one of the paraphrasts (9) imagines *Sohar* to have been a precious stone, or carbuncle, which *Noah* was to fetch from the river *Phison*, to illuminate the ark. From the following words, *and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above*, some have supposed the window was to have been a cubit square, or but a cubit high, which would have been much too small; but the relative *it*, being in the *Hebrew* of the feminine gender, and *Sohar* of the masculine, those two words cannot agree; and therefore the proper antecedent seems to be *the ark*, which was to be covered with a roof raised a cubit high in the middle.

(E) *Noah* is said, after the flood, to have removed *the covering of the ark* (10), which cannot well be supposed to have been the roof, but something flung over it, like that of the tabernacle, which is expressed by the same *Hebrew* word; and the use of it was probably to hang over and defend the windows in bad weather.

(F) Bishop *Wilkins* has reduced the number of species of animals, which at first view may seem almost infinite, within very mo-

(8) *Genes.* vi. 16. (9) Jonathan. (10) *Genes.* viii. 13.

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generally ſuppoſed the length of the cubit to have been but eighteen inches [c]; whereas, if we take the dimenſions according to the larger meaſure abovementioned, the whole capacity will be nearly doubled [d], as may be eaſily proved.

BUT another objection has been raiſed againſt the preſervation of animals in the ark, which may not be ſo eaſily anſwered; and that is, how the unknown kinds of ſerpents in *Brazil*, the ſlow-bellied creature of the *Indies*, and all thoſe ſtrange ſpecies of animals ſeen in the *Weſt-Indies*, ſhould either come into the ark, or be conveyed out of it into thoſe countries, which are divided from that continent where *Noah* was, by ſo vaſt an ocean on one ſide, and at leaſt ſo large a tract of land on the other, (ſuppoſing a paſſage out of one continent to the other, which has not been yet diſcovered) and ſome animals cannot live out of the particular clime wherein they are [e]. But to this it may be anſwered, that it is probable, that the temperature of the air, before the deluge, was ſo equal and ſerene, that all kinds, even of the *American* animals, might live and be found in thoſe parts of *Aſia*, when *Noah* went into the ark, though none of them could bear the climate ſince, by reaſon of the change in nature. The great difficulty is

[c] BUTEO, de Arca Noe. Biſhop WILKINS's eſſay towards a real character. [d] Vid. PELETIER Diſſert. ſur. l'arche de Noe. [e] STILLINGFLEET's Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. p. 542.

derate bounds; he reckons, they do not amount to one hundred of quadrupeds, and two hundred of birds; and of theſe muſt be excepted ſuch as live in the water, ſuch as proceed from a mixture of different ſpecies, and ſuch as change their colour, ſize, and ſhape, by changing their climate; and thence, in different countries, ſeem to be of different ſpecies, when they are not. He afterwards enters into a particular detail of the animals, the quantity of food neceſſary for them, and of the capacity and proportion of the ark; and concludes, there was room enough and to ſpare: whereupon he obſerves, that had the moſt ſkilful mathematicians and philoſophers been ſet to conſult what proportions a veſſel deſigned for ſuch an uſe ſhould have in the ſeveral parts of it, they could not have pitched on any more ſuitable to the purpoſe than thoſe mentioned by *Moſes* (11). It is not to be expected, we ſhould here examine the ſeveral plans given of the ark, which may ſerve indeed to ſhew us the poſſible, but not the real diſpoſition of it; however, for the readers ſatisfaction, we have inſerted a view of the ark, according to that plan, which ſeems to us moſt likely to be the true one.

(11) Wilkin's *Eſſay*, &c. *See alſo* Temporarius, *Chronolog. Demonſtr. lib.* 1. *p.* 32.

how

how to get them into *America* after the flood was over; and here we confeſs we cannot tell how that was done, any more than we can by what means *America* was peopled; and yet even thoſe who contend for a partial deluge, allow the inhabitants of that country to be the deſcendants of *Noah* (G). Year of the World 1307. Year before Chriſt, 2999.

THE timber of which the ark was framed, *Moſes* calls *Gopher* wood [f]; but what tree the *Gopher* was (H) is controverted; ſome will have it the cedar [g], others the pine [h], ſome the box [i], and others, particularly the *Mohammedans*, the *Indian* plane-tree [k]; but they ſeem to be in the right who ſuppoſe it to be the cypreſs [l]; which, beſides the reſemblance in name, is allowed to be a very proper ſort of timber for the building of ſhips [m], and not ſubject to rot [n]. To preſerve it from leaking, *Noah* was directed to pitch it with pitch both within and without; which requiring a very large quantity, ſome have ſuppoſed it to be not pitch, but bitumen, ſuch as was uſed in the building the tower of *Babel*; which is probable enough, though *Moſes* uſes a different word in that place. *Its materials.*

NOR is there leſs diſagreement as to the place where the ark was built, and the time ſpent therein. One ſuppoſes it was *Where built.*

[f] Geneſ. vi. 14. [g] Targum of Onkelos, and moſt of the old Rabbins. [h] MUNSTER. [i] Scholiaſt. Græc. [k] EUTYCH. p. 34. D'HERBEL. p. 675. [l] FULLER Miſcell. l. 4. c. 5. BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 1. c. 4. [m] Vid. PLUTARCH. Sympoſ. lib. 1. quæſt. 2. VEGET. l. 4. c. 34. PLATO, de legib. l. 4. [n] VITRUV. l. 2. c. 9. PLIN. l. 16. c. 40. THEOPHRAST. Hiſt. Plant. l. 5. c. 5.

(G) Mr. *Whiſton* thinks it moſt probable, that ſome were preſerved from the deluge in the *American* continent as well as in this, tho' we have no records left among them to give us notice of it. The ſilence of the ſacred hiſtorian as to that world he takes to be no objection, becauſe he ſuppoſes the *whole earth* of *Moſes* comprehends no more than the then known parts of the world (12).

(H) *Aben Ezra* and *Kimbi* only ſay it is a ſort of wood ſo called, which is light, and ſwims on the water. The *Vulgat* and *Septuagint* take the word *Gopher* not to denote the ſpecies of timber, but for an adjective, the firſt tranſlating it *ligna lævigata*, *ſmoothed*, or *planed timber*, and the other ξύλα τετράγωνα *ſquare timber* (3); *Voſſius* endeavours to prove, that the expreſſion of this laſt verſion ſignifies not timber ſquared by the workman, but ſuch ſort of trees whoſe branches ſhoot quadrangularly, or by four and four at equal diſtances from the earth. Of which kind are the pine, fir, cedar, and ſome others; but not the cypreſs (14).

(12) Whiſton's *Theory*, *p.* 409, *&c.* (13) *Vid.* Eutych. *p.* 24. (14) VOSS. *de Sept. Interp. c.* 11.

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built in *Paleſtine*, and that *Noah* planted the cedars of which he made it in the plains of *Sodom* [o]; another takes it to have been built near mount *Caucaſus*, on the confines of *India* [p]; and a third in *China*, where he imagines *Noah* dwelt before the flood [q]. But the place ſeems rather to have been ſomewhere near *Eden*; from whence, it is to be preſumed, *Noah* would not remove far, though not for the reaſon alledged by ſome [r], *viz.* becauſe he was the eldeſt ſon in a lineal deſcent from *Seth*, which is no way certain from ſcripture; nor can we think it was far from *Ararat* where the ark reſted, that being a veſſel which could not be driven to a great diſtance. It was therefore probably built in *Chaldea*, in the territories of *Babylon* [s]; where there was ſo great a quantity of cypreſs in the groves and gardens in *Alexander*'s time, that that prince built a whole fleet out of it for want of other timber [t]. And this conjecture is confirmed by the *Chaldean* tradition, which makes *Xiſuthrus* ſail from that country [u].

And in what time.

As to the time, a *Rabbin* ſays, the ark was fifty two years in building [w]: the fathers and oriental authors a hundred [x], becauſe *Noah* is ſaid to be five hundred years old before any mention is made of the ark [y]. Some, from the words of St. *Peter*, *that the long-ſuffering of* GOD *waited while the ark was preparing* [z], ſuppoſe, *Noah* was employed therein the whole time of forbearance [a], which was one hundred and twenty years [b]: and others think the time much ſhorter, becauſe *Noah*'s three ſons, the eldeſt of whom was born in his five hundredth year, are not only mentioned before the directions given for the ark, but they and their wives are ordered to be taken into the ark in thoſe very directions [c], which ſeems to imply, they were then married; and yet they had no children till after the flood, unleſs they periſhed in the deluge. But there is no ſuch connection, or exact order of time kept in this whole narration, as to eſtabliſh any of theſe conjectures. All we can affirm is, that ſuch a veſſel as the ark, and the neceſſary preparations of timber for it, could not be the work of a few years.

[o] JACOB. EDESSEN, apud Barcepham, de parad. part. 1. c. 14. p. 38. [p] TEMPORARIUS Chronol. Demonſt. l. 1. [q] WHISTON's Theory, p. 387, &c. [r] Dr. WELL's Geogr. of the old Teſt. vol. I. p. 65. [s] Vid. BOCHART, ubi ſupra. HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patr. tom. I. Exerc. 17. § 20: [t] STRABO, l. 16. p. 1072 & 1076. ARRIAN. de Exped. Alex. l. 7. [u] See before, p. 186, &c. [w] R. ELIEZER Pirke, c 23. [x] ORIGEN. GREGOR. AUGUSTIN., &c. ELMACIN. p. 11. [y] Geneſ. v. 32. [z] 1 Pet. iii. 26. [a] BEDFORD's Scripture Chronol. p. 21. Vid. R SOLOMON. [b] Geneſ. vi. 3. [c] Ibid. v. 18.

THE

THE appointed time of the deluge being come, and all things in readineſs, *Noah*, at GOD's command, went into the ark with his wife, his ſons, and his daughters-in-law (I); and

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Noah, &c. *enter into the ark, and the flood begins.*

(I) It is certain, both from the teſtimony of *Moſes* and St. *Peter* (1), that eight perſons and no more were ſaved in the ark; and though there be a tradition among the *Mohammedans* to the ſame effect, which is ſaid to have been received from their prophet himſelf, yet others of them report this number variouſly: ſome ſay, they were but ſix; others ten; others twelve; others ſeventy eight; others fourſcore, half men and half women (2); and that one of them was the elder *Jorham* (3), the preſerver, as ſome pretend, of the *Arabian* language. But it is ſtill more extraordinary, that a chriſtian writer ſhould encreaſe the number of *Noah*'s family, by ſuppoſing he had daughters of his own, and their husbands, his ſons-in-law, with him in the ark (4). The *Mohammedans*, on the other hand, alſo tell us, that the family of *Noah* were not all ſaved; but that one of his ſons named *Yam* (5), or *Canaan* (6), whom ſome make his grandſon, and the ſon of *Ham* (7), and others his wife's ſon by another husband (8), periſhed in the flood. The *Korân* ſays, *Noah* called to his ſon from the ark, ſaying, *Embark with us, my ſon, and ſtay not with the unbelievers:* he anſwered, *I will get on a mountain which will ſecure me from the waters*; to which *Noah* replied, *There is no ſecurity this day againſt the decree of* GOD, *unleſs for them on whom he ſhall have mercy.* And immediately a wave ſeparating them, he was drowned (9). Some commentators (10) add, that *Noah*'s wife likewiſe periſhed with her ſon.

The *Eaſtern* authors differ as to the name of *Noah*'s wife. Some of the *Jews* call her *Tiſiah*, or *Ariſiſah* (11), others ſay ſhe was *Naamah*, the daughter of *Lamech* (12), of the race of *Cain*. The *Gnoſtics* called her *Noria*, for which *Epiphanius* (13) reprehends them, and ſays, her name was *Barthenos*. *Eutychius* tells us *Noah*'s wife was *Haical*, the daughter of *Namuſa*, the ſon of *Enoch*; and that *Shem*'s wife was named *Salit*; *Ham*'s, *Nahlat*; and *Japhet*'s *Ariſiſah*; and that they were all three the daughters of *Methuſelah* (14). But theſe deſerve the ſame credit as the *Sibyl*, who pretends ſhe was in the ark with *Noah*, being one of his daughters-in-law (15).

(1) 1 *Pet.* iii. 20. (2) Al Zamakhſhari & Jallalo'ddin *in Alcor. c.* 11. *v.* 40. Ebn. Shohnah. (3) *Idem.* (4) Conſt. Manaſſes *apud* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patr. Tom.* I. *Exerc.* 17. § 23. (5) EBN. SHOHNAH. (6) Jallalo'ddin. (7) D'Herbel. *Bibl. orient. p.* 676. (8) Al Zamakhſhari. (9) Al Korân, *c.* 11. *v.* 32. (10) Jallalo'ddin. & Al Zamakhſh. (11) *Shalſhel. Hakkab. p.* 92. (12) *Bereſhit Rabba, & Shalſhel Hakkab p.* 7. 13) *Hæreſ.* 26. (14) Eutych *p.* 34. (15) Sibylla Erythr. *l.* 3.

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and he took in to him, pursuant to the divine directions, of all kinds of beasts, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and of the clean by sevens, the male and his female[d] (K). *Noah* went into the the ark in the six hundredth year of his age, on the seventeenth day of the second month[e], which answers to our

[d] Genes. vii. 7. and 2, &c. [e] Genes. vii. 6, 11, 13.

The *Eastern* authors add, that *Noah*, in pursuance of the directions of *Adam*, handed to him for that purpose (16), took the body of that patriarch with him into the ark, and placed it in the midst of the vessel, as a barrier between the men and the women, who had no commerce during the deluge (17).

(K) It is a doubt, whether there went into the ark but seven of every clean, and two of every unclean species, or fourteen of the first, and four of the last. Some adhere to the former exposition (18), and others to the latter (19), which seems to be the natural sense of the *Hebrew* words, *seven* and *seven*; and *two* and *two*; *the male and his female* (20). Besides, if there were but seven of the clean beasts, one must have been without a mate; and if we answer, that the odd one was for sacrifice (21), it is more than *Moses* tells us, who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the animals all went in by pairs (22). If this be admitted, the capacity which we have allowed the ark, being double to what bishop *Wilkins* computes it, will be no more than necessary for double the number of animals; especially if we consider the birds all went in by sevens; unless the distinguishing word *clean*, which is inserted in the *Samaritan* text, and in the *Septuagint*, and *Syriac* versions should be supplied in the *Hebrew* (23).

If it be asked by what means *Noah* got all these animals together into the ark, the best answer that has been given is, that they came voluntarily, by a supernatural impulse from God (24); which seems to be intimated by the words of scripture (25), though others suppose it was done by the assistance of angels (26).

(16) *See before*, p. 161. (17) Eutych. p. 38. *Vid.* Eliezer. *Pirke*, c. 23. Yahya. *in Al Korân. apud Maracc.* 340. (18) Joseph. *Ant.* l. 1. c. 3. August. *de civit. Dei*, l. 15. c. 27. Hieronym. *cont. Jovian.* l. 2 &c. (19) Justin. Martyr. Origen. Aben Ezra, &c. (20) *Genes.* vii. 2. (21) Theodoret. *quæst.* 50 *in Genes.* R. Solomon. (22) *Genes.* vii. 9, 15, 16. (23) *Vid.* Cleric. *in loc.* Heidegg. *ubi sup.* § 25. (24) *Vid.* Philon. *Jud de vita Mosis*, l. 2. p 663. Jallalo'ddin *in al Korân apud Maracc. ubi sup.* (25) *Genes.* vi. 20. vii. 9. (26) Eliez. *Pirke*, c. 23.

second

second of *December* (L), while the reſt of mankind were in the height of ſecurity, and contemning the repeated admonitions of *Noah*, did eat, and drink, did marry wives, and were given in marriage, until the flood came and deſtroyed them all [f]. For on the ſelf-ſame day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. The waters of the flood continued gradually to encreaſe for five months, till they reached their utmoſt height, which was fifteen cubits, or upwards, or twenty ſeven foot above the tops of the higheſt mountains; but they ſeem to have been free from ſtorms, or violent commotions, and to have raiſed and carried the ark gently along, that veſſel, as has been obſerved, being unable to abide a ſtormy ſea. Year of the World 1308. Year before Chriſt 2998.

AT the end of the five months, GOD cauſed a wind to paſs over the earth, and the waters began to aſſwage, the two ſources which fed them being ſtopped and reſtrained. On the very firſt day of their decreaſe, *viz.* the ſeventeenth of the ſeventh month, or the ſecond of *May*, they fell ſo much *The waters aſſwage.*

[f] Matt. xxiv. 38. Luke xvii. 27.

(L) Several writers have fallen into miſtakes as to the day when the flood began, by computing from the vernal equinox. But ſince the antediluvian year indiſputably commenced from the autumnal equinox, the ſeventeenth day of the ſecond month will fall about the time we have fixed it, according to the *Samaritan* chronology; and according to the *Hebrew* on the ſeventh of *December*, as archbiſhop *Uſher* computes (4); on the ſixth of *November*, as others reckon (5); or more exactly, on the twenty eighth day of *November*, which is the calculation of Mr. *Whiſton* (6).

It is remarkable, that the day aſſigned by *Moſes* for the beginning of the deluge, agrees exactly with the day wherein *Plutarch* tells us *Oſiris* went into the ark, *viz.* the ſeventeenth of *Athyr*, which month is the ſecond after the autumnal equinox, the ſun then paſſing through *Scorpius* (7). Nor does it differ above a day or two from that ſet down by *Beroſus*, if we allow what probably may have been the caſe, that that writer, or his tranſcribers fell into the miſtake abovementioned, and ſuppoſed the flood began the ſecond month from the vernal equinox, which was *Dæſius* (8); whereas the true month was *Apellæus*, the ſecond from the autumnal equinox.

The *Mahammedans* ſay the flood began the tenth day of *Rajeb* (9).

(4) *Annal ad A. M.* 1656. (5) *Vid* Cleric. *in loc.* (6) *Theory*, p. 218. (7) Plut. *de Iſide & Oſiride*, p. 356. *D.* (8) *Vid.* Galen. *Coment. in l.* 1. *Epid.* (9) Ebn Sholnah,

that

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that the ark rested on the mountains of *Ararat*: and by the first of the tenth month, or fifteenth of *July*, the tops of the neighbouring mountains began to appear. Forty days after, or about the twenty third of *August*, *Noah*, the better to judge of the height of the waters, opened the window, or lattice of the room where the birds were kept, and let out a raven (M), which flew to and fro till the earth was dry, but gave *Noah* no satisfactory information; whereupon he sent out a dove (N) three several times, staying seven days between each; the first time the dove quickly returned, finding no place dry enough for her to rest on; the second time she came back in the evening, bringing in her mouth an olive leaf plucked off, which shewed a considerable abatement of the waters; and the third time she returned no more.

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On the first day of the first month, answering to our seventh of *October*, in the six hundredth and first year of *Noah's* life, that patriarch removed the covering of the ark, to have a more extended view, and saw the surface of the earth was

Noah, &c. *leave the ark.*

(M) The raven is supposed to have been sent out, because *Noah* thought the smell of the carcasses would tempt him to fly to some distance (10); instead of which he kept hovering about the ark, having some jealousy, as the *Jews* pretend, of his mate (11). Though the *Hebrew* says the raven returned again, yet according to the *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, and *vulgat* versions, he did not return; wherefore it is thought he perished in the waters (12). The *Rabbins* have framed a dialogue on this occasion between *Noah* and the raven, who asking, why he was picked out to be sent on that errand, *Noah* told him, because the world might well be without ravens, which were neither fit for food, nor for sacrifice (13).

(N) The dove was probably sent, because of her tameness, her flying far, feeding on the ground, and returning to her nest from the greatest distance (14). Some of the *Jews* pretend, she took the olive leaf from paradise, others from mount *Olivet*: for they imagine *Judea* was not drowned in the deluge (15). From the olive leaf *Noah* might infer, that the lower hills, where those trees chiefly grew, were left by the waters, and that the vegetables were not totally destroyed (16). The *Chaldean* tradition agrees with the *Mosaic* history in the circumstance of the birds being sent out by *Xisuthrus* (17). And *Plutarch* says that according to the mythologists, a dove was let out of the ark, and that her going out was to *Deucalion* a sign of fair weather, and her return of foul (18).

(10) *Vid.* Bochart, *Hieroz. part.* 2. *l.* 2. *c.* 12. (11) *In Agudda.* (12) *Vid.* Bochart. *ubi sup.* (13) *Bereshit rabbah.* § 33. (14) Bochart. *ubi sup. l.* 1. *c.* 6. (15) *Bereshit rabba. ubi sup.* (16) Bochart. *ubi sup.* (17) *See before, p.* 187. (18) Plutarch. *de solert. animal. p.* 968.

cleared

cleared of the waters; however, he ſtayed ſometime longer in the ark, till the twenty ſeventh of the ſecond month, or the ſecond of *December*, when by GOD's direction he came forth out of the ark, with his family, and all that were with him, having remained therein a year and ten days according to the antediluvian computation; and according to the preſent, a full year, or three hundred ſixty five days[g]. Year of the World 1309. Year before Chriſt, 2997.

The Perſian and Indian traditions of the flood.

WE ſhall conclude this ſection with adding a word or two concerning the *Perſian*, and *Indian* traditions relating to the deluge.

AN eaſtern writer tells us, that ſome of thoſe who embrace the *Magian* religion, are ſaid to deny the flood, or at leaſt the univerſality of it, pretending, it reached no farther than a cliff near *Hulwân*[h], a city of *Irâk*, bordering on *Curdeſtân*. Yet the orthodox among them acknowledge this general deſtruction by water, wherein all mankind periſhed, except ſome few that were preſerved by providence; and that it was ſent by GOD to puniſh the crimes of mankind, one of whom, named *Malcûs*, was a monſter of wickedneſs and impiety. One odd circumſtance mentioned by them is, that the firſt waters of the deluge guſhed out of the oven (O) of a certain old woman named *Zala Cuſa*[i].

WE are told, by the ſame author, that the *Indians* acknowledge no deluge; but this muſt not be underſtood of all, for the *Bramins* ſay, that the four tribes, or caſts, of which the firſt race of men conſiſted, degenerating from their primitive innocence, the prieſt neglecting his piety, the ſoldier becoming inſolent and tyrannical, the merchant practiſing deceit in trade, and uſing falſe balances, and the artiſan ſpending the profits of his inventions in riot and exceſs; their impiety and wickedneſs grew at length to ſo inſufferable an

[g] Geneſ. vii and viii. [h] EBN SHOHNAH. [i] Vid. HYDE, de rel. vet. Perſar. c. 10. and LORD's account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 9.

(O) *Mohammed* has borrowed this circumſtance, and inſerted it in his *Korân* (1). The commentators ſay, it was the ſign by which *Noah* knew the flood was coming (2). And ſome pretend it was the ſame oven which *Eve* made uſe of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from thoſe we uſe, having the mouth in the upper part; and that it deſcended from patriarch to patriarch till it came to *Noah* (3).

(1) *Al* Korân. *c.* 11. *v.* 40. *and c.* 23. *v.* 28. (2) *Vid.* Maracc. *in Alc. p.* 340. (3) *Vid.* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Noah.*

height,

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height, that God's indignation was justly provoked, and he sent a flood, which destroyed all nations without exception; after which God, to repair mankind, created three persons of greater excellency than those of the former generation; to one of whom, named *Bremaw*, he gave the power of creating men and animals, which he executed accordingly; the first human pair proceeding one from his right side, the other from his left. The man was called *Manow*, and the woman *Ceteroupa*, and by them was the earth replenished [k]. It must be observed, however, that these people believe several alternate destructions and reparations of mankind: and some of them say, there have been already no less than three destructions by water, and that another is yet to be expected by the same element [l].

SECT. VII.

Of the state of the antediluvian world, and the changes made in the earth by the deluge.

Of the state of the old world.

WE cannot dismiss the history of the old world, without taking a transient view of the antediluvian state of mankind, and of the alterations which have been wrought in nature by the flood.

The religion, policy, arts, and sciences of these first men would be a very entertaining subject, if the greatest part of what can be said on these heads was not reducible to a few conjectures.

The religion of the antediluvians.

The only thing we know as to their religious rites is, that they offered sacrifices, and that very early both of the fruits of the earth, and of animals; but whether the blood and flesh of the animals, or only their milk and wool were offered, is a dispute which we shall consider elsewhere. Some have endeavoured to prove, that all the patriarchs from *Adam* had stated places, and annual, and weekly times set apart for divine worship, and also a separate maintenance for the priests: all which particulars may be true, though they cannot be made out from scripture. But what is more extraordinary, they pretend to tell us the very day of the week on which the antediluvian sabbath was kept, and that it was the same with the christian sabbath, or sunday [a]; which notion

[k] Lord's Discourse of the Banian religion, c. 6. and 7. [l] Propag. of the gospel in the east, part. 1. lett. 3. See also the Introd. p. 69. [a] Smith's doctrine of the church of England concerning the Lord's day. Vid. Bedford's Scripture Chronol. p. 6.

we

we ſhall, in a proper place, ſhew to be very groundleſs and precarious.

Their arts and ſciences.

OF the arts and ſciences of theſe people we have not much more to ſay. They ſeem rather to have ſpent their time in luxury and wantonneſs, to which the abundant fertility of the firſt earth invited them, than in diſcoveries or improvements, which probably they ſtood much leſs in need of than their ſucceſſors. The art of working metals was found out by the laſt generation of *Cain*'s line; and muſic, which they might be ſuppoſed to practiſe for their pleaſure, was not brought to any perfection, if invented, before the ſame generation. Some authors have ſuppoſed aſtronomy to have been cultivated by the antediluvians, though this is probably owing to a miſtake of *Joſephus* [b]: but it is to be preſumed, the progreſs they made therein, or in any other ſcience, was not extraordinary; it being even very doubtful whether letters were ſo much as known before the flood (as will be ſhewn in another place), whatever is pretended by ſome men, who have conceived ſo high an opinion of *Adam*'s knowledge, that they ſuppoſe it to have been almoſt univerſal; nor can any thing be inferred from the books attributed to that patriarch, or to *Seth*, and *Enoch* [c], which are forgeries too groſs to deſerve any conſideration.

Their politics.

As to their politics and civil conſtitutions, we have not ſo much as any circumſtances whereon to build conjectures. It is probable, the patriarchal form of government, which certainly was the firſt, was ſet aſide when tyranny and oppreſſion began to take place, and much ſooner among the race of *Cain* than that of *Seth*. It ſeems alſo, that their communities were but few, and conſiſted of vaſtly larger numbers of people than any formed ſince the flood; or rather it is a queſtion whether, after the union of the two great families of *Seth* and *Cain*, there were any diſtinction of civil ſocieties, or diverſity of regular governments at all; it is more likely, that all mankind then made but one great nation, though living in a kind of anarchy, divided into ſeveral diſorderly aſſociations; which, as it was almoſt the natural conſequence of their having, in all probability, but one common language, ſo it was a circumſtance which greatly contributed to that general corruption, which otherwiſe perhaps could not have ſo univerſally overſpread the antediluvian world. And for this reaſon chiefly, as it ſeems, ſo ſoon as the poſterity of *Noah* were ſufficiently increaſed, a plurality of tongues was miraculouſly introduced, in order to divide them into diſtinct

[b] See before, p. 163. [c] See before, p. ibid.

ſocieties,

societies, and thereby prevent any such total depravation for the future.

THE ſtate of the natural world before the flood ſeems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at preſent.

The old world more populous and fertile than the preſent.

THE antediluvian world was, in all probability, ſtocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than the preſent earth either actually does, or perhaps is capable of containing, or ſupplying. This ſeems naturally to follow from the great length of their lives, which exceeding the preſent ſtandard of life in the proportion, at leaſt, of ten to one, the antediluvians muſt accordingly in any long ſpace of time double themſelves, at leaſt, in about the tenth part of the time in which mankind do now double themſelves; for they began to beget children as early, and left off as late in proportion as men do now, and the ſeveral children of the ſame father ſeem to have ſucceeded as quickly one after another as they uſually do at this day; and as many generations which are but ſucceſſive with us, were contemporary before the flood; the number of people living on the earth at once would be by that means ſufficiently increaſed to anſwer any defect, which might ariſe from other circumſtances not conſidered. So that, if we make a computation on theſe principles (P), we ſhall find, that there were a conſiderable number of people in the world at the death of *Abel*, though their father *Adam* was not then 130 years old, and that the number of mankind before the

(P) It is now generally owned, and that from good obſervations, that mankind do double themſelves in about three hundred and ſixty, or three hundred and ſeventy years; or allowance being made for all, but very uncommon and very rare caſes of general wars, famines, plagues, and ſuch like deſolations, in about four hundred years (1). So that allowing the period for the doubling of mankind from the creation to the deluge to be ten times ſhorter, by reaſon of their ſo much longer lives; if we have a ſeries of forty numbers beginning at two (for ſo many GOD created himſelf at firſt) and doubling themſelves in forty, or for convenience in forty one years at a mean, or one age with another, till the deluge, we ſhall, in ſome degree, obtain the ſum total of mankind at the deluge, and alſo in the ſeveral ages before that time; though this period of doubling muſt ſtill have been much ſhorter in the earlieſt, and longer in the lateſt times of the interval. Which computation Mr *Whiſton* (2), (to whom we are obliged for theſe obſervations) has given us in the following table.

(1) *See Sir* W. PETTY's *Eſſay on the multiplication of mankind; and the Philoſophical Tranſactions*, N° 196, *p.* 597, *&c.* (2) *Theory of the earth, p.* 249.

deluge

deluge would eaſily amount to above one hundred thouſand millions (even according to the *Samaritan* chronology) that is to twenty times as many as our preſent earth has, in all probability, now upon it, or can well be ſuppoſed capable of maintaining in its preſent conſtitution [d]. From whence it fol-

[d] WHISTON's Theory, p. 246, &c.

Series.	*Years of doubling.*	*Years of the world.*	*Number of mankind.*
1	2	2	4
2	4	6	8
3	6	12	16
4	8	20	32
5	10	30	64
6	12	42	128
7	14	56	256
8	16	72	512
9	18	90	1024
10	20	110	2048
11	22	132	4096
12	24	156	8192
13	26	182	16,384
14	28	210	32,768
15	30	240	65,536
16	32	272	131,072
17	34	306	262,144
18	36	342	524,288
19	38	380	1,048,576
20	40	420	2,097,152
21	42	462	4,194,304
22	44	506	8,388,608
23	46	552	16,777,216
24	48	600	33,554,432
25	50	650	67,108,864
26	52	702	134,217,728
27	54	756	268,435,456
28	56	812	536,870,912
29	58	870	1,073,741,824
30	60	930	2,147,483,648
31	62	992	4,294,967,296
32	64	1056	8,589,934,592
33	66	1122	17,179,869,184
34	68	1190	34,359,738,368
35	70	1260	68,719,476,736
36	72	1332	137,438,953,472
37	74	1406	274,877,906,944
38	76	1482	549,755,813,888

lows,

lows, that to ſuſtain ſo much larger a number of inhabitants (beſides the brute animals which were very probably as numerous in proportion) the earth muſt have been much more fruitful before that deſolation than it has been ſince[e], though it was then barren in compariſon of its primitive fertility before the fall.

Of the longevity of the antediluvians.

ONE of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances which occurs in the antediluvian hiſtory, is the vaſt length of men's lives in thoſe firſt ages in compariſon of our own. Few now arrive to eighty, or a hundred years, whereas before the flood they frequently lived to near a thouſand; a diſproportion almoſt incredible, were it not inconteſtably certain from the joint teſtimonies of ſacred and profane writers (Q); whoſe authority in this point being not to be eluded, ſome, to reconcile the matter with probability, have imagined, that the ages of thoſe firſt men might poſſibly be computed not by ſolar years, but months[f], which reduces the length of their lives rather to a ſhorter period than our own. But for this there is not the leaſt foundation; beſides the many abſurdities that would thence follow, ſuch as their begetting children at about ſix years of age, as ſome of them in that caſe muſt have done, and the contraction of the whole interval between the creation and the deluge to conſiderably leſs than two hundred years, even according to the larger computation of the *Septuagint*.

The cauſes of it.

THE cauſes of this longevity are variouſly aſſigned: ſome have imputed it to the ſobriety of the antediluvians, and the ſimplicity of their diet; that they eat no fleſh (R), and had none of thoſe provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have ſince invented. This, were it true, might have

[e] Ibid. p. 256. [f] VARRO, apud Lactant. Inſt. divin. l. 2. c. 12. Vid. AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 12.

(Q) *Joſephus* reckons up the teſtimonies of *Manetho*, *Beroſus*, *Mochus*, *Heſtiæus*, *Jerom* the *Egyptian*, and the writers of the *Phœnician* antiquities. He ſays alſo that *Heſiod*, *Hecatæus*, *Hellanicus*, *Acuſilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Nicholaus* wrote, that the antients lived a thouſand years (1). Of all which teſtimonies we have none now extant, except only that of *Heſiod* (2).

(R) A learned phyſician has advanced a very contrary opinion. Among ſeveral cauſes of the longevity of the firſt men enumerated by him, one is their eating of raw fleſh; the moſt nouriſhing and beſt parts whereof, he ſuppoſes are carried off in dreſſing by the action of the fire (3).

(1) Joſeph. *Ant. l.* 1. c. 4. (2) *In oper. & dieb. v.* 130, *&c.* (3) Bevĕrovicius *Theſ. Sanitat. l.* 3.

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ſome effect, but not poſſibly to ſuch a degree as we are ſpeaking of, ſince we have had many temperate and abſtemious perſons, in latter ages, who yet ſeldom have exceeded the uſual period. Others have imputed it to the excellency of their fruits, and ſome peculiar virtue in the herbs and plants of thoſe days; but as the earth was curſed immediately after the fall, its fruits, we may ſuppoſe, gradually decreaſed in their virtue and goodneſs till the flood; and yet we do not ſee the length of men's lives decreaſed conſiderably, if at all, during that interval. Others have thought, that the long lives of thoſe inhabitants of the old world proceeded from the ſtrength of their *ſtamina*, or firſt principles of their bodily conſtitutions; which might indeed be a concurrent, but not the ſole and adequate cauſe of their longevity: for *Shem*, who was born before the deluge, and had all the virtue of the antediluvian conſtitution, fell three hundred years ſhort of the age of his fore-fathers, becauſe the greateſt part of his life was paſſed after the flood[g].

IT has therefore been more rationally ſuppoſed, that the chief cauſe of this longevity was the ſalubrious conſtitution of the antediluvian air, which after the deluge became corrupted and unwholeſome, breaking by degrees the priſtine craſis of the body, and ſhortening men's lives, in a very few ages, to near the preſent ſtandard. But how the flood ſhould induce, or occaſion ſuch a change in the air is not eaſy to comprehend[h].

The changes made in the world at the deluge, according to Dr. Burnet.

Dr. *Burnet*, as he attributes the fertility and paradiſiacal ſtate of the firſt earth to a perpetual equinox, the conſequence of the direct, or parallel poſition which he ſuppoſes the earth then had to the ſun; ſo he thinks the barrenneſs of the preſent earth, and the malignity of our air, are owing to the inequality of ſeaſons introduced at the deluge, when the earth, being broken and ſhattered, loſt its poiſe, and fell into that oblique ſituation which it now has[i]. Thence proceeded an unequal temperature of their air, violent exhalations, meteors, thunder, lightning, rain, ſnow, hail, ice, tempeſtuous winds, and the like, to which the earth was before an utter ſtranger, cauſing a ſenſible decay in nature, and a gradual contraction of human life[k].

—and Mr. Whiſton.

Mr. *Whiſton* is of the ſame opinion as to the different ſtates of the air before and ſince the deluge, and the effects thereof on human bodies, as well as on the productions of the earth;

[g] BURNET's Theory, Book 2. c. 2. and 4. See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 307, &c. [h] RAY on the deluge, p. 122. [i] See before, p 136 [k] BURNET's Theory, Book 2. c. 2. and 3.

but assigns very different causes for both. He thinks the purity and equality of the antediluvian air were the natural and regular properties of an original earth, such as one would rationally expect in a world newly come out of the hands of its creator, and such as the generality of our fellow-planets (especially our next neighbour the moon) as far as we can observe, are supposed to have had at first, and hitherto retained. So that all that can in reason be desired, is to give a plain account of those opposite phænomena of the earth which we are now so sensible of, and by what means the deluge could occasion the same [l]. And this he endeavours to do by supposing; 1. That the comet, which, according to his hypothesis, was the cause of the deluge, in passing by the earth, by its attraction accelerated the earth's annual motion, and changed its then circular orbit into an ellipsis [m]: and, 2. That the earth at the deluge carried off vast quantities of the gross, heterogeneous, and indigested masses with which the chaotic atmosphere of the comet was crouded; part of which were received into our air, and the other part being mixed with the waters derived from the comet, settled and formed a new Crust over the surface of the earth, which was somewhat increased by the dirt and soil thrown up by the subterraneous waters, and washed from the mountains [n].

These two great changes in the natural world would have very considerable consequences. That made in the earth's orbit, besides altering the form of the year (S), would by placing us at a greater distance from the sun, occasion a very sensible decrease in the heat of that luminary, which must (on calculation) have been a twenty fifth part greater before the flood than since [o]. The primigenial soil would lie buried under

[l] Whiston's Theory, p. 363. [m] Ibid. p. 207, &c. [n] Ibid. p. 275, 417. [o] Ibid. p. 363.

(S) The antediluvian year was, according to this gentleman, in absolute space of time nearly equal to our present and antient lunar one, and above ten days, or, more nicely, ten days, one hour, twenty eight minutes and an half shorter than our present solar year; yet it contained three hundred and sixty antediluvian days, which were equal to only three hundred and fifty five days, four hours, and about twenty minutes of our present days; the earth's diurnal motion having been retarded, and our days consequently lengthened in that proportion, partly by the quantity of foreign matter derived from the comet at the deluge, and partly from another cause (4).

(4) Whiston's *Theory*, p. 208, 209, 220.

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the ſediment, or factitious cruſt, which he computes to be about one hundred and five foot thick [p], wherein the fertile mold would be much thinner ſpread than before the deluge; conſidering which circumſtances, together with the great damp put to the influence of the central heat, as well by the waters of the deluge, as the conſolidation of the adventitious ſediment, it naturally follows, that the preſent earth could be nothing near ſo fruitful and luxuriant in her productions as the antediluvian was [q]. This ſuppoſition of a new cruſt acquired by the earth at the flood, by the way alſo accounts for the phænomena we formerly mentioned of the bones, teeth, and ſhells of fiſh, and other marine, and vegetable productions ſo frequently dug up, even on mountains, and at great diſtances from the ſea [r]. The heterogeneous compoſition of our preſent groſs atmoſphere, acquired likewiſe from the comet, muſt neceſſarily occaſion great irregularities and depravations in the temperature and conſtitution of the air. For the difference of climates being not wholly owing to the ſun's heat, or the nature of the air, but partly to thoſe calorific and frigorific mixtures which are uncertainly contained therein; and our air being now in the torrid zone full of ſulphureous and ſultry, and in the frigid ones of nitrous and freezing effluvia, or exhalations, which may be removed, on the veering of the wind, from one region to another; thoſe extremities of heat and cold, and ſudden changes in the temper of the air, which we are now ſo ſenſible of, are thence eaſily accounted for; and the ſame nitro-ſulphureous and other heterogeneous mixtures and exhalations might likewiſe occaſion thoſe coruſcations, meteors, thunder, lightning, clouds, rain, winds, and ſtorms ſo common with us; from which, and their pernicious effects, the pure homogeneous antediluvian air was perfectly free [s].

As both the theoriſts deny, there was any rain, at leaſt in the habitable parts of the primitive earth, it may be asked, what expedients they have found out to ſupply it with water. Mr. *Whiſton*, who allows there were rivers, lakes, and ſeas (though no great ocean) in the firſt earth, effects this with little difficulty; ſuppoſing the vapours elevated by the ſun in the day, which the purity and thinneſs of the air hindered from condenſing and falling down in rain, deſcended however in regular and gentle miſts in the night [t]. But Dr. *Burnet*, in whoſe antediluvian earth there were neither mountains nor

[p] Ibid. p. 418.
[q] Ibid. p. 363, &c.
[r] Ibid. p. 423, &c.
[s] Ibid. p. 365, &c.
[t] Ibid. p. 369.

seas (T), and the whole element of water was locked up in the abyss, is obliged to have recourse to a more extraordinary explication. He says that the action of the sun being very strong and constant in raising vapours, and the earth at first moist and soft, as it grew more dry the rays of the sun would pierce more deep into it, and reach at length the great abyss which lay underneath, and was an inexhausted store-house of new vapours (U). Those vapours would be hindered by the heat from condensing into clouds, or rains in the warmer parts of the earth, and there being no mountains, nor contrary winds to stop, or compress them, would bend their course where they found the *least resistance*, and that would be towards the poles, or colder regions, where, when they were arrived, they would be condensed and fall down in a continual rain, or dew upon those parts of the earth; so that there would be a constant source of waters, which would neither fail, nor overflow, but find the earth with an equal supply throughout all the parts of the year. And to account for the flowing of these waters on the even surface of the earth, and of their forming themselves into rivers, which

(T) To this form of the primeval world, and the change made therein by the deluge, Dr. *Burnet* (5) has met with a surprizing testimony from an *Ethiopian* tradition, delivered to the count *Baldassar Castiglione* by a philosopher of that nation then in *Spain*; which is to the following effect, *viz.* That the first earth was much more spacious than the present, and nearer to heaven; that it was perfectly round, without mountains or vallies, but all hollow, or full of cavities within, like a sponge; that the inhabitants breathed a most pure air, and passed their lives happily; the earth spontaneously bringing forth most excellent fruits without plowing or sowing: but after some ages, when mankind elated with pride, had degenerated from their primitive innocence, the angry gods shook the earth with so vehement a concussion, that the greatest part of it fell down into the caverns below; and the water, before inclosed in those hidden recesses, was thereby violently forced out; and to this the fountains, rivers, lakes, and sea, owe their original: that that part of the earth which had not fallen in, but stood above the rest, appeared as mountains; and the islands and rocks in the midst of the sea, are nothing else but fragments of the hollow earth which remained after that sudden disruption and fall of the whole terrestrial frame (6).

(U) Yet, if a calculation made be true, this store-house would be quite exhausted long before the deluge (7).

(5) *See his Theory, p.* 386. (6) Fr. Patricio, *della Rhetorica degli Antichi, apud* Ramazzin, *de fontium Mutinensium scaturigine, p.* 41. (7) *See the note, p.* 205.

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seems a difficulty not easily to be got over, he supposes, the earth was not exactly spherical but oval, the polar parts being higher than the equinoctial, that is, more remote from the centre; by which means the waters which fell about the extreme parts would have a continual descent towards the middle parts of it, forming by the way lakes, and dividing into lesser and lesser streams, till at length they were either exhaled again by the sun, or drank up by the thirsty sands of the torrid zone [t].

Whether any rainbow before the flood.

IF either of these hypotheses be admitted, the dispute whether there was any rainbow or not before the deluge must be at an end. For in an air, wherein there fell no rain in sensible round drops, to refract and reflect the rays of light, on which the rainbow entirely depends, the appearance of that beautiful phænomenon could not be expected; and indeed it is somewhat hard to conceive, how it could be a sign, or confirmation of the covenant which GOD made with *Noah*, that he would drown the world no more with water, if it had been in the clouds before, and with no regard to this promise. For if we suppose it even an arbitrary sign, and to have no connection with the effect, it seems, that to make it significant and satisfactory, it must be something new, otherwise it could not signify a new thing, or be the confirmation of a new promise. And accordingly it has been observed, that the signs by institution only, mentioned in scripture, have all something new and strange, as a mark of the hand of GOD: at least it must be acknowledged, that if *Noah* had never seen a rainbow before, that sign must have made a much more lively impression on him, and given him much greater comfort and assurance in GOD's promise, than if it had been no more than what he must have often observed before the late terrible devastation [v].

Whether flesh might be eaten before the flood.

WHETHER flesh was permitted to be eaten before the deluge, is also a question which has been much debated [w]. By the permission expresly given to *Noah* for that purpose after the flood [x], and GOD's assigning vegetables only for food to man as well as beast at the creation [y], one would imagine it was not lawful before; yet others have supposed, that it was included in the general grant of power and dominion given to *Adam* by GOD over the animal creation [z]; and the distinction of beasts into clean and unclean, which was well

[t] BURNET's Theory, p. 310, &c. [v] BURNET's Theory, p. 324, &c. Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. Tom. I. Exerc. 15. [w] Vid. Ibid. Exerc. 10. § 26, &c. [x] Genes. ix. 3, 4. [y] Genes. i. 29, 30. [z] Ibid. v. 26, 28.

known before the flood [z], is insisted on as a strong argument on this side, and which it is not easy to answer. To say that distinction was used proleptically, is a mere subterfuge; and to suppose it made solely to distinguish what was lawful or unlawful to be sacrificed, and not what might or might not be eaten, is little better; it being the custom to offer to God such fruits and animals as were fit for food and sustenance, and not such as were of no use or benefit to mankind in that respect.

SECT. VIII.

An enquiry concerning the situation of mount Ararat, *and the various opinions about it.*

IT may be proper before we close this chapter, to give some account of the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark rested, the situation of which is rendered, in some measure, uncertain by the different traditions concerning it.

THE *Sybilline* verses place mount *Ararat* in the borders of black *Phrygia*, near *Celænæ*, at the springs of the river *Marsyas* [a], which rises out of the same lake with the *Mæander*, and falls at length into it [b]. But it appears from good authorities, that there is really no mountain at all in that place, at least none near so high as *Ararat* must needs have been, but only a small hill, or eminence [c]. This fancy therefore seems to have taken its rise from *Apamea*, another city near *Celænæ* being sur-named *Cibotes*, or *the ark*; not, as *Bochart* observes [d], from any tradition of *Noah*'s ark, but from its situation, being shut up like an ark, or chest, by three rivers which encompassed it; as the port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was called *Cibotes* from the bay surrounding it: besides, *Cibotos* was a new name which does not seem to have been known in those parts till given to *Apamea*, built by *Seleucus*, or *Antiochus Soter*; and *Celænæ* [e] had a prior right to it, if there had been any such tradition; so that what is farther alledged of the *Apameans* coining medals having on the reverse the impression of an ark, as may be seen on three severally

[z] Genes. vii. 2 [a] XENOPHON, LIVIUS, l. 38. [b] STRABO, l. 12. MAX. TYRIUS, Serm. 38. [c] STRABO ubi supra. PTOLEM. lib. 5. cap. 3. STEPHAN. in Κιβωτός. [d] Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3. [e] STRABO ubi supra. LIVIUS ubi sup.

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ſtruck in honour of *Adrian* [f], *Septimius Severus*, and *Philip* the *Arabian* [g], is of no weight.

BEN GORION ſeems to extend the name of *Ararat* to *Caucaſus* [h]: but by the mountains of *Ararat* have been generally underſtood, both by antient and modern authors, thoſe of *Armenia*. *Ararat* is by the *Septuagint* [i], and in the *Vulgat* [k], rendered *Armenia* (X); and there is actually a province of that country named *Ararat* [l], or *Airarat*, from a plain therein ſo called in memory of *Arai* the eighth king of that nation, who was ſlain in battle there [m]; *Arayi arat* [n] ſignifying *the ſlain of* Arai. But though authors have generally agreed in placing *Ararat* in *Armenia*, yet they differ as to the particular ſituation of the mountain where the ark reſted, there being two opinions concerning it, each of which is ſupported by a tradition.

First tradition about mount Ararat.

THE firſt opinion is, that it was one of the mountains which divide *Armenia* on the ſouth from *Meſopotamia* and that part of *Aſſyria* inhabited by the *Curds*, from whom thoſe mountains took the name of *Curdu*, or *Cardu*, by the *Greeks* turned into *Gordyæi*, and other names (Y). It is called by the *Arabs al Jûdi* [o], (if it be not a miſtake for *Gordi* [p], or a corruption of *Cordi*, or *Jordi* (Z), as it ought to be writ-

[f] CALMET Dict. de la Bible, Art. Apamée. [g] Vid. FALCONERIT differt. de num. Apam. apud Kircher. Arca Noæ. l. 2. c. 6. [h] Lib. 6. cap. 96. [i] Iſa. xxxvii. 38. [k] Geneſ. viii. 4. 2 Kings xix. 37. [l] V. La Notice des Egliſes qui dependent du Patr. d'Armenie publiée par le P. SIMON a la fin de ſon Hiſtoire critique de la Creance & des Coutumes des Nations du Levant, & SCHROEDER. differt. de rebus Armenicis. [m] MOSES CHORENENSIS, Compend. Geogr. univerſal. p. 46, 52.
[n] [illegible] [o] EUTYCH. Annal. p. 41. D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Gioudi. [p] BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3.

(X) The *Samaritan* verſion tranſlates it *Serendib*, which is the name the eaſtern writers give to the iſland *Ceylon*. *See before* p. 117.

(Y) The *Greek* and *Latin* writers name them *Carduchi*, *Cardiei*, *Cordyæi*, *Cordueni*, *Gordi*, *Cordæi*, *Curdi*, &c. the orientals call them alſo *Cardon*, *Cordyn*, *Carud*, &c. *Bochart* (8) ſuppoſes they are the ſame which are called by miſtake in *Joſephus Caron* (9).

(Z) גורדי *Jordi* may be changed into יודי *Judi* by an eaſy miſtake of the *Reſh* for the *Vaw*; but it is odd ſuch an error ſhould be ſo univerſal.

(8) *Phaleg. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. (9) *Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 2.

ten by the *Arabs* [q];) and also *Themanin* [r], probably from the town hereafter named, at the foot of it.

The tradition which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains must have been very antient, since it is the tradition of the *Chaldeans* themselves [s]: the *Chaldee* paraphrasts consent to this opinion [t], which obtained very much formerly, but when we come to enquire into the particular part of these mountains, whereon the ark rested, authors seem to place it out of *Armenia*; *Epiphanius* in the country of the *Cordyæans* [u], or between the *Armenians* and *Cordyæans* on the mountain *Lubar* [w]: the eastern authors, as well *Christians* as *Mohammedans*, on mount *Themanin*, or *Al Jûdi* [x], which overlooks the country of *Diyar Rabiah* [y] in *Mesopotamia*, near the cities of *Mausol*, *Forda* (A), and *Jazîrat ebn Omar* (B) [z], which last one affirms to be but four miles from the place of the ark [a].

Remainders of the ark to be seen for a long time on the Cardu mountains.

To confirm this tradition, we are told, that the remainders of the ark were to be seen upon these mountains: *Berosus* and *Abydenus* both declare, there was such a report in their

[q] Golius in Not. ad Alfragan, p 287. [r] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. [s] Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. [t] Onkelos & Jonathan in Genes. viii. 4. [u] Epiphan. Hæres. 18. [w] Idem, ibid. lib. 1. § 4. [x] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. Ebn Shohnah, MS. [y] Ebn Amîd, l. 1. c. 1. [z] Eutych. Annal. p. 41. Vid. etiam D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 404. Art. Gioudi & p. 676. [a] Benjamin Tudelens. Itiner. p. 61.

(A) If this name were not usually written *Forda* by the *Arabian* authors, we should judge it ought to be *Korda*, from the name of the mountain *D' Herbelot* mentions a town called *Corda* at the foot of *Al Jûdi* (10).

(B) *Jazîrat ebn*, or *beni*, *Omar* is a city in an Island of the *Tigris*, so named from the *Khalifah Omar ebn Abd'alazîz*, of the family of *Ommiyah*, who, if you will believe *Benjamin* the *Jew* (11) (tho' he by mistake calls him *Omar ebn al Khettâb*), removed the remains of the ark into that city, and built a *Mohammedan* temple therewith. The *Syrians* call it *Gezarta*, or *the island*; but we must not confound it, as *Assemani* does (12), with the *Gezarta* of *Masius*, called by some the isle of *Edem*, which is no more than twelve miles above *Mausol*; whereas *Jezirat ebn Omar* is ninety miles above that city (13), in one of the roads from *Aleppo* to *Tauris* (14).

(10) *Bibl. Orient. Art. Gioudi.* (11) *Itiner. p.* 61. (12) *Bibl. Orient. Tom* II. *dissert. de Monophys.* & *Tom.* I. *p.* 540. (13) *Geog. Nubiens. p.* 202. (14) Tavernier, *Voyage de Perse, liv.* 3. *c.* 4.

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time [b]; the firſt obſerves farther, that ſeveral of the inhabitants thereabouts ſcraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet: and the latter ſays, they uſed the wood of the veſſel againſt many diſeaſes with wonderful ſucceſs. The relics of the ark were to be ſeen alſo in the time of *Epiphanius*, if we may believe him [c]; and we are told, the emperor *Heraclius* went from the town of *Themanîh* up the mountain *Al Jûdi*, and ſaw the place of the ark [d]. This town of *Themanîn* is, or was, ſituate at the foot of the mountain *Al Jdûi* [e]; the name ſignifies *eighty* (and not eight, as *Bochart*, *Calmet*, and others would have it) in memory of the eighty perſons, who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were ſaved in the ark [f]; though the chriſtian writers among the *Arabs*, who ſay this city was built by *Noah* and his ſons near *Forda*, not approving that tradition, ſuppoſe it called ſo becauſe they were eight [g].

THERE was formerly a famous monaſtery, called *the monaſtery of the ark*, upon the *Cardu* mountains, where the *Neſtorians* uſed to celebrate a feaſt-day on the ſpot where they ſuppoſed the ark reſted; but in the year of CHRIST 776, that monaſtery was deſtroyed by lightning, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it [h]. Since which time probably the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another which at preſent obtains. *Monaſtery of the ark formerly there.*

THE ſecond opinion therefore places mount *Ararat* towards the middle of *Armenia*, near the river *Araxes*, or *Aras*, above 280 miles diſtant from *Al Jûdi* to the north-eaſt. *Second tradition about mount Ararat.*

JEROM ſeems to be the firſt who hath given an account of this tradition: *Ararat*, ſays that father, is a champion country, incredibly fertile, through which the *Araxes* flows, at the foot of mount *Taurus*, which extends ſo far. Wherefore by the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark reſted, are not to be underſtood the mountains of *Armenia* in general, but the higheſt mountains of *Taurus*, which overlook the plains of *Ararat* [i]. Theſe probably are the plains mentioned before which gave name to the country. An author of the middle age obſerves, that near the city of *Naxuan* [*Nakh-chuvân*] are the mountains on which the ark reſted, having the *Araxes*

[b] BEROSUS apud Joſephum Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. ABYDENUS apud Euſeb. Chron. Græc. & præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. [c] Hæreſ. 18. [d] EBN AMÎD Hiſt. Arabum. l. 1. c. 1. [e] D'HERBELOT, ubi ſup. Vid. AGATHIAM, l. 4. p. 135. [f] D'HERBELOT, p 677. [g] Vid. EUTYCH. & EBN AMÎD ubi ſupr. [h] Vid. Chronic. DIONYSII Patriarch. Jacobitar. apud Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 113. [i] HIERONYM. in Eſai. 37.

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running at the foot of them [k]; and since that time all the travellers into those parts speak of no other mountain of *Ararat*.

This tradition would appear of equal antiquity with the former, could we be certain this was the high mountain *Baris* (C), in the province of *Minyas* (D) in *Armenia*, to which, according to a tradition reported by *Nicholas* of *Damascus* [l], many people in the time of a deluge fled for sanctuary; and upon the top of which a certain man struck with his vessel. As it is no new thing to find the same relicks in two different places at once, the same author also assures us, that several pieces of the timber of that vessel were to be seen on the mountain *Baris*, a long time after it had landed there [m]: but this circumstance may be urged as an objection against *Baris* being the same with the last mentioned mountain, which is said to be inaccessible. However, at the foot of it they also

[k] Rubruquis de Tartaris, c. 48. [l] Apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Ibid.

(C) *Bochart* (15) supposes *Baris*, in the *Armenian* tongue, to be the same with ἀποβατήριον, the *descent*, or *going forth*, as we are told that nation called the place where *Noah* came down from the ark (16); and has found an *Arabick* word of that signification something like it; but we doubt much, whether he could find an *Armenian* one: բարձր *bardsr*, signifies *high* in that tongue, and might be given to this mountain on account of its height; but this is only conjecture. Others tell us *Baris*, in the *Egyptian* language, signifies a sort of a ship (17), and therefore think, the name has some reference to the ark; and that the same may be alluded to in the names of the temple of *Baris*, and the mountains *Imbar*, and *Nibar*, in that neighbourhood (18) (though their situation be very uncertain) as well as the *Lubar* of *Epiphanius* (19).

(D) Some will have *Minyas* to be written *Milyas* (20); but the first seems to be the true reading, since we find *Minni* joined with *Ararat* in scripture (21). Sir *Isaac Newton* makes one name of *Ararat Minni* (22); and perhaps *Armenia* is only a contraction, or compound of *Har* and *Minni*, which signifies the mountain, or mountainous country of *Minni*; though the *Armenians* themselves derive the name from *Aram*, one of their kings (23).

(15) *Phaleg. l.* 1. *c.* 3. (16) Joseph. *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 4. Euseb. *de locis Hebr. ex interpr. Hieron.* (17) Herodot. *Euterp.* Hesych. (18) Strabo, *l.* 11. *p.* 799. 803. (19) *Vid.* Fuller. *Miscell. Sacr. l.* 1. *c.* 4. (20) Vossius, *apud Berkel. in Steph. voce* Μιλυας. (21) Jerem. li. 27. (22) *Chronol. p.* 323. (23) Moses Choren. *Hist. Arm. p.* 49.

shew

ſhew a town called *Cemain*, which comes pretty near to *Shemonah* [n], ſignifying *eight*, the number of perſons who came out of the ark, and, as the *Armenians* ſay, built it [o].

AN objection indeed has been ſtarted by a late traveller, which tends to overthrow both traditions: he ſays, he does not ſee where the dove could find an olive-branch, if the ark be ſuppoſed to have reſted on any of the mountains of *Armenia*, for the olive is not found thereabouts [p]; nor (we are told) in any part of *Aſia* beyond *Aleppo*, except one ſingle place near *Caſbin* [q] in *Perſia*. However, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe antiently, for the ſcripture mentions *Aſſyria* as a land of oil-olive [r]; and we are told, that the olive grew in *Gogarene*, a province of *Armenia* [s]. Another has obſerved, that this mountain is ſo pointed at the top, that he could not eaſily conceive how the waters of the deluge could withdraw quick enough, juſt when the ark was over it, ſo as to leave it on ſo narrow a ſpace [t]. *Objections to it.*

BUT the *Armenians* are not to be convinced by any arguments, that this is not the very mountain on which the ark reſted; they call it *Masis* [u]: and derive the name from *Amaſia* (E) the third ſucceſſor of *Haikh* [w], the founder of their nation. *Called Masis by the Armenians.*

[n] שמנה. [o] Vid. RUBRUQUIS ubi ſupr. [p] TOURNEFORT Voyages, lett. 7. [q] TAVERNIER Voyage de Tunquin. p. 181. [r] 2 Kings xviii. 32. [s] STRABO, l. 11. p. 800. [t] POULLET, Nouv. relat. du Levant, part. 1. c. 10. p. 132. [u] RUBRUQ. TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupr. GOL. Not. ad Alfrag. p. 237. [w] MOSES CHOREN. p. 47.

(E) This etymology overthrows *Chardin*'s *Armenian* derivation from *Mas*, or *Meſech*, the ſon of *Japhet*, whom he ſays that nation conſider as their founder; and his *Perſian* derivation from *Azíz*, an *Arabic* word ſignifying *dear*, or *beloved* (24); which laſt, however, might have been an epithet of this mountain, ſince a traveller calls it *Aſſe Maſis*, (25), which perhaps he miſtook for *Azíz Masís*. Other travellers write it *Meſſis Saur* (26), and *Maſeſuſar* (27), and ſay, it ſignifies the *mountain of the ark*; but this is alſo a miſtake; for though the *Armenians* call a mountain *Sâr*, yet *Masís* does not ſignify an ark. They ſhould have written *Masís Sâr*, which ſignifies no more than mount *Masís*: but faults of this kind in travellers are numberleſs, they being ſeldom acquainted with the language of the countries they viſit.

(24) Chardin, *Voyage en Perſe, Tom.* I. *p.* 157. Lucas, *Voyage* 1. *Tom.* 2. *chap.* 2. (25) Newberry *in Purchas, part* 2. 1417. (26) Cartwright, *ubi ſup.* Tavernier *Voyages, liv.* 1. *cap.* 4. (27) Gemelli *Voyages, tom.* 2. *liv.* 1. *chap.* 2.

From

nation. The *Turks* name it *Agri dagh*, that is, *the heavy*, or *great mountain* [z], and *Parmak daghi*, or the *mountain of the finger*, in allusion to its appearance (F) [y]: it stands about twelve leagues to the east [or rather south-east] of *Erivan* [a] and of *Ejmiadzin*, or the *three churches*, (from which last it is two short days journey) four leagues from the *Aras* [b], and ten to the north-west of *Nackhchevân* (G). Here we must observe a mistake of the modern as well as antient geographers, who have placed this mountain several degrees more to the west than it ought to be. This error of theirs hath misled many historians, and made them look for *Ararat* somewhere else, since they could not reconcile the situation, which the maps give it, with scripture. Sir *Walter Raleigh* set the example to our *English* historians, and rests the ark not upon the mountains of *Armenia*, but some of those between *Persia*, *Tartary*, and *India*: he takes the mountains of *Ararat* in a more extended sense, than either the antient traditions, or scripture will allow; and to serve his turn, supposes the mountains of *Caucasus*, towards *Bactria* and *Scythia*, to be part of a branch of *Taurus*, which in its way through *Asia* crossed *Armenia* [d], but for this there does not appear the least authority from the observations of travellers in those countries.

[z] Cartwright's Travels, p. 33. Chardin. Voy. en Perse, Tom. I. p. 157. Tournefort, ubi supr. [y] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 404. [a] Chardin, ubi supr. [b] Tournefort, ubi supr. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Ralegh Hist. of the world, book 1. ch. 7. § 10.

From *Masis* doubtless the antients made their *Mons Masius*, the situation of which they have delivered with as much uncertainty as the moderns (28).

(F) Perhaps our author mistook this for another mountain so called by the *Turks*, which stands near the *Caspian* sea, between *Niasebâd* and *Shamakhi*, and seems to deserve the name better (29).

(G) It is said, the memorial of the ark's resting here is preserved in the name of this city, *Nak* signifying in *Armenian* a *ship*, and *shivan*, *rested* (30); but this seems to be an etymology no better grounded than those abovementioned; the *Persians* saying it was named *Nakkash jehân*, from the great numbers of painters settled there; for the *Persians* call one of that profession (by an *Arabic* word) نقاش *Nakkâsh*; and in *Armenian* also Նկարիչ *Nakkarar*, is a *painter*; and Նկարել *nakkarel* to paint.

(28) *Vid.* Cellarii *Geogr. Antiq. Vol.* II. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 11. *p.* 232. (29) *Vid.* Olearius's *Travels*, *l.* 1. *c.* 5. (30) Tavernier *ubi supra*.

However

However his opinion hath been followed by ſome of our lateſt writers [e], not conſidering, perhaps, that Sir *Walter* took his notion from *Goropius Becanus*, one of the moſt fanciful authors that ever wrote; and that this laſt was led into it by the before-mentioned miſtake of the geographers (H).

Deſcription of mount Maſis.

MOUNT *Maſis* is encompaſſed by ſeveral petty hills, on the tops of which are found many ruins, thought to have been the buildings of the firſt men, who feared for a time to deſcend into the plains [f]: it ſtands by itſelf in form of a ſugar-loaf, in the midſt of one of the greateſt plains that is to be ſeen [g], detached as it were from the other mountains of *Armenia*, which make a long chain [h]: it conſiſts of two hills [i]; the leſſer is the more ſharp and pointed [k]; the higher, which is that of the ark, lies north-weſt of it [l], and raiſes its head far above the neighbouring mountains [m]: it ſeems ſo high and big, that when the air is clear it does not appear to be above two leagues from *Erivan* [n] (whence one writer, deceived by the ſight, computes the diſtance but at one league [o]), and may be ſeen four or five days journey off [p]. Yet travellers agree, that the height of it is not extraordinary [q]; one thinks, he hath paſſed a part of *Caucaſus* which was higher [r]; and another ſays, it is not above twice as high as mount *Valerian*, near *Paris* [s]: they therefore impute its being viſible ſo far off to its lonely ſituation in a vaſt plain [t], and upon the moſt elevated part of the country, without any mountains before it to obſtruct the view [u]. As for the ſnow, with which according to

[e] SHUCKFORD's Connect. Vol. I. p. 98, 103. [f] CARTWRIGHT, or the Preachers Travels, p. 30, 31. [g] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſup. [h] TAVERNIER, ubi ſup. [i] POULLET, p. 131. RUBRUQUIS, ubi ſup. [k] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſup. [l] NEWBERRY in Purchas, part. 2. p. 1417. [m] TAVERNIER, POULLET, ubi ſup. CARTWRIGHT, p. 32. [n] CHARDIN, ubi ſup. [o] POULLET. ubi ſup. [p] Idem. p. 130. TAVERNIER, ubi ſup. [q] RUBRUQUIS, NEWBERRY, & POULLET, ubi ſup. [r] CHARDIN, ubi ſupr. [s] POULLET, ubi ſup. [t] TOURNEFORT. ubi ſup. [u] POULLET, ubi ſup.

(H) This author among other out of the way conceits, holds the mountain *Paropaniſus*, or *Paropamiſus* (a branch of *Taurus*, not of *Caucaſus*) to be *Ararat*. He imagines, that the place firſt inhabited after the flood was *Margiana*, a province of *Perſia*, from whence thoſe colonies came with *Nimrod*, which built *Babel*: his reaſon for this opinion is, becauſe *they went from the* Eaſt (31) to the plain of *Shinaar*; whereas *Armenia* (ſays he) bears ſomewhat weſtward from thence (32).

(31) *Geneſ.* xi. 2. (32) Goropius Becanus *Indo-Scythia*, p. 473.

all

all accounts, it is perpetually covered from the middle upwards [w] (as it is often with clouds during two or three months of the year [x]) we are told that is no rule to judge of the height by, since the loweſt mountains in thoſe countries, paſſed with the ſame eaſe as the plains, are covered with ſnow [y], which even in the hotteſt ſummer lies on the leaſt hills in *Armenia* [z], as it does on thoſe ſmall ones ſurroúnding *Ararat* [a].

Fables of the Armenians *concerning it.*

THE *Armenian* monks tell a thouſand idle ſtories concerning the ark, the whole [b], or a part of which, they pretend, is ſtill to be ſeen on the top of the mountains [c], ſomething always appearing there black, which they imagine to be the ark [d]; though at the ſame time they affirm none ever was, nor can get there [e]; *thoſe who have attempted to aſcend the* hill out of zeal, or otherwiſe, having been puniſhed, or at leaſt brought back again by angels at night to the place they ſet out from in the day, to prevent their approaching that veſſel [f], as happened, they ſay, to a monk of *Ejmiadzin*, afterwards biſhop of *Niſibin*, called *James*; though GOD at length ſo far complied with his deſires, as to ſend an angel to him with a piece of the ark, who bid him, at the ſame time, not fatigue himſelf in vainly endeavouring to aſcend the mountain, for that GOD had prohibited the acceſs to the top of it [g], and would not ſuffer men to pull in pieces a veſſel which had ſaved ſo many creatures [h]: but if they are aſked, whether they have any relicks of the ark, they gravely anſwer, that it ſtill lies buried in the vaſt heaps of ſnow [i]; which indeed is the charm that hinders the aſcent [k], as one *Armenian* author confeſſes [l], and is ſufficient to defend the ark without the help of an angel. Yet a certain miſſionary conceits, that the earthly paradiſe ſtill remains in ſome agreeable plain of this mountain, which GOD preſerves from heat and cold, and where the prophets *Enoch* and *Elias* enjoy a thouſand ſorts of delights, and are to eat of the tree of life till the end of the world [m]. Indeed the plain under the mount might be allow-

[w] TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, TOURNEFORT, &c. ubi ſupr. [x] TAVERNIER, ubi ſupr. [y] POULLET, ubi ſupra. [z] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupr. [a] CARTWRIGHT, ubi ſupr. [b] POULLET, CHARDIN, ubi ſupr. [c] CARTWRIGHT, ubi ſupr. [d] HAITHO de Tartaris, lib. I. cap. 9. [e] RUBRUQ. NEWBERRY, CARTWRIGHT, CHARDIN, &c. ubi ſup. [f] CARTWRIGHT, p. 34. POULLET & CHARDIN, ubi ſup. [g] RUBRUQUIS, CHARDIN, and TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupr. P. PHILIPPE Voy. I. Tom. II. c. 2. [h] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra. [i] Ibid. [k] Vid. CHARDIN, TOURNEFORT, POULLET, LUCAS, &c. ubi ſup. [l] HAITHO de Tartaris, lib. I. cap. 9. [m] P. PHILLIPPE, ubi ſup.

ed its claim to the terreſtrial paradiſe, was it to be decided by the beauty and delightfulneſs of the ſituation.

WITHOUT doubt the *Armenian* prieſts would be glad to produce better credentials in behalf of their tradition; accordingly, they ſometimes tell travellers the ſaid monk had been at the top of *Ararat* [n]. The *Armenian* patriarch informed *Tournefort*, that GOD had favoured one ſaint with the ſight of the ark itſelf [o]. And *Rubruquis* was aſſured by a biſhop, that the before-mentioned piece of the ark [brought to *James*] was in their church [p]; and the *Copts* ſhew part of a beam of that veſſel in theirs at old *Cairo* in *Egypt* [q]. What credit ought to be given to theſe venerable teſtimonies, will beſt appear from the account *Tournefort* has left us of his attempt to climb this mountain (I), in which having ſpent a whole day with infinite

[n] NEWBERRY, ubi ſup. [o] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſup. [p] RUBRUQUIS, ubi ſup. [q] DE BRUYN Voyage au Levant, Vol. I. c. 35. p. 190.

(I) "We began, ſays that author (33), to aſcend mount *Ararat* "about two o' clock in the afternoon, but not without difficulty. "We were forced to climb up in looſe ſand, where we ſaw no- "thing but ſome *Juniper* and *goats-thorn*. This mountain is one "of the moſt ſad and diſagreeable ſights upon earth; there are "neither trees, nor ſhrubs upon it, nor any convents of religious. "*Struys* would have done us a favour, if he had told us where the "*Anchorites* he mentions reſided; for the people of the country do "not remember to have heard, there ever were in this mountain "either *Armenian Monks*, or *Carmelites*; all the monaſteries are in "the plain. I do not believe the place is inhabitable in any other "part, becauſe the whole ſoil of *Ararat* is looſe, or covered with "ſnow; it ſeems too as if this mountain waſted continually. From "the top of a great abyſs, oppoſite to the village [of *Akurlu* in "the road from *Erivan*] from whence we came, there conti- "nually fall down rocks of a blackiſh hard ſtone, which make a "terrible noiſe. There are no living animals but at the bottom, "and towards the middle of the mountain: they who occupy the "firſt region, are poor ſhepherds and ſcabby flocks, among which "one finds ſome partridges: the ſecond region is poſſeſſed by "crows and tygers, which paſſed by us not without giving fear. "All the reſt of the mountain, that is, the half of it, has been "covered with ſnow ever ſince the ark reſted there, and theſe "ſnows are covered half the year with very thick clouds. That "which is yet more inconvenient and troubleſome in this mountain "is, that the ſnow which is melted, runs into the abyſs by a vaſt

(33) *In loco ſuperius citat.*

"number

infinite fatigue, he was obliged, by the ſnow and intenſe cold, to

" number of ſources, which one cannot come at, and which are as " foul as the waters of a land-flood in the greateſt ſtorm. All " theſe ſources form the ſtream which runs by *Akurla*, and which " never becomes clear: They drink mud there all the year; but " we found it more delicious than the beſt wine: it is always cold " as ice, and has no muddy taſte. Notwithſtanding the amaze- " ment this frightful ſolitude caſt us into, we endeavoured to find " the pretended monaſtery, and enquired, whether there were any " religious ſhut up in caverns. The notion they have in the " country that the ark reſted here, and the veneration all the *Ar-* " *menians* have for this mountain (for they kiſs the earth ſo ſoon " as they ſee it, and repeat certain prayers, after having made the " ſign of the croſs) have made many imagine it muſt be filled with " religious; and *Struys* is not the only perſon who has told the " public ſo. However they aſſured us, there was only one for- " ſaken convent at the foot of the gulph; that there was no foun- " tain throughout the whole mount, only the ſtream of the abyſs, " which we could not come at to drink, but near that convent; and " that we could not go in a whole day to the ſnow, and down a- " gain to the bottom of the abyſs; that the ſhepherds often loſt " their way, and we might judge what a miſerable place it was, " from the neceſſity they were under to dig the earth from time to " time, to find a ſpring of water for themſelves and their flocks; " and that it would be to no purpoſe to aſcend higher in ſearch of " plants, becauſe we ſhould only find rocks hanging over our heads, " and heaped one upon another.

" After this we began to travel towards the firſt range of rocks, " with one bottle of water: but notwithſtanding we had made " pitchers of our bellies, in two hours time they were quite dried " up; and water ſhook in a bottle is a very diſagreeable ſort of " drink: our only hope therefore was to come at the ſnow, and " eat ſome of it to quench our thirſt. It muſt be acknowledged, " that the ſight is very much deceived, when we ſtand at the bot- " tom and gueſs at the height of a mountain, and eſpecially when " it muſt be aſcended through ſand as troubleſome as the ſyrtes of " *Africa*. It is impoſſible to take one firm ſtep upon the ſand of " mount *Ararat*; in many places, inſtead of aſcending, we were " obliged to go back again down to the middle of the mountain; " and in order to continue our courſe, to wind ſometimes to the " right, and ſometimes to the left. When we met with any " *Mouſe-ear* which was too ſhort to brouze, it made our boots " as ſmooth as glaſs, and ſo ſlippery, we were forced to ſtand " ſtill.

" To avoid the ſand, which fatigued us intolerably, we took " our way to the great rocks heaped one on another. We paſs " under

" under them as through caverns, wherein we are ſheltered from
" all the injuries of the weather, except the cold, which we felt
" there very ſenſibly, and ſerved a little to allay our thirſt. We
" were obliged to leave this place quickly, leſt we ſhould get a
" pleuriſy; and came into a very troubleſome way, full of ſtones,
" and were forced to leap from one ſtone to another. We came
" about noon to a place more pleaſing, for it ſeemed as if we were
" ready to take hold of the ſnow with our teeth. But our joy laſt-
" ed not long; for what we had taken for ſnow was only a chalk
" rock, which hid from our ſight a tract of land about two hours
" journey diſtant from the ſnow, and which ſeemed to us to have
" a new kind of pavement, not of little flints, but ſmall pieces of
" ſtone broken off by the froſt, and whoſe edges cut like flints.
" We kept in very good order; we aſſured our guides, that we
" would go no farther than a heap of ſnow, which appeared
" ſcarce bigger than a cake; but when we came to it, we found
" the heap was above thirty paces in diameter. We every one of
" us eat more or leſs, as we had a mind; and by agreement re-
" ſolved to advance no farther. This ſnow was above four foot
" thick; and being frozen hard, we took a great piece to fill our
" bottle. It cannot be imagined, how much the eating of ſnow
" revives and fortifies: we deſcended therefore from the ſnow with
" a wonderful vigour, which was not of long duration; for we
" came to ſands which lay behind the abyſs, and were full as
" troubleſome as the former. When we endeavoured to ſlide
" along, half our bodies were buried; beſides, we could not keep
" the direct way, but were obliged to go to the left to come to
" the edge of the abyſs, of which we had a mind to take a
" nearer view. And indeed it is a moſt frightful ſight; to look
" on the horrible precipices ever ſo little, will make the head
" turn round. The noiſe made by a vaſt number of crows, who
" are continually flying from one ſide to the other, has ſomething
" in it very frightful. To form an idea of this place, you muſt
" imagine one of the higheſt mountains in the world opening it's
" boſom, only to ſhew the moſt horrid ſpectacle that can be thought
" of. All the precipices are perpendicular, and the extremities
" are rough and blackiſh, as if a ſmoak came out of the ſides and
" ſmutted them. About ſix o'clock in the afternoon we found our-
" ſelves quite tired out and ſpent. However, at length obſerving
" a place covered with *Moxſe-ear*, whoſe declivity ſeemed to fa-
" vour our deſcent, that is to ſay, the way *Noah* took to the bot-
" tom of the mountain; we ran thither in haſte, and then ſat down
" to reſt ourſelves, and found there more plants than we had all the
" journey beſides: and what pleaſed us mighty well was, that our
" guides ſhewed from thence, but at a great diſtance, the mona-
" ſtery whither we were to go to quench our thirſt. We laid our-
" ſelves on our backs, and ſlid down for an hour together upon this
" green plat, and ſo paſſed on very agreeably, and much faſter
" than we could have gone on our legs. The night and our thirſt

to return without accomplishing his design, though it was then in the middle of summer (K).

THE situation of *Ararat*, whether it be Mount *Masis*, or the mountain of *Cardu*, is very convenient for the journey of the sons of *Noah* from thence to *Shinaar*, the distance not being very great, and the descent easy, especially from the latter, into the plains of *Mesopotamia*, of which *Shinaar* is a part. We discover plainly, through the *Mosaic* history, a neighbourhood between the land of *Eden*, where man was created, that of *Ararat*, where the remains of mankind were saved, and that of *Shinaar*, where they fixed the centre of their plantations. And certainly it was more natural it should be so, than to separate those scenes at such a distance from each other, as some have done.

" were a kind of spurs to us, and caused us to make the greater " speed. We continued therefore to slide in this manner as long " as the way would suffer us, and when we met with small flint " stones which hurt our shoulders, we turned and slid on our bel- " lies, or went backwards on all four. Thus by degrees we " gained the monastery, but so disordered and fatigued by our " manner of travelling, that we were not able to move hand or " foot. To our great misfortune also we found there neither " wine nor water, so were forced to send to the river, the descent " to which was near a quarter of a league down-right, and the " way very rugged."

(K) Yet, if you will believe a certain *Dutch* traveller (34), these difficulties may be surmounted; for he assures us, he went five days journey up mount *Ararat* to see a *Romish* hermit; that he passed through three regions of clouds, the first dark and thick, the next cold and full of snow, and the third colder still: that he advanced five miles every day; and when he came to the place where the hermit had his cell, he breathed a very serene and temperate air: that the hermit told him, he had perceived neither wind nor rain all the twenty five years he had dwelt there, and that on the top of the mountain there still reigned a greater tranquillity, whereby the ark was preserved uncorrupted. He farther pretends, that the hermit gave him a cross made out of the wood of the ark, together with a certificate, a formal copy of which the author has given in his sham relation.

(34) Struys's *Voyages, chap.* 17.

CHAP.







D. Pomarede Sc.

NOAH'S ARK

CHAP. II.

The General Hiſtory from the DELUGE *to the Birth of* ABRAHAM.

SECT. I.

The Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of Abraham *from* Haran *ſtated.*

PURSUANT to our intended method, before we proceed to the poſtdiluvian hiſtory, we ſhall ſettle the chronology of this firſt period of it, which, as well as that of the preceding, can be adjuſted only from the records of *Moſes*.

THIS is one of the moſt difficult periods to ſettle in all chronology, not only, becauſe we have no aſſiſtance therein from profane hiſtory, but alſo on account of the great diverſity between the ſeveral copies of the *Moſaical* writings. It is a great misfortune, that there ſhould be any uncertainty with regard to the times next after the flood. For the planting of the world, the forming of ſocieties and governments, the riſe of arts and ſciences, and the beginning of ſtates and monarchies, falling within theſe limits, nothing could have been more ſerviceable to hiſtory than a fixed and uniform chronology of theſe early ages: whereas authors, being divided in their judgments about the authenticneſs of the ſeveral copies, have every one choſen to follow that which agreed beſt with his own notions, or hypotheſis; whereby they have ſo perplexed and confounded all tranſactions, both ſacred and profane, which fall within this period, that the hiſtory thereof can be compared to nothing but the original chaos.

HOWEVER, it is no ſmall ſatisfaction, that the great differences between the ſeveral copies end here; and that being once got below the birth of *Abraham*, we enter upon a more certain ſeries of time, about which chronologers are more ge-

nerally agreed; the variety of the ſeveral copies making a difference of but a few years, not ſeveral ages, as we find the difference ariſes to in this period: for the better exhibiting of which we have inſerted the following tables, adjuſted in the ſame form with thoſe we have given of the antediluvian patriarchs.

A TABLE *of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the birth of* Abraham.

	Their Ages at their Sons Birth.				Years they lived after their Sons Birth.			Length of their Lives.		
	Heb.	Joſ.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
Shem after the flood --	2	2	2	2	500	500	500	600	600	600
Arphaxad —	35	135	135	135	403	303	430	438	438	565
Cainan——	0	0	0	130	0	0	330	0	0	460
Salah ——	30	130	130	130	403	303	330	433	433	460
Eber,——	34	134	134	134	430	270	370	464	404	504
Phaleg, ——	30	130	130	130	209	109	209	239	239	339
Reu,——	32	132	132	132	207	107	207	239	239	339
Serug, ——	30	130	130	130	200	100	200	230	230	330
Nabor, — —	29	29	79	79	119	69	129	148	148	208
Terah, — —	130	70	130	130	75	75	75	205	205	205
Sum to *Abraham*'s birth, —	352	892	1002	1132						

A Chro-

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of* Abraham, *according to the Computation of the* Hebrew.

	Years of the Flood.	Yrs. of *Noah*,	Yrs. of *Shem*,	Yrs. of *Arphaxad*,	Years of *Salah*,	Years of *Eber*,	Years of *Peleg*,	Years of *Reu*,	Years of *Serug*,	Years of *Nabor*,	Years of *Terah*,	Years of *Abraham*,
The Flood - -	0	600	98									
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100									
Salah born, - -	37	637	135	35								
Eber born, - -	67	667	165	65	30							
Peleg born, Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind, - -	101	701	199	99	64	34						
Reu born, - -	131	731	229	129	94	64	30					
Serug born - -	163	763	261	161	126	96	62	32				
Nabor born, -	193	793	291	191	156	126	92	62	30			
Terah born, - -	222	822	320	220	185	155	121	91	59	29		
Haran born, - -	292	892	390	290	255	225	191	161	129	99	70	
Peleg dies, - -	340	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	177	147	118	
Nabor dies, -	341	941	439	339	304	274		210	178	148	119	
Noah dies, - -	350	950	448	348	313	283		219	187		128	
Abraham born, -	352		450	350	315	285		221	189		130	
Reu dies, - -	370		468	368	333	303		239	207		148	18
Serug dies, - -	393		491	391	356	326			230		171	41
Terah dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*, - -	427		525	425	390	360					205	75

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of* Abraham, *according to the Computation of the* Septuagint.

	Years of the Flood.	Yrs. of *Noah*,	Yrs. of *Shem*,	Yrs. of *Arphaxad*,	Years of *Cainan*,	Years of *Salah*,	Years of *Eber*,	Years of *Peleg*,	Years of *Reu*,	Years of *Serug*,	Years of *Nahor*,	Years of *Terah*,	Years of *Abraham*,
The Flood, - -	0	600	98										
Arphaxad born, -	2	602	100										
Cainan born, -	137	737	235	135									
Salah born, -	267	867	365	265	130								
Noah dies, - -	350	950	448	348	213	83							
Eber born, - -	397		495	395	260	130							
Shem dies, - -	502		600	500	365	235	105						
Peleg born, Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind, --	531			529	394	264	134						
Arphaxad dies, -	567			565	430	330	170	36					
Cainan dies, -	597				460	360	200	66					
Reu born, - -	661					394	264	130					
Salah dies, - -	727					460	330	196	66				
Serug born, - -	793						396	262	132				
Peleg dies, - -	870						473	339	209	77			
Eber dies, - -	901						504		240	108			
Nahor born, -	923								262	130			
Reu dies, - -	1000								339	207	77		
Terah born, -	1002									209	79		
Serug dies, - -	1123									330	200	121	
Abraham born, -	1132										209	130	
Terah dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*, - - -	1207											284	205 75

A Chro-

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of* Abraham, *according to the Computation of the* Samaritan *Pentateuch.*

	the Flood.	Yrs. of *Noah*,	Yrs. of *Shem*,	Yrs. of *Arphaxad*,	Years of *Salah*,	Years of *Eber*,	Years of *Peleg*,	Years of *Reu*,	Years of *Serug*,	Years of *Nahor*,	Years of *Terah*,	Years of *Abraham*,
The Flood, - -	0	600	98									
Arphaxad born, -	2	602	100									
Salah born, - -	137	737	235	135								
Eber born, - -	267	867	365	265	130							
Noah dies, - -	350	950	448	348	213	83						
Peleg born, Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind, -	401	499	399	264	134							
Arphaxad dies, -	440	538	438	303	193	40						
Shem dies, - -	502	600		365	255	101						
Reu born, - -	531			394	264	130						
Salah dies, - -	570			433	303	169	39					
Peleg dies, - -	640				373	239	109					
Serug born, - -	663				396		132					
Eber dies, - -	671				404		140	8				
Reu dies, - -	770						239	107				
Nahor born, -	793							130				
Terah born, - -	872							209	79			
Serug dies, - -	893							230	100	21		
Nahor dies, - -	941								148	69		
Abraham born, -	1002									130		
Terah dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*, - - - -	1077									205	75	

There is no difference in this period between the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, but what ariſes from the different computation of the years of the genitures of the patriarchs; the great difficulty, in both copies, conſiſts in *Terah*'s age at the birth of *Abraham*: ſome will have him born in the ſeventieth year of *Terah*, which cannot be, unleſs *Abraham* were the eldeſt ſon, as it is evident he was not (for *Lot*, *Haran*'s ſon, was near as old as *Abraham*) or unleſs *Haran* was born ſome years before his father was ſeventy, which ſeems to be not agreeable to the text; and if *Terah* was two hundred and five years old at his death, *Abraham* being then but ſeventy five, he muſt be one hundred and thirty when *Abraham* was born (K). The *Samaritan* copy indeed helps this matter, by making *Terah*'s age, at his death, no more than one hundred and forty five; but then the firſt objection as to *Haran*'s ſeniority remains: ſo that in this point the fault ſeems to be in the *Samaritan* (L), for, it muſt be confeſſed, the *Hebrew* number is here moſt fit to be relied on.

(K) This, we think, has been ſatisfactorily proved by Mr. *Whiſton*, in his ſhort view of the chronology of the old Teſtament (35).

(L) The gentleman juſt mentioned, ſince the publiſhing his ſaid Chronology, has thought fit to change his opinion in this matter (36), and produces ſeveral arguments to prove the *Samaritan* to be the true reading, and the *Hebrew* number a corruption. He relies on two paſſages, one of *Philo*, the other of *Joſephus*. The former ſays, *that* Abraham *(born when his father* Terah *was ſeventy) was ſeventy five years old when he departed from* Haran; *though* Terah *lived there till his death* (37). But *Philo* here only copies *Moſes*; ſo that his concluſion, whatever it was, does not decide any thing as to the true age of *Terah* at that time, which muſt have been more than ſeventy from the plain ſenſe of the text, when attended to. *Joſephus*'s words are, *They buried* Terah *when he died at* Haran, *after he had lived two hundred and five years*; for *the life of man was already cut ſhort and did become ſhorter till the birth of* Moſes (38). Now ſince he expreſly mentions the age of *Terah* to have been two hundred and five, we cannot ſee any ground to ſuppoſe it a corruption for one hundred and forty five, though he elſewhere mentions *Abraham* to be born in the ſeventieth year of his father; for the inconſiſtency has been overlooked by many beſides *Joſephus*; much leſs can we conclude it ſuch from his reaſoning about the length of mens lives being ſhortened; which may be juſt, notwithſtanding *Terah* lived to be older than his father.

(35) *Pag.* 31. (36) *See his Eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the old Teſtament, p.* 27, *&c.* (37) Philo *de Somniis, p.* 572. (38) Joſeph. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

THE

THE call of *Abraham*, where the period ends, is by ſome reckoned five years ſooner, when he left *Ur*; but this will not agree with ſcripture, as ſhall be ſhewn when we come to ſettle the next period.

THERE are ſome variations between the preſent copies of the *Septuagint*; but as moſt of them relate to the length of ſome of the patriarchs lives, a circumſtance not very material, and which makes no difference in the computation, we ſhall paſs them by, and only obſerve, that ſome copies place the birth of *Arphaxad* twelve years after the flood, which will encreaſe the total of this period ten years; and that ſome make the age of *Nahor*, at the birth of *Terah*, 179 (M).

WE have choſen to follow the readings of the *Alexandrian* manuſcript, according to which the only difference between the *Septuagint* and the *Samaritan* in this period, is 130 years given to *Cainan*, who is added between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*. but is to be found neither in the *Hebrew*, nor the *Samaritan*, nor in the chronology of thoſe times, given us from the *Septuagint* itſelf, by *Africanus*, and *Euſebius* [a]: which circumſtances we look upon as ſufficient authority to reject him out of the number of the patriarchs, notwithanding his name is inſerted in St. *Luke* [b]; which may eaſily have happened, by its being added from ſome erroneous copies of the *Septuagint*, and firſt, as is moſt probable, put in the margin, though it has ſince crept into the text.

THE difference between the *Hebrew* reckoning and the *Samaritan* in this period is very conſiderable, being no leſs than 650 years, in which the *Hebrew* is defective, and in all probability has been corrupted; we reſerve for another place the examination of the authenticneſs of the various copies of the *Pentateuch*; at preſent we ſhall make uſe of ſome arguments drawn from reaſon, to ſhew that the *Samaritan* is to be preferred to the *Hebrew*.

[a] Vid. EUSEB. Chron. Græc. p. 9. [b] Luke iii. 36.

(M) Father *Petron*, following the preſent copies of *Joſephus*, places the birth of *Terah* in the 129th year of *Nahor*, which agrees with the *Hebrew*, and the amended number of *Joſephus*, with the addition only of 100 years; and thus the total of this period will be 1257 (39). But afterwards taking in the 10 years, added as above, between the flood, and the birth of *Arphaxad*, he in his ſecond computation makes the whole 1267.

(39) *See his Antiq. des temps reſablies*, p. 61.

IN

IN the first place, this period seems much too short, according to the *Hebrew*, for the historical facts belonging thereto. We shall shew, when we come to speak of the dispersion, how inconsistent it is in all respects with that transaction, and to what extreams it hath driven those who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, to place the birth of *Peleg*, when that dispersion happened, at no greater distance from the flood than 101 years; and how improbable it is, that in the space of 427 years, the world should be in such an improved state, as it appears to have been in the time of *Abraham*; when cities were built, kingdoms erected, and monarchs extended their dominion even from *Persia* to *Canaan*: But we shall confine ourselves at present to some other observations arising from the consequences of the *Hebrew* numbers, which we shall give in the words of a learned writer[c].

1. IT is not probable, that the seven first patriarchs after the flood, who lived 300 and 400 years, should beget at thirty, or thereabouts, as the present *Hebrew* is; and yet the following Patriarchs who did not live half so long, should not beget their first-born till double the age: *Terah* at seventy, *Abraham* at eighty seven, *Isaac* at sixty, *Jacob* at eighty four, *Levi*, *Kohath*, and *Amram* at about sixty each of them; for from the birth of *Levi* to the birth of *Moses* the son of *Amram*, were about 180 years.

2. (N) IT is not probable that *Noah*, who lived 600 years before the flood, should see nine generations succeed each

[c] Dr. WILLS, in his Appendix to his learned Discourse of the chronology of Josephus.

(N) In this paragraph we have accommodated Dr. *Wills*'s reasoning to our own table of the *Hebrew* chronology, differing somewhat from his, which follows the shorter calculation, making *Abraham* born in the seventieth year of *Terah*, and consequently placing his birth sixty years earlier; that is, in the year of the flood 292, whereby there happens some variation between our calculations, in comparing the years of the deaths of the patriarchs together; and as we have not brought in *Joktan* with his sons, any more than *Peleg*, into the first dispersion, we have omitted the third reason urged by the Doctor against the *Hebrew* numbers. However, for the reader's satisfaction, we shall subjoin them both, by way of note, in his own words.

2dly, Says that author, it is not probable that *Noah*, who lived 600 years before the flood, should see ten generations succeed each other after the flood, and live till the fifty eighth year of *Abraham*; that *Shem* should see nine generations after him successively die, and live many years after the death of *Abraham*, the ninth person lineally

each other after the flood, and live till the 128th year of *Terah*, within two years of *Abraham*'s birth; that *Arphaxad* ſhould outlive *Peleg*, *Reu*, *Serug*, *Nahor*, and *Terah*, for five generations lineally deſcended from him. And what is more ſtrange, that *Shem* ſhould ſurvive *Arphaxad*, and ſee eight generations after him ſucceſſively die; and live till the fiftieth year of *Iſaac*, within fifteen years of *Abraham*'s death; that *Eber*, ſhould outlive *Abraham* himſelf, the ſeventh in deſcent from him, though *Abraham* dies in a good old age, an old man [d]. Thus the great anceſtors, which in courſe of nature ought to die firſt, die laſt; by reducing the ſtandard of the length of human life too faſt, for the ſhortneſs of the ſpace allowed from the flood to the birth of *Abraham*; and hence, among other abſurd conſequences which follow from this chronology, occaſion was given to that notion of the *Jews*, followed ſtill by many modern writers, that *Melchizedeck* was *Shem*.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of Noah *after the Flood, and of his deſcendants to* Abraham.

THE time of *Noah*'s going forth of the ark is fixed in ſcripture [e], to have been on the twenty ſeventh day of

[d] Gen. xxv. 8. [e] Gen. viii. 13.

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Chriſt; 2997.

Noah *comes out of the ark. The precepts given him by God.*

lineally deſcended from him; who yet died in a good old age, an old man (40), that *Salah* ſhould outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragau*, *Lamech* (41), *Nahor*, *Terah*, and *Abraham*, for ſix generations lineally deſcended from him; and even the laſt of them lived to be an old man: that *Heber* ſhould outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragau*, *Lamech* (42), *Nahor*, *Terah*, *Abraham*, and *Iſaac*, ſeven ſucceſſive generations that deſcended from him, and yet *Abraham* and *Iſaac* ſhould both live to be old men (43).

3dly, It is not poſſible, that *Joktan* ſhould have thirteen ſons when *Phaleg* was born at the diviſion of tongues, if *Phaleg* was born in the thirty fourth year of *Heber*, as it is in the *Hebrew*; and to fancy *Phaleg* firſt called ſo at the time of his death, is ridiculous, and expreſly contrary to *Joſephus*. At the diviſion of tongues we are told, that *Mizraim*, *Canaan*, *Sidon*, *Elam*, *Aſſur*, *Aram*, &c. gave names to countries, and yet they died before *Phaleg*. *Shem*, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Heber*, &c. according to the *Hebrew*, were alive when God inſtituted circumciſion; and yet none of them ordered to be circumciſed, which was then the ſign of being in covenant with God.

(40) *Gen.* xxv. 8. (41) *A miſtake of the printer for* Serug. (42) Serug. (43) *Gen.* xxxv. 25.

the

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Christ, 2997.

the second month, in the six hundred and first year of his age (O). The first thing he did upon his landing, was to build an altar, and offer a burnt sacrifice of every clean beast, and every clean fowl [f] (P). GOD having accepted the sacrifice, blessed *Noah*, and gave him power over all living creatures, with a permission to eat of them as freely as of the produce of the ground; however, he forbad him to eat the blood of animals, or to shed that of man, ordering him to punish man-slaughter with death, and to people the world as fast as he could [g].

IT is not to be thought, that these three injunctions contained all that was obligatory on *Noah* and his posterity, till the promulgation of the law at *Sinai*, there being nothing here required of his duty towards God, the whole consisting in moral precepts; but we are to consider them either as explanatory of, or additional to the laws, which *Noah* had received in common with the rest of the antediluvians, and which were derived from *Adam*. The permission to eat flesh, now first explicitly given, seems to intimate, that it was not allowed before the flood: but to avoid repetitions, we refer the reader to what we have already said on that subject [h].

THE Rabbins pretend, that GOD gave to *Noah* and his sons certain general precepts, which, according to them, contain the law of nature, common to all men indifferently, and for the non-observance of which the *Gentiles* themselves have been punished by GOD [i]. These precepts enjoined, 1. To abstain from idolatry. 2. From blasphemy. 3. From murder. 4. From adultery. 5. From theft. 6. To institute judges to maintain those laws; and, 7. To abstain from eating the flesh of any animal, cut off while the animal was living; which last precept was supposed to be intended by the words, *the flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof*,

[f] Gen. viii. 20. [g] Chap. ix. 1.—7. [h] Chap. 1. § 7.
[i] Vid. SELDEN de jure nat. & gent. lib. I. cap. ult. CALMET, dict. art. Noachides.

(O) The *Mohammedans* will have it, that *Noah* quitted the ark the tenth day of *Mobarram*, which is the first month of their year; and that he instituted the fast, observed by them on that day, which they call *Ashûrah*, in commemoration of his deliverance (44).

(P) Some Rabbins pretend *Shem* offered the sacrifice, *Noah* being rendered unqualified for that office, by having the misfortune to be bit by a lion (45).

(44) D'Herb. *Bibl. orient.* p. 676. (45) Shalshel, *Hakkab.* p. 7.

shall

ſhall you not eat [k]. This barbarity ſome pagans are ſaid to have practiſed [l]. From the time of *Moſes*, the *Jews* would not ſuffer a ſtranger to live among them, unleſs he obſerved the precepts of the *Noachidæ*, and never gave quarter in battle to any who were ignorant of them. Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Chriſt, 2997.

MAIMONIDES [m] ſays, the ſix firſt precepts were given to *Adam*, and the ſeventh to *Noah*: to theſe ſome Rabbins add others, as the prohibition to draw out the blood of any living creature to drink [n]; to maim animals [o]; to uſe magic and ſorcery [p]; to couple animals, and graft trees with different kinds [q]. But what calls the antiquity of theſe precepts in queſtion is, that there is no mention made of them, neither in ſcripture, nor in *Onkelos*, nor in *Joſephus*, nor in *Philo*; and that neither *Jerom*, nor *Origen*, nor any of the antient fathers, appears to have known any thing of them.

BISHOP *Cumberland*, who likewiſe juſtly ſuſpects the veracity of the Rabbins, thinks the patriarchal laws are to be ſearched for in the ſcripture; and accordingly, in a particular treatiſe on that ſubject [r], he has ſhewn from thence, that the patriarchs, long before the law was delivered to *Moſes*, carefully obſerved the principal precepts, as well towards GOD, as towards man, ſo as to fulfil the decalogue; moved thereto either by the ſame promiſes, or fear of the ſame judgments and puniſhments, which were afterwards pronounced by the *Moſaical* law [s].

GOD farther made a covenant with *Noah* [t], never to drown the world again, promiſing, as a token thereof, for the future, to ſet his bow in the clouds when it rained. This ſeems to have been done to take away *Noah*'s apprehenſions, who, according to *Joſephus*, ſacrificed to appeaſe GOD's wrath, fearing an anniverſary deluge; for which ſuppoſition that hiſtorian has been cenſured ſomewhat too ſeverely [u]. *God aſſures* Noah, *the world ſhould not periſh by a ſecond deluge.*

NOAH, being come down from the mountain, applied himſelf to huſbandry, and planted a vineyard [x]; but the eaſtern authors [y] make this the work of his ſons. However, *Noah*, having drank of the wine to exceſs, lay careleſly uncovered in his tent, which his ſon *Ham* perceiving, called in his brothers, *Shem* and *Japhet*, to behold the poſture their father was in; but they, out of a ſenſe of duty and modeſty, Noah *becomes an huſbandman.*

[k] Gen. ix. 4. [l] ARNOB. cont. Gent. lib. 5. See before, p. 178. in the notes. [m] YAD HAZZAKAH, Sepher melakin. c. 9. [n] Rab. CHEVINA. [o] R. CHIDEA. [p] R. SIMEON. [q] R. ELIEZER. [r] De legibus patriarcharum, printed in his Origines gentium antiquiſſ. [s] Ibid. chap. 5. [t] Gen. ix. 11, 17. [u] JOSEPH. ant. l. 1. c. 3. HEIDEG. Hiſt. patriarc. Exercit. 19. 3. [x] Gen. ix. 20. [y] EUTYCH. p. 43.

took

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Christ, 2997.

took a garment, and going backwards, covered *Noah* with it; for which, when he came to know of what had passed, he blessed them, and cursed *Ham* in his posterity, who were to be servants to their brethren [z].

Where first he settled.

THE *Armenians* have a tradition, that *Noah*, after quitting the ark, went and settled at *Erivan*, about twelve leagues from *Ararat*, and that it was there he planted the vineyard, in a place where they still make excellent wine [a]. According to *Tavernier*, *Nakshiwan*, which is ten leagues distant from *Ararat*, was the place where *Noah* went to dwell; and he adds, that it is reported to be the oldest city in the world. Another tradition of the country will have the village of *Cemain* above-mentioned, to be the place where *Noah* and his sons fixed their first habitation [b]. But this is to be understood of the places where these towns were afterwards built, for it is not likely, they began to build towns so early, much less that the deluge left them standing, if there had been any there before; and the scripture says, *Noah* was in his tent when *Ham* surprized him in wine.

Noah *not* Fo hi.

HOWEVER this tradition, so far as it relates to *Noah*'s settling in the country near the mountain where the ark rested, seems more probable than a notion lately advanced by some men of learning [c], that *Noah* left his three sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, in some little time, and with his younger issue travelled to *China*, where he lived before the deluge, and that he was the first king of that country, whom the *Chinese* call *Fo hi* (Q); it seeming more agreeable to reason, as well as scripture,

[z] Gen. ix. 21.---27. [a] CALMET Dict. suppl. p. 63. [b] See before, chap. I. § 8. [c] Dr. ALLIX, in his Reflections upon the books of the holy scriptures, p. 112. Mr. WHISTON in his Chronol. of the old Test. &c. in his new theory of the earth, and his essay for restoring the true text, &c. Mr. SHUCKFORD in his Connection, and Mr. BEDFORD in his Scripture chronology.

(Q) This opinion (much more reasonable than that of *Hornius*, who will have *Fo hi* to be *Adam* (46), though the *Chinese* (47) expressly make a different person the first man, whom they call *Puon ku*) depends on the following observations. 1. The *Chinese* histories say, *Fo hi* had no father (48); which agrees well enough with *Noah*, because the memory of his father might be lost in the deluge, and so give occasion to this fable, that he had no father at all. 2. The same histories affirm, that *Fo hi*'s mother conceived him as she was

(46) *Arca Noe*, p. 14. (47) *Vid.* Martinii *Hist. Sinicam*, *lib.* 1. *p.* 13. (48) *Ibid. p.* 21.

encom-

ſcripture, to conclude, that *Noah* continued with his poſterity till

Year of the Flood, 1.

encompaſſed with a rainbow (49); which ſeems an imperfect tradition concerning the firſt appearance of the rainbow to *Noah* after the flood. 3. The character and appellation of *Fo hi*, among the *Chineſe*, agrees with what the ſcriptures affirm of *Noah*.--- *Fo hi*, ſays *Le Compte*, the firſt emperor of *China*, carefully bred up ſeven ſorts of creatures, which he uſed to ſacrifice to the ſupreme ſpirit of heaven and earth. For this reaſon ſome called him *Paohi*, that is, *oblation* (50). *Noah*, ſays *Moſes*, took into the ark *of every clean beaſt by ſevens, of fowls alſo of the air by ſevens, the male and his female, to keep ſeed alive upon the face of all the earth* (51). And after the flood *Noah builded an altar unto the* LORD, *and took of every clean beaſt, and every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar* (52). 4. The *Chineſe* hiſtories affirm, that *Fo hi* ſettled in the province of *Shenſi*, which is the moſt northweſt province of *China* (53), and very near to mount *Caucaſus*, upon which (according to an opinion we have taken notice of) the ark reſted, and from which *Noah* muſt deſcend to go thence into *China*. In favour of this opinion, it is alſo further obſerved, 5. That the *Moſaic* hiſtory, as it is perfectly ſilent in relation to the peopling of *China* at the diſperſion, confining itſelf within the bounds of the then known world; ſo it ſays little or nothing of *Noah* after the flood; which ſeems to be an intimation, that *Noah* had no ſhare in the ſubſequent actions related in the ſacred hiſtory; and ſo by a fair conſequence might be in *China*, a region out of the compaſs of the known world. 6. That this is confirmed by the *Chaldean* tradition of the ſudden diſappearing of *Xiſuthrus*, or *Noah*, his wife, and daughter, and the *Pilot*, on their coming out of the ark. 7. That the *Chineſe* language and writing, are ſo entirely different from thoſe among us, introduced by the confuſion of *Babel*, that they cannot well be derived from thence. 8. That the diſperſion beginning from *Babylon*, ſo remote a country as *China*, could not be ſo ſoon reached and peopled, as the prodigious number of its inhabitants at preſent ſhew it to have been; and therefore they could not be of ſo late an original. 9. That the learned ſciences ſeem to have been antiently much better known in *China*, than in theſe parts of the world; their government and conſtitution much firmer and more laſting than ours; their moſt antient hiſtories more authentic and certain than ours (excepting thoſe of more than human original): all which things would make one ready to imagine, that as it is probable *Noah* might be much more wiſe and learned than any of his ſons; ſo all thoſe ſettlements, laws, and traditions, which are derived from him, are remarkable

Year before Chriſt, 2997.

(49) *Ibid.* (50) Le Compte *Memoirs of* China, *p.* 313. Couplet *Confucius procem. p.* 38. 76. (51) *Geneſ.* vii. 2, 3, 9. (52) *Chap.* viii. 20. (53) Martinius *ubi ſupra.* Couplet. *Chronol. in* Fo hi.

effects

till his death, and that, after quitting the ark, they dwelt somewhere near the mountain where it rested, which was in *Armenia*; and that they did not remove, till such time as they are mentioned in scripture to have begun their journey towards *Shinaar* c.

Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648. Noah *dies.*

NOAH died in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his age, and, according to the tradition of the orientals, was buried in *Mesopotamia*, where they shew his sepulchre, in a castle near a monastery called *Dair Abunah*, that is, *the monastery of our Father* d. According to a common opinion, before his death, he divided the world among his three sons,

c Gen. xi. 2. d D'HERBEL. p. 677.

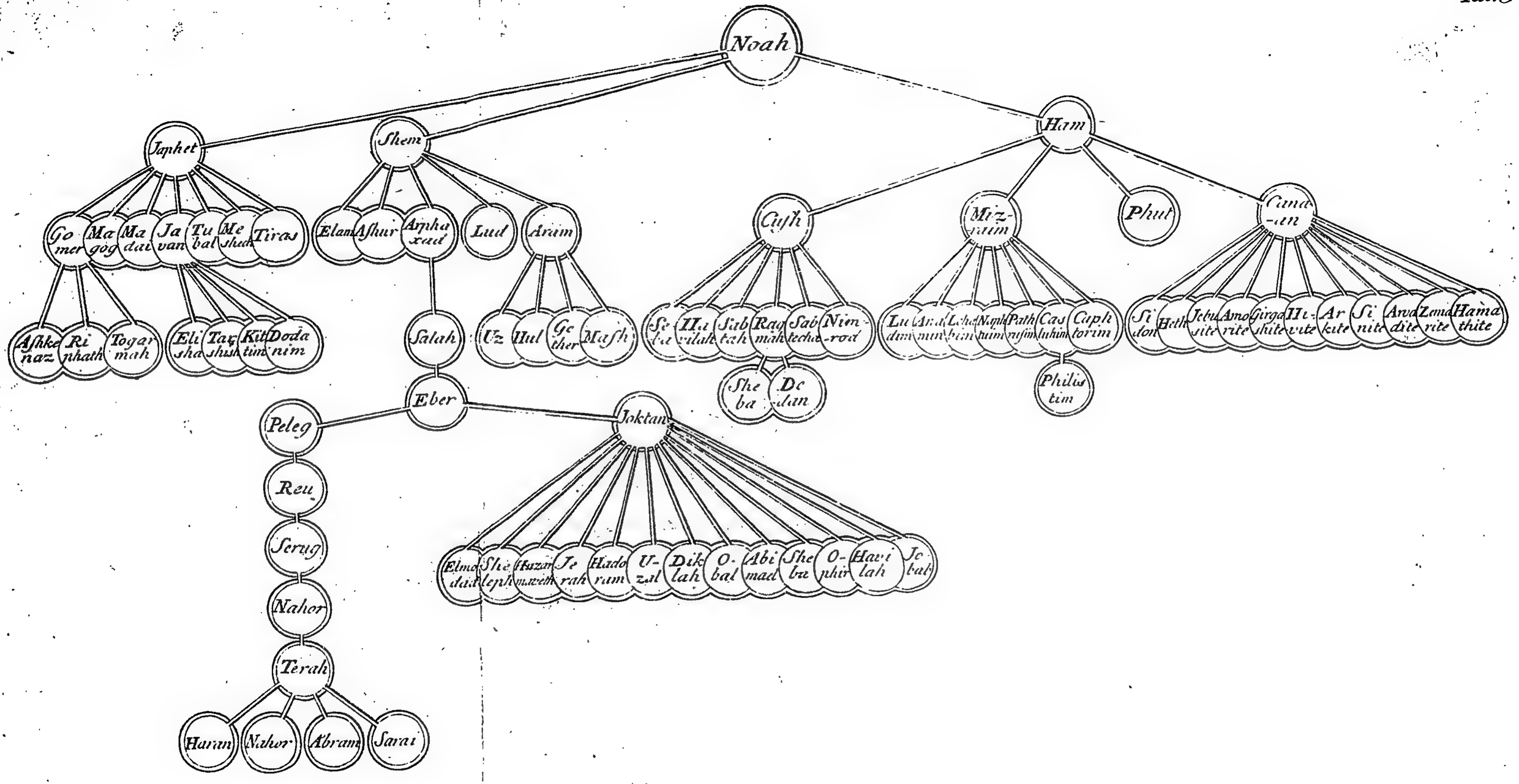
effects and testimonies of the same (54). 10. And principally, that the reign of *Fo hi*, according to the most rational and exact account hitherto given of the *Chinese* chronology, coincides with the time of *Noah* (55); and that the length of the reigns and lives of *Fo hi*, and his first successors, greatly corresponds with the duration of the lives of men in the same ages recorded in scripture (56).

But as this opinion is conjectural only, so several objections might be made to it. As, 1. That it is improbable, if *Noah* was *Fo hi*, that the *Chinese* annals should make no mention of so extraordinary an event as the deluge, which they are so far from having recorded, that *Couplet* (57) expressly makes it an error in those who imagine they have. 2. The uncertainty of the *Chinese* writers themselves as to the history of *Fo hi* and his next successors, some doubting, whether there was ever such a man as *Fo hi*; and others rejecting both him and his successor *Shin nungh*, and beginning with *Hoangh ti*, the third king; wherefore *Couplet* leaves them out of the succession of *Chinese* monarchs, and that not without reason, since *Fo hi* is said to have had the body of a serpent, and *Shin nungh* the head of an ox (58). 3. *Moses*'s account of the dispersion seems most evidently to relate to all mankind without exception, who, he supposes, were collected together in the plain of *Shinaar*; as will hereafter be more particularly evinced. And if this be admitted, *Noah* having no other issue than his three sons named by *Moses*, consequently could not reign in *China*.

This matter, however, we may be probably able to decide, when we come to treat professedly of the *Chinese* affairs; wherein we expect some assistance from the new history of *China*, lately published in *Italy*, written by a *Mandarin*, who, as we are told, has made it appear, that there are no genuine records to be found in that empire, earlier than two or three centuries before CHRIST.

(54) *Vid.* Whiston's *Theory, Book* II. *p.* 137, *&c.* (55) *Vid. his short view of the Chronol. &c. p.* 61. (56) *Ibid. p.* 64, 65. (57) *Præf. ad Tab. Chronol. p.* 3, 8. (58) *Vid. Ibid. p.* 3. 10, 11.

giving


Noah
Japhet
Shem
Ham
Gomer
Magog
Madai
Javan
Tubal
Meshech
Tiras
Elam
Ashur
Arphaxad
Lud
Aram
Cush
Mizraim
Phut
Canaan
Ashkenaz
Riphath
Togarmah
Elisha
Tarshish
Kittim
Dodanim
Salah
Uz
Hul
Gether
Mash
Sheba
Dedan
Philistim
Sidon
Heth
Jebusite
Amorite
Girgashite
Hivite
Arkite
Sinite
Arvadite
Zemarite
Hamathite
Eber
Peleg
Joktan
Reu
Serug
Nahor
Terah
Elmodad
Sheleph
Hazarmaveth
Jerah
Hadoram
Uzal
Diklah
Obal
Abimael
Sheba
Ophir
Havilah
Jobab
Haran
Nahor
Abram
Sarai

giving to *Shem Asia*, to *Ham Africa*, and to *Japhet Europe*: but this has not the leaſt foundation in ſcripture. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

ALL mankind, at leaſt that we have any account of in ſcripture, being the iſſue of theſe three ſons of *Noah*, who were ſaved with him in the ark (R); before we proceed any farther, it will be proper to give a genealogical table of their deſcendants, in the ſame manner as we have already given one of the antediluvian patriarchs. *(See the plate)*.

The genealogy of the deſcendants of Noah.

THE chief deſign of *Moſes* being to record what particularly concerned the *Iſraelites*, he has given us the genealogy of the line of *Shem* only entire. As to the deſcendants of the other two ſons of *Noah*, his deſign ſeems to have been to bring them down as low as the diſperſion, in order to leave to poſterity the names of the firſt founders of nations, and there to diſmiſs them; for it is obſervable, that though ſeveral particulars are mentioned in the courſe of the *Moſaical* hiſtory relating to the *Canaanites*, as the people with whom the *Iſraelites* were more particularly to be concerned, yet he hath deduced the genealogy of that branch of *Ham* no farther; on the contrary it is ſhorter than thoſe of *Mizraïm* and *Cuſh* by one generation.

NOR indeed is there much to be collected from ſcripture relating to the deſcendants of *Shem*, more than their names and the ages of the patriarchs in the line of *Peleg*, till we come to *Terah* the father of *Abraham*, with whom this period ends. But whatever there may be wanting in the ſacred hiſtory, the *Jews* have taken care, according to their uſual cuſtom, plentifully to ſupply with the figments and conceits of their *Rabbins*, a ſet of men, who have ſurpaſſed all others in the art of trifling, and inventing abſurdities. On the other hand, the chriſtian chronologers and hiſtorians of all ages who have endeavoured to connect the prophane hiſtory with the ſacred, within this period, would furniſh us with materials enough to fill up the vacancies, could we think it worth while to collect their ſeveral opinions and conjectures; few of them agreeing in any one point, which yet every one is

(R) Beſides theſe three ſons, ſome of the *Jewiſh* writers give *Noah* a fourth, named *Yoniko*, who, as they pretend, taught aſtronomy, and inſtructed *Nimrod* in the art of war (59). The *Mahommedan* traditions, generally ſpeaking, allow *Noah* but three ſons, yet an *Arab* writer mentions another, named *Majeſtún* (60), who was probably born after the flood.

(59) Juchaſin. *p.* 135. (60) Abdalrahman Ebn Abdallah *apud D'Herbel. Bibliotb. Orient. Art. Noah.*

Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648.

confident he has settled. We shall therefore take notice of but a very few of them; such contradictory sentiments serving only to shew the uncertainty of the whole, and consequently to confound, rather than to instruct, the reader.

WE shall not in this place touch upon the migrations, or the planting of nations by the posterity of *Noah*, which we have reserved for the subject of a distinct section, that we might not mix the history of that remarkable transaction with other matters. We have also thought proper to change the order of the table, and give an account of the line of *Ham* before that of *Shem*, which will more naturally close this section.

Of Japhet *and his posterity.*

THOUGH *Japhet* is generally placed last in scripture[e], yet he is expressly said to be the eldest (S)[f]; and that he was so is farther evident, for that *Noah* was five hundred years old when he begat his three sons[g], according to which manner of expression in scripture one of them was born in his five hundredth year: but it could not be *Shem*, for he being in the one hundredth year of his age at the birth of *Arphaxad*, two years after the flood[h], when *Noah* was six hundred and three years old, it follows, that he himself was born in the five hundred and third year of *Noah*: nor could it be *Ham*, for he is expressly said to have been the younger[i]; so that *Japhet* was the eldest of the three sons.

JAPHET being affected, as well as *Shem*, with filial concern at *Ham*'s exposing their father's nakedness, assisted to cover him, and had a blessing given him by *Noah* on that occasion. GOD, says that patriarch, *shall enlarge* Japhet (T), *and he shall dwell in the tents of* Shem; *and* Canaan *shall be his servant*[k]. The first part of this prophecy has been verified in the great possessions which fell to the descendants of *Japhet*; as all *Europe*, and all the northern part of *Asia*, the lesser *Asia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, the countries between the

[e] Gen. v. 32. vi. 10. vii. 13. ix. 18. x. 1. [f] Ibid. x. 21. [g] Ibid v. 32. [h] Ibid. xi. 10. [i] Ibid. ix. 24. [k] Ibid. ix. 27.

(S) This is the sense of the passage according to the *English* version, and the *Septuagint*; but the *Vulgat* translates it, *Shem the elder brother of Japhet* The former interpretation must be the true one, for the reason immediately given; though the original, and the oriental versions are capable of either sense.

(T) *Noah* here alludes to the name of *Japhet*, the root of which signifies *to enlarge*; though others translate the passage, GOD *shall persuade Japhet*, that is, bring him over in time to the true worship, figured by *the tents of* Shem.

Euxine

Euxine and *Caſpian* ſeas, as well as thoſe lying to the north of them, *Grand Tartary*, with *India*, and *China*. Add to theſe the *European* colonies in *America* of late ages; for as to the original inhabitants of that continent, it is uncertain from which of the three branches they are deſcended. The next part of the propheſy, that *he ſhould dwell in the tents of* Shem, ſeems to refer to the overthrow of the *Aſſyrian* empire by the *Medes* in conjunction with the *Babylonians*, as well as to the conqueſts of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in *Aſia*; alluded to afterwards by *Balaam* in his propheſy [1], *that ſhips ſhould come from the coaſts* of Chittim, *and ſhould afflict* Aſhur, *and ſhould afflict* Eber: that is, they ſhould afflict the *Aſſyrians*, and thoſe who dwelt beyond the river *Euphrates* (U). And at the ſame time that they dwelt in the tents of *Shem*, they made the poſterity of *Ham* their ſervants by ſubduing the *Babylonians*, the *Canaanites*, the *Egyptians*, and other nations deſcended from that branch, wherein was the completion of the laſt part of *Noah*'s propheſy.

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[1] Numb. xxiv. 24.

(U) The common opinion is, that by *Eber* in this place is to be underſtood the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*; but a learned author has offered reaſons which ſeem to prove the contrary. He obſerves, that to take it in that ſenſe is repugnant to the deſign of the paſſage, and makes *Balaam* bleſs, and curſe the children of *Iſrael*, in the ſame breath, by propheſying of their deſtruction (61); and therefore he will have it, that *Eber* has not reſpect to perſons, but to place, and ſignifies beyond the river (62); in which ſenſe that word is often uſed in ſcripture (63). Upon this occaſion the ſame author propoſes to amend our tranſlation of the above text, (64) by reading it thus; *and they ſhall go forth from the coaſt of* Chittim, *and ſhall afflict* Aſhur, *and ſhall afflict the other ſide of the river* (65), that is, the countries beyond *Euphrates*. There ſeems to be no need of ſuppoſing the laſt *and* to be taken conjunctively, or the words following it to be a repetition, or explanatory of the firſt, as that writer thinks; for *Aſhur*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, lay beyond the *Tigris*; neither in *Balaam*'s time had the *Aſſyrian* empire extended itſelf weſtward ſo far as the *Euphrates*: and when that propheſy was to be fulfilled, *Aſhur* was reduced to its primitive bounds, and in ſubjection to *Elam* or the *Perſians*; as were alſo the *Babylonians*, and the inhabitants of *Aram*, or *Meſopotamia*: who we think are to be underſtood by *Eber*, or the other ſide of the river, that is, the *Euphrates*.

(61) *Vid.* Hyde *de rel. vet. Perſ.* p. 56. (62) *Vid. eund ibid.* p. 57. (63) *Idem, ibid.* p. 50, *&c.* (64) *Numb.* xxiv. 24. (65) Hyde, *ibid.* p. 57.

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THIS prophesy seems also to have regard to the state of the true religion, confining it to the race of *Shem*, for a certain period of time, ending perhaps at the coming of the MESSIAH [m]; for since CHRIST, the knowledge of the true GOD hath spread considerably more among the descendants of *Japhet*, than it did before amongst those of *Shem*, having till then been confined almost wholly to the nation of the *Jews*, however the *Mohammedans* rank *Japhet* himself among the prophets [n].

THE septuagint version, followed by *Eusebius* and others [o], mentions an eighth son of *Japhet* named *Elisa*, who is neither in the *Hebrew*, nor the *Chaldee* (X).

No particulars being mentioned in scripture with reference to the descendants of *Japhet*, farther than what relates to their founding of *Nations*, we must refer the reader, for what may be said of them under that head, to our account of the migrations.

Of Ham *and his posterity.*

THAT *Ham* was the youngest son of *Noah* (Y), though generally placed the second of the three, is evident by his being

[m] See below. [n] Vid. D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Jafeth. [o] EUSEB. Chronic. l. 1. p. 8. CHRONIC. ALEXANDR. AUGUSTINUS.

(X) The *Persian* historians give *Japhet* eleven sons, *viz.* 1. *Jin*, *Chin*, or *Sin*. 2. *Seklab*. 3. *Manshuj*. 4. *Gomari*. 5 *Turk*, (from whom this patriarch is surnamed *Abu'l Turk*, or the father of *Turk*). 6. *Khalaj*. 7. *Khozar*. 8. *Rûs*. 9 *Sussan*. 10. *Ghaz*. And 11. *Taraj*. (66). The *Tartarian* authors name but eight sons of *Japhet*, in this order; 1. *Turk*. 2. *Khars* [*Khozar*]. 3. *Saklap*. 4. *Rûs*. 5. *Maminakh*. 6. *Zwin* [*Jin*]. 7. *Kamari*. 8. *Tarikh* (67). The former authors assert, that *Japhet* married his sons to their own sisters before they departed to people their countries, to the end they might multiply the easier; and indeed it happened, that the eastern countries, and the greater part of the north were first peopled (68).

(Y) The *Hebrew* word חם *Ham* signifies hot, or heat, or sunburnt. Though he is expressly said to be the younger, yet numbers of commentators, relying more upon the order wherein he is named, maintain, that he was the second son of *Noah*; and to elude the force of the text, several of them pretend, that it is not *Ham* himself, but *Canaan*, his son, who is here spoken of: others will have it, that *Ham* was called the younger, or the youngest, for no

(66) Mîr Khond & Khond Amîr. *See* D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Jafeth.* (67) *See* Abu'lghazi Khans *Genealogical Hist. of the Tartars, vol.* I. *p.* 6. (68) D'Herbelot, *ubi supra.*

other

ing expreſly called the youngeſt: he may have been born within a few years after *Shem*, but as neither his age, nor the time of his birth are mentioned, we can determine nothing concerning that point. However, one would be apt to imagine, from *Ham*'s indiſcretion as well as wickedneſs in diſcovering his father's nakedneſs, that when he committed that crime he was but a very young man, though he had children; he might probably be about fifty, or threeſcore, an age ſcarce equivalent in thoſe days to eighteen now.

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WHEN *Noah* was acquainted with the irreverent action of *Ham* (Z), he curſed him in a branch of his poſterity; *Curſed*, ſays he, *be* Canaan, *a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren* [P]. This curſe, if it be a curſe (A), being pronounced not againſt *Ham* the immediate tranſgreſſor, but againſt

[P] Gen. ix. 25.

other reaſon, but becauſe his conduct was leſs prudent than that of his brothers (69). But ſuch interpretations, if once admitted, will ſerve only to render the moſt clear expreſſions in ſcripture obſcure.

(Z) If we enquire, by what means *Noah* came to know that it was *Ham* who had diſcovered his nakedneſs, ſome *Rabbins* anſwer, that he inferred ſo much from *Ham*'s paſt ſhameleſs behaviour, in prophaning the ark by lying with his wife (70); others ſay, that *Ham*, by looking on his father's ſhame, found extraordinary alterations in himſelf; his eyes became red, his hair and beard burnt, and his lips diſtorted; and he knew ſo little what he did, that he ſtripped himſelf ſtark naked, and walked about in that condition. *Noah*, ſeeing all this from thence concluded, that it was *Ham* who had diſhonoured him Some ſay, that he could not have known it otherwiſe than by revelation St. *Chryſoſtom*'s opinion is very rational; he believes, that *Noah* ſeeing himſelf covered with a garment which did not belong to him, asked the occaſion of it, and learned from *Shem* and *Japhet* all that had paſſed (71).

(A) Mr. *Bayle* does not take this paſſage properly to contain a curſe. He ſays, it is pretty ſtrange, that the ſcripture takes no notice of any thing being done by *Noah* to *Ham*: he obſerves, that there is not one word of cenſure paſſed upon *Ham*; that the patriarch was content to curſe *Canaan* the ſon of *Ham*; and that this curſe was nothing elſe but a prophecy of the victories, which the deſcendants of *Shem* ſhould obtain over the deſcendants of *Canaan* under *Joſhua*, that is to ſay, ſeven or eight ages after the crime of *Ham* had been committed (72).

(69) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patriarch. Exercit.* 20. *num.* 4. (70) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hiſt Patriarch. tom.* I. *p.* 409. (71) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (72) Bayle *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cham.*

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his son, who does not appear from the words of *Moses* to have been any way concerned in the crime, though some imagine he had a principal share in it (B), hath occasioned several conjectures: some [q] have believed, that *Noah* cursed *Canaan*, because he could not well have cursed *Ham* himself, whom God had not long before blessed [r]; others, more reasonably, think *Moses*'s chief intent in recording this prediction, was to raise the spirits of the *Israelites*, then entering on a terrible war with the children of *Canaan*, by the assurance that, in consequence of the curse, that people were destined by God to be subdued by them [s]; for the opinion of those who imagine all *Ham*'s race were here accursed, seems repugnant to the plain words of scripture, which confines the malediction to *Canaan* and his posterity, and also contrary to fact (C).

Among

[q] Chrysost. serm. 29. in Genes. [r] Genes. ix. 1. [s] Augustin. quæst. 17. in Genes. Theodoret in Genes. 58. Heidegg. Hist. Patr. tom. I. p. 411. Bayle cited in the note (A) before.

(B) The *Jews* pretend that *Canaan* was the person who first discovered the nakedness of *Noah*, with which he acquainted his father *Ham*; who made sport of the accident, and went and told it to his brothers *Shem* and *Japhet*; and that *Noah* awaking out of his sleep cursed *Canaan*, because he was the first occasion of the scandal (73).

(C) A learned author hath affirmed, that there hath never yet been a son of *Ham* who hath shaken a sceptre over the head of *Japhet*; *Shem* hath subdued *Japhet*, and *Japhet* hath subdued *Shem*, but *Ham* never subdued either (74). However, this must be a mistake, if there be any truth in what the *Egyptian* histories relate of the actions of *Sesostris*, and some others of their kings, who conquered the greatest part of *Asia*, and *Europe*; and consequently *Ham* may be said to have subdued both. Beside, we find the *Israelites* were long the slaves of *Mizraïm*, or the *Egyptians*; and we see no reason why the shameful submission, which *Reboboam*, the son and successor of *Solomon*, made to *Shishak*, the *Egyptian Pharaoh* (75), who after taking all the strong cities of *Judah*, seems to have had *Jerusalem* delivered up to him without opposition, to be spoiled with the temple, may not be deemed a servitude; it being expressly said, the *Jews* should be his servants (76). *Ham* also appears to have encroached upon *Shem* very early, for he seems to have driven the *Shemites* out of their first seats in *Shinaar*; and every body knows the *Babylonians*, who were *Hamites*, had a considerable share in the

(73) Bereshit Rabba § 37. Theodoret. *quæst.* 57. *in Genes.* (74) *See* Mede's *works*, *p.* 358. (75) 1 *Kings* xiv. 25. 2 *Chron.* xii. 2, 9. (76) 2 *Chron.* xii. 5, 8.

destruction

AMONG those who are for extending the Curſe to *Ham* and his other race, ſome have ſuppoſed another effect of it, not mentioned by *Moſes*; that *Ham* became a black-moor, and communicated that colour to his deſcendants (D); but this opinion is a mere chimæra, as hath been formerly obſerved [t]. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

IN conſequence of this undutiful act of his telling his brothers that he had ſeen his father's nakedneſs, *Ham* has been looked upon as the firſt introducer of wickedneſs after the flood; and authors have imputed to him many enormities, ſome of them ridiculous enough, which they have grounded ſolely upon this ſingle paſſage. They have believed, ſeeing *Ham* could be guilty of ſo much indiſcretion towards his father, that he was a reprobate, who had committed all ſorts of abominations. They take it for granted, that none but he and his poſterity were concerned in the building of *Babel*, which they conſider as a very wicked attempt [u]. They make him the firſt propagator of idolatry after the flood (E), and the inventor of magic, and relate many paſſages to that effect (F). They pretend

[t] Introduct. p. 99. [u] See after.

deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* empire. But a ſtronger inſtance than any of the preceding is the *Babyloniſh* captivity, in which the *Jews* themſelves were the ſufferers. Nay, the very branch of *Canaan* ſeems to have had great ſucceſs againſt *Japhet*, not only by the exploits of the *Carthaginians* (originally *Canaanites*) in *Italy*, but by their conqueſt of *Spain*.

(D) This opinion has been entertained by ſeveral chriſtians, as well as *Mohammedans*, though ſome of the latter account otherwiſe for mens different complexions (77). The *Arab* writers add, that *Noah*, relenting at the ſudden change in his ſon, prayed to GOD, that his poſterity might be treated gently in their ſervitude; in conſequence whereof the black ſlaves are not only in great requeſt, but generally have great credit and power with their maſters (78).

Some of the ſame authors pretend, that *Noah*'s curſe was inflicted on *Ham* for his diſobedience, becauſe he would not come to prayers one morning when his father called him (79).

(E) Several inſtances of this the reader will find hereafter.

(F) *Ham* is held to have been the inventor of magic, ſo far only as that it was he who preſerved and taught it to the deſcendants of *Noah*; for it is allowed, it was not *Ham* who firſt invented this art, but the angels, who, becoming enamoured of the women of the old world, taught it the antediluvians (80). They ſay, that *Ham*, not daring to carry with him into the ark the books which treated

(77) *Vid. Introduct. p.* 99. (78) D'herb. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 245, & 677. (79) *Ibid. p.* 677. (80) *See before. p.* 156. *in the notes.*

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pretend that he set a very unedifying example of incontinence, by getting his wife with child in the very ark (G). Nay, it has been imagined, that the crime which he committed against his father was infinitely more enormous than it is represented in scripture: some concluding, that *Ham* castrated *Noah* (H); others, that he rendered him impotent by virtue of this subject, engraved the principal rules of the art upon plates of metal and hard stone, able to resist the waters of the deluge; which treasure he carefully hid, and after quitting the ark went and took them from the place where he had deposited them (81). It is pretended, that *Mizraïm* learned of his father *Ham* all those abominable secrets; and that the pretenders to that science consider *Ham* as their first founder, and to have been the same with *Zoroastres*, and honour him as a god. The first author of this opinion seems to have been the counterfeit *Clemens* (82).

(G) Though St. *Ambrose* and others conceive from the words of *Moses*, that the matrimonial duty was superseded and suspended during the time *Noah* and his family lived in the ark (83); nevertheless it is an opinion which has spread pretty much, that *Ham* did not observe continency on that occasion, but that his wife brought forth *Canaan* in the very ark (84).

(H) Some *Jewish* Doctors have asserted this, and pretend, that what prompted *Ham* to so violent an act, was to prevent *Noah*'s having any more sons; as if he feared his share in the division of the world would be too small (85) Some grave authors have undertaken to refute this fancy very seriously, by these words of scripture: *Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his younger son had done unto him.* If he had performed, say they, upon his father so painful an operation as that of castrating must have been, *Noah* would not have slept till he was sober, but the anguish would quickly have awakened him, and he would have surprised the criminal in the very fact; nor would he have had any occasion to have asked who he was (86). From such conceits as these some have drawn arguments to prove that all the pagan gods were taken from the *Jewish* traditions. Thus they pretend that *Noah* is the *Saturn*, and the *Uranus* of the pagans; and that the stories which are told of *Jupiter*'s castrating his father *Saturn*, and *Cronus* castrating his father *Uranus*, are borrowed from this notion of *Ham* (87).

(81) Cassian. *Collat.* 8. *c.* 21. Pseudo-Beros. *lib.* 3. *p.* 80. *apud* Bayle *Dict. Hist. Art. Cham.* (82) *Lib.* 4. *recognition.* *Apud* Bochart. *Phaleg. lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. (83) Ambros. *de Noa & Arca, c.* 21. *apud* Salian. *tom.* 1. *p.* 290. (84) *Vid.* Heid. *vol.* 1. *p.* 409. (85) *Referente* R. Levi *in gen. cap.* 9. *apud* Salian. *tom.* 1. *p.* 297. (86) Salianus, *ibid.* (87) *Vid.* Bayle *Dict. Hist. Art. Cham. Rem. D.*

Upon

of ſome magic charms (I); others again, that he committed inceſt with his father's wife (K); whilſt a fourth party accuſe him

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Upon this occaſion we are tempted to introduce a paſſage out of the Count de *Gabalis*. He ſuppoſes, that *Noah*, after the deluge gave up his wife *Veſta* to the ſalamander *Oromaſis*, prince of the fiery ſubſtances, and perſuaded his three children to reſign alſo their three wives to the princes of the three other elements (88). *Ham*, adds that author, rebelled againſt the counſel of *Noah*, and could not reſiſt the charms of his wife; but his want of complaiſance marked all his black poſterity: the frightful complexion of the inhabitants of the torrid zone, is the puniſhment of the profane ardour of their father.—You believe, for inſtance, continues he, that the injury which *Ham* did his father, was the ſame as is literally expreſſed; but it was indeed a very different thing. *Noah* being come out of the ark, and ſeeing his wife *Veſta*'s beauty rather improved by the familiarity which ſhe had with her gallant *Oromaſis*, his love for her returned upon him. *Ham*, fearing leſt his father might yet people the world with children blacker than his *Æthiopians*, took his opportunity one day, when the good old man had got his doſe of wine, and caſtrated him without mercy 89). We leave the reader to judge which notion is moſt agreeable to ſcripture, or becoming the gravity of a commentator, that of the *Jews*, or this of the Count *de Gabalis*.

(I) This imagination is taken from the ſpurious *Beroſus:* he ſays, that *Noah*, unable to bear the vicious courſes of *Ham*, who particularly addicted himſelf to magic, became odious to this ſon; and the rather becauſe he ſhewed more tenderneſs for his other ſons who were younger; and *Ham* finding an opportunity of revenge, did not let it ſlip: he graſped the genitals of his father, and muttered ſome words which rendered him impotent for ever after (90).

(K) This is the ſentiment of Mr. *Von der Hart*, profeſſor of the oriental languages in the univerſity of *Helmſtad*. He believes, that the injury which that patriarch received from *Ham*, conſiſted in the infamous temerity which this brutiſh ſon had to lie either with his own mother, or at leaſt with his ſtep-mother. He proves this explanation by divers places of ſcripture, where the phraſe to *uncover the ſhame of a woman*, ſignifies to lie with her. In the ſame places of ſcripture it is ſaid, that the nakedneſs, or ſhame of a woman, is the nakedneſs, or ſhame of her husband; and by conſequence, according to this way of expreſſion, to have ſeen the nakedneſs of *Noah*, is a modeſt phraſe, importing to have had to do with *Noah*'s wife. This author ſuppoſes, 1. That *Ham* watched his time for compaſſing his deſign, when *Noah* was aſleep after his debauch. 2. That ſomebody having diſcovered the affair, went and gave the other two ſons of *Noah* notice of it.

(88) *Entretiens ſur les ſciences ſecretes, p.* 204. (89) *Ibid. p.* 206. (90) Pſeudo-Beroſus, *lib.* 3. *p.* 80.

3. That

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him of all sorts of uncleanness (A). This character is very conformable with what we meet with in the antients concerning *Cronus*, with whom, among many others (B) *Ham* is supposed to have been the same.

IF we may judge by the number of persons in the three generations of *Ham*'s line mentioned by *Moses* [x], which exceeds the number of persons descended from both his brothers in the same degree, he must have had the most numerous issue of the three sons of *Noah*, and a greater part of the

[x] Genes. x. 6.

3. That they, filled with indignation at the horrid affront which had been put upon the patriarch, repaired to the place as fast as they could, and having surprised their brother in the act, threw their garments over him and his accomplice. 4. That they gave an account to their father of all that they had seen. 5. That *Noah*, much enraged, ordered by his will, that *Canaan*, who was to be the issue of that incestuous commerce,, should be wholly deprived of the inheritance (91). These hypotheses, says Mr. *Bayle* (92), are learned and ingenious; but if once it be suffered to suppose, that the narrations of *Moses* are so disguised, it may be feared, that the same liberty will be taken with the history of the temptation, and of the fall of *Adam*, as some have dared to do.

(A) The reason of *Noah*'s discarding *Ham* seems not to have been so much on account of the personal injuries he had received from him, as his other immoralities. That unhappy man, it is pretended, not only taught, that men should live as they did before the flood, and commit all sorts of incests, and something worse; but practised those abominable lessons himself. We choose to express them in the words of the author. *At vero cum publice corrumperet mortale genus, asserens, & re ipsa exequens, congrediendum esse ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, sororibus, filiabus, masculis, brutis, & quovis alio genere, ab hoc ejectus a Jano piissimo & castimonia atque pudicitia refertissimo* (93).

(B) The history of *Cronus* from *Sanchoniatho*; whose account of him is the most full, will be given in the next section. *Marsham* thinks *Ham* is to be found in profane history under the names of *Hammon*, *Thamus*, *Thammuz*, *Adonis*, *Osiris*, *Baal*, *Belus*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturn* the second (94). The same author says, the *Hebrew* chronology requires, that *Ham* should be the same with *Menes*, the first king of *Egypt*, whom almost all other authors make to be *Mizraïm*, his second son (95).

(91) *See the book intitled*, Ephemeridum Philologicarum tomus, *in the* Leipsic *Journal for* October 1693, *p.* 466. (92) *Dict. Hist. Art. Cham. Rem. F.* (93) Pseudo-Berosus, *lib.* 3. *p.* 80. (94) *Canon. Chron. p.* 23, 30, 31, 32, 33. (95) *Ibid. p.* 23.

earth

earth to his ſhare. But though much mention is made of the latter poſterity of *Ham* in the ſucceeding part of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, *Moſes* has recorded nothing relating to his firſt deſcendants, beſides their names and ſome general circumſtances, excepting *Canaan* and *Nimrod*. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

CANAAN (C) was the fourth ſon of *Ham*, if we may be allowed to judge by the order in which we find his name placed in ſcripture. Neither the length of his life, nor the time of his birth, are mentioned by *Moſes*: however, ſome will have it that he was born in the ark, and that, becauſe he was the fruit of an unſeaſonable incontinence, therefore he was a wicked man. It has been already obſerved, that the curſe given by *Noah* to *Canaan* was peculiar to this ſon of *Ham*, and does not ſeem to have extended to the reſt of his brethren. And indeed the prophecy of *Noah*, that *Canaan ſhould be a ſervant of ſervants to his brethren*, ſeems to have been wholly compleated in him. It was compleated with regard to *Shem*, not only in that a conſiderable part of the ſeven nations of the *Canaanites* were made ſlaves to the *Iſraelites*, when they took poſſeſſion of their land, as part of the remainder of them were afterwards enſlaved by *Solomon* [y]; but alſo by the ſubſequent expeditions of the *Aſſyrians* and *Perſians*, who were both deſcended from *Shem*, and under whom the *Canaanites* ſuffered ſubjection, as well as the *Iſraelites*; not to mention the conqueſt of part of *Canaan* by the *Elamites*, or *Perſians*, under *Chedorlaomer* [z], prior to them all. With regard to *Japhet* we find a completion of the prophecy, in the ſucceſſive conqueſts of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in *Paleſtine* and *Phœnicia*, where the *Canaanites* were ſettled, but eſpecially in the total ſubverſion of the *Carthaginian* power by the *Romans*; beſides ſome invaſions of the northern nations, as the poſterity of *Thogarma*, and *Magog*, wherein many of them probably were carried away captive. *Of* Canaan.

IT is believed that *Canaan* lived and died (D) in the country

[y] 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8, 9. [z] Geneſ. xiv. 4, 7, 8, &c.

(C) The *Hebrew* word is כנען, and not pronounced as we commonly do *Canaan*, making *Ca* the firſt ſyllable, but *Chenaan*, or rather *Chnaan*, the *Shevah* joining the *Ch* and *N* into one ſyllable, and ſo the *Jews* pronounce it; which reading brings the word nearer the *Chna* of *Sanchoniatho*, and *Stephanus* (96): it ſignifies a *merchant* or *trader*, as the *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians* were.

(D) The *Mohammedans* are not uniform in their opinions concerning *Canaan*. Some agreeing with the account given of him in

(96) *De Urbib. in voce* Χνὰ.

ſcripture,

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try called after his name; where formerly they shewed his tomb, which was twenty five foot long, in a cave of the mountain of the *Leopards*, not far from *Tripolis* [illegible].

CANAAN seems to have been known to the antient heathens. *Sanchoniatho* expressly says, *Chna* was the first *Phœnician*, or the first who was called a *Phœnician* [b]. The scripture mentions nothing particular with respect to any of his sons; but the transactions of the *Israelites*, with their descendants, make up a great part of the *Jewish* history, and will be treated of in their proper place.

Of Nimrod.

NIMROD was the sixth son of *Cush* (E), and in all appearance much younger than any of his brothers; for *Moses* mentions the sons of *Raamah*, his fourth brother, before he speaks of him. What the sacred historian says of him is short, and yet he says more of him than of any other of the posterity of *Noah*, till he comes to *Abraham*. He tells us, that Nimrod *began to be a mighty one in the earth*; that he was *a mighty hunter before the* LORD, even to a proverb; and that *the beginning of his kingdom was* Babel, *and* Erech, *and* Accad, *and* Calneh *in the land of* Shinaar [c].

FROM this account a great idea hath been conceived of his strength and valour. Some represent him as a giant [d] (F); all consider him as a great warriour. It is generally thought that by the words *a mighty hunter*, is to be understood that he was a great tyrant; but some of the *Rabbins* [e] interpret those words favourably, saying, that *Nimrod* was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and strength for the chase, and that he offered to GOD the game which he took; and several of the moderns are of the opinion, that this passage is not to be un-

[a] See CALMET, Dict. de la Bibl. Art. Canaan. [b] Apud EUSEB. præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 39. [c] Gen. x. 8, 9, 10. [d] EUTYCH. Annal. p. 63. ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. [e] ABEN EZRA, KIMHI. See also GROT.

scripture, and others affirming, that he was born before the flood, and went not into the ark, but was drowned in the deluge as hath been already observed (97).

(E) Some *Mohammedan* authors confound the genealogies of the sons of *Noah* at a strange rate. One of them says, that *Nimrod* was the son of *Canaan*, and brother of *Cush*, whom the *Persians* surname *Fil'dendan*, that is, *the elephants tooth* (98).

(F) The *Hebrew* word גבר *Gibbor*. which our version renders *a mighty one*, is by the *Septuagint* translated *a giant* (99).

(97) *See chap* 1. *sect* 1. (98) *The author of Lobb al Tawarikh, apud* D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod. p.* 668. (99) *Gen.* x. 8.

derstand

derſtood of his tyrannical oppreſſions, or of hunting of men, but of beaſts [f] (G). It muſt be owned, that the phraſe, *before the* LORD, may be taken in a favourable ſenſe, and as a commendation of a perſon's good qualities; but, in this place, the generality of expoſitors underſtand it otherwiſe (H). Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

HUNTING muſt have been one of the moſt uſeful employments in the times juſt after the diſperſion, when all countries were over-run with wild beaſts, of which it was neceſſary they ſhould be cleared, in order to make them habitable; and therefore nothing ſeemed more proper to procure a man eſteem and honour in thoſe ages, than his being an expert hunter, as *Nimrod* probably was. By that exerciſe we are told the antient *Perſians* fitted their kings for war and government [g]; and hunting is ſtill, in many countries, conſidered as one part of a royal education.

THERE is nothing in the ſhort hiſtory of *Nimrod* which carries the leaſt air of reproach, except his name, which ſignifies a rebel (I); and that is the circumſtance which ſeems to

[f] BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 12. PERIZON. Orig. Bab. cap. 12. p. 230. [g] Vid. XENOPH. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

(G) A writer of great authority in the *Eaſt* has a ſingular notion, that *Nimrod* by hunting provided food for the builders of *Babel* (100).

(H) The phraſe, *before the* LORD, ſeems to be in itſelf perfectly indifferent, and made uſe of only by way of exaggeration; however, it being often introduced in ſcripture where wicked actions are mentioned, therefore inſtead of *before the* LORD, St. *Auſtin* will have it to be rendered *againſt the* LORD 1) in which he is followed by ſeveral (2). The *Jeruſalem* Targum, and that of *Ben Uzziel*, both take this character of *Nimrod* in an ill ſenſe.

(I) This name is generally derived from מָרַד *marad* to *rebel*; but if a compoſition may be allowed of, a more favourable etymology, and more agreeable to *Nimrod*'s occupation, might be offered from נָמֵר *Namer* a *leopard*, which may by a metonymy denote wild beaſts in general, and רָדַד *radad* to *fell* or *beat down*, or רָדָה *radah* to *ſubdue* or *take*. The *Arabs* make *Nemrud*, the plural of which is *Nemâredah*, the ſame with מֹרֵד *mâred*, a *rebel*. However, a certain *Perſian* author, who makes *Nimrod* the ſame with *Cay Caus*, a king of the ſecond dynaſty of *Perſia*, gives the name a *Perſian* derivation, as if it was *Nemûrd*, that is, *immortal*; which appellation, he ſays, was given to him on account of his long reign

(100) Abu'lfarag. *Hiſt. Dynaſt. p.* 12. (1) *De civit Dei, lib.* 16. *cap* 4. (2) Joh. Sariſbur. *Policrat l.* 1. *p.* 13, & *l* 8. *p.* 559. Nic. Abram, *Pharus* V. T. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 5. § 16.

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to have occasioned the injurious opinions, which have been entertained of him in all ages. Commentators being prepossessed in general, that the curse of *Noah* fell upon the posterity of *Ham*; and finding this prince stigmatized by his name, have interpreted every passage relating to him to his disadvantage. They represent him as a rebel against GOD, in persuading the descendants of *Noah* to disobey the divine command to disperse, and in setting them to build the tower of *Babel*, with an impious design of scaling heaven (K). They brand him as an ambitious usurper, and an insolent oppressor; and make him the author of the adoration of

of above 150 years (3). If the first of the three significations be the right, the name must have been given him by his enemies, not by his subjects (4). The *Greeks* write the name *Nembrod* and *Nebrodes*.

(K) An *Arab* author says, that *Nimrod* built this tower, that he might ascend to heaven to see *Abraham*'s GOD, who had delivered him from the fiery furnace into which that tyrant had cast him. They worked at this building three years, and when *Nimrod* had gotton on the top of it, he wondered to see the heaven as far from him as it was before; but his astonishment encreased, when this tower and another, which had been built for the same purpose, were successively overthrown. Still persisting in his design, he would be carried to heaven in a chest, born by four monstrous birds; but after wandering for some time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with such a force that made it shake, to which, as this writer imagines, alludes that passage in the Korân; *though the stratagems of the impious make the mountains tremble* (5).

Nimrod, by this disappointment, finding he could not make war with GOD in person, instead of acknowledging his power, proceeded to persecute those who adored any besides himself; but GOD, by dividing *Nimrod*'s subjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued those who continued to adhere to him by a cloud of gnats, which destroyed almost all of them.

Another author adds, that one of those gnats having entered into the nostril, or ear of *Nimrod*, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day, it gave him such intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cause his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure some ease; and that he suffered this torture for the space of four hundred years, GOD being willing to punish by one of the smallest of his creatures, him, who insolently boasted himself to be the lord of all (6).

(3) *The author of Mesatih al Olûm, apud* D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod.* (4) *Vid.* Hyde *de rel. vet. Persar. p.* 35. (5) *Cap.* 14. *v.* 46. (6) *Vid.* D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod.*

fire

fire (L), of idolatrous worſhip given to men, and the firſt perſecutor on the ſcore of religion (M). On the other hand, ſome account him a virtuous prince, and ſo far from adviſing the building of *Babel*, that they ſay, he left the country and went into *Aſſyria*, becauſe he would not give his conſent to it (N). Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

NIMROD is generally thought to have been the firſt king after the flood (O); though ſome authors ſuppoſing a plantation, or diſperſion prior to that of *Babel*, have made kings in ſeveral countries before him. *Mizraïm* is ſuppoſed by many who contend for the antiquity of the *Egyptian* monarchy, to have began his reign a good while earlier than *Nimrod*[i]; and others, from the uniformity of the languages ſpoken in *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Canaan*, affirm thoſe countries to have been peopled before the confuſion of tongues[k].

THE four cities (P) *Moſes* gives to *Nimrod*, made a large kingdom in thoſe early times, when few kings had more than

[i] Vid. MARSH. Chron. Can. p. 18, 23. [k] HORNIUS ad Sulpit. Sever. p. 21.

(L) The orientals make *Nimrod* the author of the ſect of the *Magi*, or worſhippers of fire; they tell us, that accidentally ſeeing fire riſe out of the earth at a great diſtance from him in the eaſt, he worſhipped it, and appointed one *Andeſhan* to attend the fire there, and throw frankincenſe into it (7).

(M) The perſon perſecuted by *Nimrod*, according to ſeveral *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian* and *Mohammedan* authors, was *Abraham*, who by the *Hebrew* chronology might have been his contemporary.

(N) *Jonathan ben Uzziel* paraphraſes the paſſage (8) thus; *Nimrod* going out of that land reigned in *Aſſyria*, becauſe he would not come into the meaſures of thoſe who were concerned in the diviſion, therefore GOD gave him another country, where he built four other cities, *viz. Nineveh*, *Platiathkartha*, *Parioth*, and *Telaſar*.

(O) The *Eaſtern* writers make him not only the firſt king of *Babel*, but of all the world; and ſay, he was the firſt who wore a crown, the model of which he took from the figure of one he had ſeen in the ſky; for being pleaſed with the appearance, he ſent immediately for an artiſt, and had a crown of gold caſt in the ſame form, which he put upon his head; from whence his ſubjects took occaſion to ſay, that it came down to him from heaven (9).

(P) We might be able to make ſome judgment concerning the extent of the firſt *Babyloniſh* kingdom, could we fix the ſituations

(7) *Vid.* Eutych. *Annales*, *p.* 63, 64. Ebn Amîd, *p.* 29.
(8) *Gen.* x. 11. (9) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 29. Eutych. *Annal. p.* 63.

of

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than one: only it must be observed, that possessions might at first have been large, and afterwards divided into several parcels; and *Nimrod* being the leader of a nation, we may suppose his subjects settled within those limits. Whether he became possessed of those cities by conquest, or otherwise, does not appear: it is most probable, he did not build *Babel*, all the posterity of *Noah* seeming to have been equally concerned in that affair; nor does it appear, that he built the other three, though the founding of them and many more, with

of these four cities: but this is very difficult; all of them having been long since destroyed, and authors differing so much in opinions about them. There are even two traditions with regard to the ruins of *Babel*, some placing them at *Felugia*, a village on the *Euphrates*, about thirty six miles to the south-west of *Baghdâd*, on the *Tigris*; others, about the same distance from *Felugia* southward, on the first of those rivers: how much more uncertain then must be the situation of the rest, which were towns not so famous, and whose ruins, if any remain, are seldom inquired after.

According to the *Eastern* authors, *Erech*, or *Arach*, is *Hadas* or *Edessa* (10), called by the *Syrians Urhoi*, by the *Arabs Roha*, and by the inhabitants *Orfa*; *Accad*, or *Akhar* as some write it, is *Nisibin*; and *Calneh*, *Calanne*, or *Calya*, is *Ctesiphon*, or *Medaïn* (11); and if they are not mistaken, the distances of these cities from each other will give *Nimrod*'s kingdom a great extent, as do some traditions concerning him (12): but the *Asiatics*, in many things relating to their own antiquities, are not to be relied on more than the *Europeans*. We are of opinion, the *Babylonian* kingdom, under *Nimrod*, was much more limited, and rather agree with those who believe *Erech* to have been a city of *Chaldea*, which from thence took its present *Arabic* name of *Erâk* (13). This seems to be the *Arecca* of *Ptolemy*, and *Arecha* of *Marcellinus*, who places it in *Susiana* (14). Neither can *Erec* be *Urhoi*, or *Edessa*, in the opinion of those who hold *Ur* of the *Chaldees* and *Urhoi* to be the same; for *Erec* and *Ur* are distinguished in scripture as two different cities. *Calne* we admit to be *Ctesiphon*, or *Medain*, nearer either of the aforesaid ruins of *Babel* than is *Baghdâd*; and as for *Accad*, we may suppose it to have been some city in the neighbourhood of the other three, long since ruined, and the memory of it lost: and thus will this early monarchy be reduced to such dimensions, as, in all probability, the first could not exceed.

(10) *Vid. Targum* Jonathanis & *Hieros.* (11) Ephrem Syrus *Comment. in Genes. ubi de Nimrod. apud* Assemani *Bibl. Orient. tom.* 1. *p* 26. Abu'lfarag. *p.* 18. (12) *See* Thevenot's *Trav. Part* II. *Book* 1. *chap.* 9 & 13 (13) Hyde *in notis ad Peritsol. Itinera Mundi, p.* 65. D'Herbelot *Biblioth. Orient. Art. Erac.* (14) *Lib.* 23.

other

other works, are attributed to him (Q). It may seem also a little strange, that *Nimrod* should be preferred to the regal dignity, and enjoy the most cultivated part of the earth then known, rather than any other of the elder chiefs, or heads of nations, even of the branch of *Ham*. Perhaps it was conferred on him for his dexterity in hunting; or, it may be, he did not assume the title of king till after his father *Cush*'s death, who might have been settled there before him (R), and left him the sovereignty; but we incline to think, that he seized *Shinaar* from the descendants of *Shem*, driving out *Ashur*, who from thence went and founded *Nineveh*, and other cities in *Assyria*.

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THE scripture does not inform us when *Nimrod* began his reign (S). Some [1] date it before the dispersion; but such a conjecture does not seem to suit with the *Mosaical* history: for before the dispersion we read of no city but *Babel*, nor could there well be more while all mankind were yet in a

[1] Vid. NIC. ABRAM, Pharus V. T. lib. 5. § 7.

(Q) *Abu'lfarag* says *Nimrod* built three of these cities, mentioned by *Moses*, *viz. Erech*, *Accad*, and *Calya* (14), or *Calne*. Others ascribe to him the building of *Babel*, *Nineveh*, *Resen*, and several other cities, among which was *Adherbijân* (15), in the *Persian* province of the same name. An *Arab* author mentions a city called *Takharât*, or *Takharân Sâr*, where *Nimrod* coined money (16). Others write, that he dug several rivers in *Erâk*, derived from *Euphrates*, of which that of *Cutha*, in the way [from *Babel*] to *Cufah* was one (17).

(R) A *Persian* author of great authority affirms, that *Cush*, or *Cûtha* was king of the territory of *Babel*, and resided in *Erak*; and attributes to him the making of the river *Cutha* (18). Dr. *Hyde* places the original seat of *Cush* in the same country, which he calls *the most antient Cûsh* (19); and says, that his posterity removing into *Arabia*, it thence took the name of *Cûsh* also (20)

(S) The *Arabs* say, that *Nimrod* reigned in *al Sowâd*, that is, *the black country*; for so they call *Irak Arabi*, from the black tents of the *Scenite Arabs* scattered over the province (21). They suppose, his father *Cush* resided at *Erac*, in the province of *Babel* (22); though *Babel* is generally thought, by christian authors, to have been the regal seat of *Nimrod*.

(14) Abu'lfarag. *Hist. Dyn. p.* 18. (15) Eutych. *Annal. p.* 64. (16) Safioddin. *apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 74. (17) AHMED EBN YUSEF, *apud Hyde, ibid. p.* 71, 73. (18) Al Tabari *in cap. de Morte Saræ apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 40. (19) Hyde *ibid. p.* 38. (20) *Id. ibid. p.* 37. (21) Abu Mohammed Mustafa *apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 42, 43. (22) *Vid.* Hyde *ibid. p.* 40.

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body together; but when *Nimrod* aſſumed the regal title, there ſeem to have been other cities built, which ſhews it was a good while after the diſperſion. We have placed the beginning of his reign thirty years from that event, that is in the year of the flood 431, and in all likelihood it ſhould be placed rather later than earlier.

Year before Chriſt, 2567.

AUTHORS have taken a great deal of pains to find *Nimrod* in prophane hiſtory; ſome have imagined him to be the ſame with *Belus* [m], the founder of the *Babyloniſh* empire; others, with *Ninus* [n], the founder of the *Aſſyrian* (T); ſome think him the ſame with *Evechous*, the firſt *Chaldean* king after the deluge [o]; and a fourth ſort perceive a great reſemblance between him and *Bacchus*, both in actions and name [p]. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers ſuppoſe *Nimrod* to have been *Zohak*, a *Perſian* king of the firſt dynaſty [q]; others *Cay*, *Câus*, the ſecond king of the ſecond race [r]; and ſome of the *Jews* ſay he is the ſame with *Amraphel*, the king of *Shinaar*, in *Moſes* [s]: but there is no certainty in theſe conjectures, nor have we any knowledge of his immediate ſucceſſors (U).

THE ſcripture mentions nothing as to the death of *Nimrod*; but authors have taken care that ſuch an eſſential circumſtance in his hiſtory ſhould not be wanting. Some of the

[m] PETAV. Doct. temp. l. 13. p. 283. [n] HYDE de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 43, 44. [o] SYNCELL. p. 90. [p] Vid. CALMET Dict. de la Bible Art. Nemrod. BEDFORD Script. Chronol. p. 265, 266. [q] TARIKH MONTAKHAB apud D'Herbelot Art. Nimrod & Nouh. [r] See before, p. 269, in the notes. [s] BEN UZZIEL. YARHI. R. DAV. GANZ in Zemach David.

(T) Many have confounded the *Babylonian* and the *Aſſyrian* empire together, by miſtaking the ſenſe of the text (23), as if both of them had been founded by *Nimrod*; but this point will be diſcuſſed hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the foundation of the *Aſſyrian* empire.

(U) Some chriſtian and *Mohammedan* hiſtorians call the moſt antient kings of the *Babylonians*, who ſucceeded *Nimrod*, *Nimâredah*, that is, *Nimrods* (24). Some of the latter ſay, he reigned in *al Sowâd* 400 years; and that he was ſucceeded by a prince of the ſame family, called *Nabat Ebn Köûd*, who ruled 100 years (25): and ſome of the former tell us, that *Bokhtanſer* [or rather *Bakht Naſar*, which is the name the orientals give to *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*] was of his race (26).

(23) *Gen* x. 11. (24) *Vid.* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod.* (25) Abu Mohammed Muſtafa *apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 42, 43. (26) Abu'lfarag. *Hiſt. Dyn. p.* 72.

Rabbins

Rabbins pretend, he was ſlain by *Eſau* (W), whom they make his contemporary. There is a tradition, that he was killed by the fall of the tower of *Babel*, which was overthrown by tempeſtuous winds while *Nimrod* was in it [t]. Others ſay, that as he led an army againſt *Abraham*, GOD ſent a ſquadron of gnats, which deſtroyed moſt of them; and particularly *Nimrod*, whoſe brain was pierced by one of thoſe inſects [u]. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt 2648.

Of Shem *and his poſterity to* Abraham.

WE now come to the hiſtory of *Shem* and his poſterity, which for convenience we have placed laſt, though he was the ſecond ſon of *Noah* by birth, and by prerogative the eldeſt, the right of primogeniture ſeeming to have been lodged in him.

THE poſterity of *Shem* are twice recited by *Moſes*. In the firſt place [v] he only mentions the names of ſuch of his deſcendants as were concerned in the firſt diſperſions. In the other [w], he deduces the genealogy in the line of *Arphaxad* down to *Abraham*. But the ſacred writer having been more brief in the hiſtory of theſe patriarchs, than in that of the branch of *Ham*, relating nothing farther of any of them than their ages, and the year of their lives wherein they begot their ſons (from whence we are enabled to collect the chronology of this period, and no more), for the reſt we muſt have recourſe to the traditions, and conjectures of the *Jewiſh* and chriſtian writers, where we ſhall not want for matter.

SHEM was born ninety eight years before the flood; for two years after it, at the birth of *Arphaxad*, he was one hundred years old [x]. We ſhall have given the reader all that is to be found in ſcripture concerning this patriarch after the deluge, when we have acquainted him, that he aſſiſted his brother *Japhet* in covering the nakedneſs of their father [y], and ſhared in his bleſſing for ſo doing: *Bleſſed be the* LORD *God of* Shem, ſaid *Noah*, *and* Canaan *ſhall be his ſervant* [z].

[t] ABU'LFARAG. Hiſt. Dyn. p. 12. [u] HYDE de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 74. See before, p. 270. in the notes. [v] Gen. x. 21. [w] Gen. xi. 10. [x] Ibid. [y] Gen. ix. 23. [z] Gen. ix. 26.

(W) They tell the following ſtory, as the occaſion of this accident: that the coat which GOD made *Adam*, was with his body in the ark; and that when *Noah* and his ſons quitted that veſſel, *Ham* took it, by which means it afterwards fell to *Nimrod*, who putting it on, all kinds of beaſts and birds came and fell down before him, as thinking him to excel in ſtrength, and made him king over them, according to the text, where he is ſaid to be *a mighty hunter before the* LORD. *Eſau* ſeeing the coat upon *Nimrod*, conceived ſo ſtrong a deſire for it, that he ſlew him, and ſtripped him of it (27).

(27) Eliezer *Pirke*, *cap.* 24.

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IT hath already been observed in what manner this prophesy was accomplished: but there is one thing peculiar in these words of *Noah*, which ought to be taken notice of; and that is, that he blesseth the GOD of *Shem*, and says nothing of that kind with regard to *Japhet*; by which circumstance is plainly intimated, that the knowledge and worship of the true GOD was to be found in the branch of *Shem*; and that though *Japhet* himself did at that time believe in the true GOD, yet his posterity should quickly fall away from the faith, and worship such gods as did not deserve to be blessed; and therefore *Noah*, who foresaw what would happen, suppressed that short doxology, in giving his blessing to *Japhet*: however this prophesy seems to have no farther prospect than till the coming of the *Messiah* in the line of *Shem*, which was the prime prerogative of that patriarch; for since that time most of *Japhet*'s posterity have received the knowledge of the true GOD.

THE *Jews* suppose the tradition of theological truths to have passed from *Noah* to *Shem*, who communicated them to his children, by which means the true religion was preserved in the world. The *Rabbins* pretend, that *Shem* was entrusted with the will of *Noah*, whereby he divided the earth among his three sons; that he went to school to *Methuselah* for threescore and eighteen years, and kept one himself, after the deluge, upon mount *Tabor*, where he taught morality; that he instructed *Abraham* in the ceremonies relating to sacrifices, which that patriarch afterwards observed. They say farther, that GOD gave him the spirit of prophesy a hundred years after the flood, and that he discharged the function of a prophet for the space of four hundred years, without reaping much fruit of his labour, mankind being become greatly corrupted. They attribue also to him the invention of astronomy, together with the manner of computing by months and years [a], and of intercalating the former, having learned these secrets from *Noah* [b]. Those who confound *Shem* with *Melchizedec* (X), ascribe to him the 109th *Psalm*, and a treatise

[a] SCIP. SGAMBAT. Archiv. Vet. Test. lib. 1. p. 165. apud CALMET. Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem. [b] ELIEZER Pirke, c. 8.

(X) The *Jews*, followed by many christian authors antient and modern, are of this opinion, which has nothing to countenance it in scripture: nor is it likely so eminent a patriarch would divest himself, as it were, of the sovereignty which he held over his own branch, to settle in *Canaan*, and become a petty prince within the dominions

a treatiſe of phyſic [c] (Y). Some make him to have been the firſt king in the world, and to have founded three cities, one in each of the three parts of the earth known to the antients (Z). Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

THE *Eaſtern* writers ſay, that *Shem*, in purſuance of the directions of *Adam* and *Noah* [d], together with *Melchizedec*, the ſon of *Phaleg*, took *Adam*'s body out of the ark, and being conducted by an angel, carried it to mount *Calvary*, where they buried it: after which *Shem* conſtituting *Melchizedec* the prieſt of GOD, left him behind to attend at the ſepulchre; and pretended on his return that he died by the way, and was buried [e]. Some ſay, *Shem* interred there no more than the ſkull of *Adam*, which had been given him by *Noah* [f].

THOSE who ſeek to reconcile the heathen mythology with the *Moſaic* hiſtory, are greatly at a loſs to find among the gods, or heroes, one who in name or character hath any re-

[c] SCIP. SGAMBAT. Archiv. V. T. lib. 1. 165. [d] See before, p. 161, in the notes. [e] EBN AMÎD, p. 13. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 50. [f] See before, p. 161, in the notes.

dominions of another, who was to be his ſervant (28), namely *Ham*. The learned, who were of this opinion, have been led into it by adhering too ſtrictly to the *Hebrew* computation (29), and perhaps looking on the tradition of the *Jews* as ſome authority (30). Yet it is ſince the time of *Joſephus*, who ſpeaks of *Melchizedec* only as a *Canaaniti/h* king (31), that they have made him the ſame with *Shem*; which ſeems to have been a notion altogether unknown to St. *Paul* (32). The oriental chriſtians make *Melchizedec* the ſon of *Phaleg* (33); for the *Septuagint* chronology, which is generally received among them, will not allow him to be the ſame with *Shem*. A learned *Syrian* author, who holds a middle opinion between them and the *Jews*, will have *Melchizedec* to be the ſon of this laſt mentioned patriarch (34).

(Y) The *Hebrew* manuſcript of this book, we are told, is to be found in the Elector of *Bavaria*'s library (35).

(Z) Theſe three cities are *Sebta* [or *Ceuta*] a maritime town in *Africa* [on the coaſt of *Barbary*], *Salernum* in *Italy*, and *Salem* in *Judea* (36). Others ſay, he only laid the foundations of this laſt, ſuppoſing it to be *Jeruſalem* (37).

(28) *Gen.* ix. 26. (29) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 47. (30) *Id. ibid. p.* 174. (31) *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. (32) *Heb.* vii. 2. (33) Ebn Amid *p.* 13. Eutych. *Annal. p.* 50. (34) Abu'lfarag, *Hiſt. Dynaſt. p.* 10. (35) Calmet *Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem.* (36) *Vid.* Scip. Sgambat. *Arch. Vet. Teſt. l.* 1. *p.* 105. (37) Shalſh. Hakk. *p.* 93. *a.*

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semblance to *Shem*; and therefore are reduced to that ridiculous shift of making him the god of hell (A).

SHEM having lived 502 years after the flood, died at the age of 600. He left five sons, *Elam*, *Ashur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram* [g]. The more moderate *Persian* historians say, their first king *Cayumarras* was a son of *Shem* [h], meaning probably *Elam*, whom *Moses* makes the founder of that nation.

THE scripture has recorded no one action of any of those sons of *Shem*, except *Ashur*; and the passage relating to him is a very material one, as it fixes the true time of the foundation of the *Assyrian* kingdom. This remarkable fact is related by *Moses* in these words; *out of that land* [namely *Shinaar*] *went forth* Ashur, *and builded* Nineveh *and the city* Rehoboth, *and* Calah [i], *and* Resen *between* Nineveh *and* Calah; *the same is a great city* [k]. We are sensible this text is by many applied otherwise, and rendered according to the marginal reading of our translation, *He went out into* Assyria; as if *Nimrod* was the person spoken of; but we shall shew hereafter, that such a sense puts a manifest force upon the words. As to the epoch of this *Assyrian* kingdom, we suppose, it might have been founded about the same time with that of *Babel*, that is, 30 years after the dispersion, in the year of the flood 431.

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As to the situation of the cities built by *Ashur*, in order to determine the extent of this first *Assyrian* kingdom, we find ourselves more at a loss than we were with regard to those which composed the kingdom of *Babel*. However, we

[g] Gen. x. 22. [h] Vid. D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Sam.
[i] Gen. x. 11. [k] Ib. ver. 12.

(A) As those authors, who fancy a resemblance between *Saturn* and *Noah*, have on account of the supposed similitude of names, made *Ham Jupiter*, and *Japhet Neptune*, *Shem* must of consequence be *Pluto* (38); but such an hypothesis, we think, is not for the honour of that patriarch, any more than another, which supposes him to be *Typhon*; we should have been glad therefore to have known what reasons *Calmet* had to believe, that prophane historians intend *Shem* by *Typhon*, whom he owns to have been a famous giant, or maleficent deity (39); and indeed was had in great detestation by the *Egyptians*, as a monster of wickedness, having embroiled the nation in a rebellious war, and murdered his brother *Osiris*.

(38) *Vid.* Bochart. *Phaleg. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. (39) *See his Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem.*

may

may venture to draw this inference, that as the number of cities, of which each monarchy conſiſted, was equal, ſo it is probable their dimenſions were much the ſame; and that the other three cities lay at no great diſtance from *Nineveh*, whoſe ſituation has been in ſome meaſure preſerved by tradition (B). Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

ARPHAXAD, or as the *Maſoretes* read the name *Arpachſhad*, the third ſon of *Shem*, had one advantage above the reſt of his brethren, namely, of having the patriarchal line continued through him. Many derive the name, as well as the nation

(B) *Nineveh* is ſuppoſed to have ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the *Dijlat* or *Tigris*, oppoſite to *Moſul*; at leaſt, the tradition of the country will have it ſo: but there are no ruins to be ſeen there, as there are at old *Babel* (40). Though a certain traveller pretends to have diſcovered and thoroughly viewed ſome remains, by which he judged the city to have been built in form of a long ſquare, in length 150 furlongs, and in breadth 90; which at eight furlongs to an *Italian* mile, make threeſcore miles in compaſs (41).

The city *Reboboth*, is by many ſuppoſed to be *Reheboth* on the *Euphrates*, the ſame probably with that called *Rahabat Malek*, not many miles below the place where the *Khabûr* falls into the *Euphrates* (42); and *Reſen* to be the *Reſania* of the antients in *Meſopotamia*, ſtill in being, and called *Ras alain*, that is, *the head of the fountain*, on account of the many ſprings riſing thereabouts; and among the reſt that of the *Khabûr*: It is alſo called *Ain Wardah*. But others endeavour to find *Reboboth* and *Reſen* nearer *Nineveh*, and alſo object, that they cannot be *Rahabat* and *Ras alain*, becauſe theſe laſt are not in *Aſſyria*, which lies to the eaſt of *Tigris*. They ſuppoſe, that *Reboboth* is the ſame with the *Birtha* of *Ptolemy*, or *Virtha* of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (43), ſituate at the mouth of the river *Lycus*, from which the preſent ruins of *Nineveh* are not many miles diſtant to the north; and the reaſon they give is, becauſe *Birtha* ſignifies in the *Chaldee* the ſame which *Reboboth* does in the *Hebrew*, that is, *ſtreets*. And as a confirmation that theſe names are the ſame, *Ptolemy* alſo places a *Birtha* on the *Euphrates*, about the place where we have ſuppoſed the other *Reboboth* to have ſtood; nor does his placing it above the confluence of the *Chabûr* and *Euphrates*, inſtead of below it, lay any good objection in the way, ſince *Ptolemy* is full of ſuch faults. It may rather be objected, that *Moſes* ſeems to have given all the cities he mentions the names they went by in the country where they ſtood, as near as the *Hebrew* orthography would allow; but in ſuch doubtful caſes, we muſt al-

(40) *See* Thevenot's *Travels*, *part* 2. *chap.* 11. *p.* 52. Rauwolf's *Travels*, *part* 2. *chap.* 9. *p.* 188. (41) *See the Preacher's Travels*, *p.* 89. (42) Geog. Nub. *Clim.* 4. *part* 6. *p.* 199. (43) *Lib.* 20.

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nation of the *Chaſdim*, or *Chaldeans* from *Arphaxad* (C), which ways make allowances; ſo that *Birtha*, or *Virtha* may ſtand for *Reboboth*, ſince we cannot find a more likely place.

Calah, the next city, is ſuppoſed to be the *Calach*, ſituate about the ſprings of the river *Lycus* (44), mentioned by *Strabo* as the capital of a province called *Calachene*, which ſeems to be the ſame with *Ptolemy*'s *Calacine*, above *Adiabene* towards mount *Niphates*. *Bochart* thinks, it is the ſame with *Halah*, whither the *Iſraelites* were carried captives (45); the *Heth* being ſometimes changed into the *Kaf*, of which that author produces ſome inſtances (46).

Could we be ſure of being right as to the ſituation of *Calah*, that of *Reſen* would be found of courſe; for *Moſes* ſays it lay between it and *Nineveh*, which is enough for our purpoſe, without ſuppoſing it to be the *Ariſſa* of *Xenophon*, according to whoſe deſcription it was a great city (47), as *Reſen* is likewiſe ſaid to have been. The difference of the names may be eaſily accounted for, from the uſage of the *Greeks*; who either could not, or would not write exotic names properly. But we muſt own *Ariſſa* ſeems to lie too much out of the way to be *Reſen*, for it ſtood on the *Tigris* to the ſouth of *Nineveh*; whereas it ſhould rather have been ſituate to the northward of that city, and at a diſtance from the river, to lie in the way between *Nineveh* and *Calah*. We may, however, ſuppoſe *Reſen* to have been ſome city in the neighbourhood of thoſe other two, long ſince deſtroyed.

(C) Some *Rabbins* are of this opinion (48). And if the authority of *Joſephus* be of any weight, he affirms the ſame: *Arphaxad*, ſays he, *gave name to the* Arphaxadæans, *at preſent called* Chaldeans, *whoſe prince he was* (49). He certainly does not mean, as Dr. *Wells* obſerves (50), that the name *Chaldeans* is derived directly from the name *Arphaxad*; but perhaps he meant, that the true name *Chaſdim* is derived thence, that is to ſay from כשׂד, the three laſt letters of *Arpachſhad* (51); and from *Chaſdim* the *Greeks* have made *Chaldæi* inſtead of *Chaſdæi*, by changing the *ſ* into *l*. And this opinion is more probable, becauſe the *Chaldeans* were not only called *Khîſdam* (52) before *Cheſed* was born (53) but appear to have been a nation when *Abraham* came out of *Ur* of the *Khaſdim* (54); at which time *Cheſed* was neither old, or conſiderable enough to have built towns and founded a nation. And this argument is ſo cogent, that *Bochart* and others, at the ſame time that they treat this etymology as a chimæra, are obliged to fly to the common ſubterfuge on this occaſion, and ſay, that the city of *Ur* is called *Ur of the*

(44) *Geog. lib.* 11. (45) 2 *Kings* xvii. 6, *and* xviii. 11. (46) *Vid. Phaleg. lib.* 4. *cap.* 22. (47) *Anabas, lib.* 3. (48) Gedal. *in Shalſhel Hakkab, p.* 93. (49) *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. (50) *Geog. of the Old Teſt. Vol.* I. *p.* 187. (51) *Vid.* Lightfoot *Oper. vol.* I. *p.* 13. (52) *Gen.* xv. 7. (53) *Gen.* xxii. 22. (54) *Gen.* xi. 31

Chaldee

which opinion ſeems more reaſonable than that which makes *Cheſed*, the ſon of *Nahor*, *Abraham*'s brother, to be the founder of them; though poſſibly the *Chaſdim* had another original; for nothing is mentioned in ſcripture concerning it. Some *Mohammedan* authors make *Arphaxad* both a prophet and an apoſtle, and lodge the chief ſovereignty over the nations of the world in his deſcendants (D). *Arphaxad* was born in the hundredth year of his father, two years after the flood[l]; and having begat the ſucceeding patriarch in the 135th year of his age[m], died after he had lived in all 438 years[n]; which is the ſum of what the ſcripture relates concerning him, though writers have added ſeveral conjectures of their own (E).

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[l] Gen. xi. 10. [m] Ibid. v. 12. [n] Ibid. v. 13.

Chaldees by a prolepſis (55), which will hardly ſerve in this caſe for the reaſons already alledged. After all, nothing can be determined as to this point, nor will it be repugnant to ſcripture to deny the derivation of the name of *Khaſdim* either from *Arphaxad* or *Cheſed*.

Some compound *Arphaxad*'s name of רפא כשד, *Rafa Khaſhed*, that is, *the healer or prelate of* Chaldea; ſuppoſing it to have been given to *Cainan* as a name of dignity (56.)

(D) According to a curious though fabulous *Mohammedan* tradition, aſcribed to *Ebn Abbâs*, *Shem* being called by *Noah*, at day-break, to aſſiſt at morning-prayer, aroſe and awakened his children; of whom only *Arphaxad* got up and attended his father to *Noah*; who gave them his benediction and prayed for them: whereupon GOD revealed to him, that the gift of propheſy, together with the apoſtleſhip, ſhould be granted to the children of *Shem*, and in an eſpecial manner to the family of *Arphaxad* his eldeſt ſon; which gift ſhould neither be taken from him, nor transferred to any other; and that the ſame family ſhould alſo enjoy the prerogative of ſovereignty and empire over the other nations which ſhould be divided ſucceſſively between the *Perſians*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and the *Arabs*, to the end of the world (57).

(E) A certain author makes him one of the *Rephaim*, (in conſequence of the etymology he has given of his name) ſuppoſing them to have been believers, and ſent by *Noah* to recal mankind to the worſhip of GOD; wherefore they were named *Rephaim*, that is, *healers*, and *reſtorers*, to wit, *of ſouls*. He farther advances, upon no better grounds, that *Cainan*, or *Arphaxad* (whom he makes to be the ſame) was the founder of the empire of *China*; that the ſect of the *Bonzes* was introduced into *Japan* by him, or his diſ-

(55) *Vid. Phaleg. lib.* 2 *c.* 4. Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patr. tom.* I. *p.* 458. § 43. (56) *Vid.* Bolduc *de Eccleſia ant legem, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. (57) *See* D'Herbelot *Bibl. Orient. Art. Noub, p.* 677.

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WHO this ſon ſo begotten by *Arphaxad* was, has occaſioned no ſmall diſpute among the learned: according to the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, *Salah* was his ſon; but in the *Septuagint* verſion we find *Cainan* put in between the two, as the ſon of the firſt, and father of the latter. This variation not only adds another link to the chain of ſucceſſion, but alters the chronology of this period, making that of the *Septuagint* to exceed the *Samaritan* by one hundred and thirty years, the age fixed for *Cainan* to have begotten his ſon. Thoſe who adhere to the *Septuagint*, draw their chief argument from St. *Luke*'s [o] mentioning *Cainan* in his genealogy of CHRIST, which has been already anſwered [p] (F). However, the *Septuagint*

[o] Luke iii. 36. [p] Pag. 249.

ciples; and that the *Brachmans* took their riſe in *Chaldea* ſoon after the arrival of that patriarch in the country of *Etham*, (where he was ſent with a colony by *Noah*), about the year of the deluge 68, the chief of which colony was called *Yarcha*, which in the *Hebrew* is *Rapha*, that is, a *curator* or *healer* (58).

(F) To the arguments already produced by us on this head (59) may be added; 1. That *Cainan* was unknown to *Onkelos* the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*, *Philo* and *Joſephus*, and to the *Syriac*, *Perſian*, and *Arab* tranſlators, as well as to the author of the *Vulgat*. *Beroſus* alſo placing *Abraham* in the tenth generation after the flood (60), leaves no room for *Cainan*. *Theophilus Antiochenus*, (61) and *Doſitheus* (who was contempory with the apoſtles themſelves) do alſo omit him, as do the more correct *Greek* writers (62). 2. He is wanting in the *Roman* and *Paris* editions of the *Septuagint*, in a place (63) from whence omiſſions of this kind are uſually ſupplied; which would ſcarce have happened in caſe there had been ſuch a perſon. Nor is he to be found in that edition of the *Septuagint* itſelf, which having been placed in the *Alexandrian* library of *Cleopatra*, and received in *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*, was inſerted by *Origen* in his *Hexapla*; and which, according to *Jerom*, was formerly reckoned the only faultleſs and uncorrupted copy, the other copy, called the *Vulgar*, having been corrupted at the pleaſure of antient writers (64). It is true *Origen* mixed *Theodotion*'s verſion with the other, but took care to mark with an aſteriſk what it had leſs, and with an obeliſk what it had more than the *Alexandrian* MS. which method we ſee obſerved by *Procopius Gazæus* (65). 3. The various read-

(58) Bolduc *de Eccleſ. ant. legem, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *See before, p.* 170, *in the notes.* (59) *Pag* 249. (60) *Apud* Joſeph. *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. (61) *Lib.* 3. *ad Autolyc.* (62) *Vid.* Maſſæum *lib.* 2 Perer. *in Geneſ. cap.* x. (63) *Vid.* Maſſæum *lib.* 2. Perer. *in Geneſ. cap.* x. (64) Hieronym. *Epiſt.* 135. (65) *Vid.* Procop. *in Geneſ.* xi.

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tuagint verſion having been received over a great part of the chriſtian world, *Cainan* paſſeth for one of the patriarchs, as well as a founder of nations (G), in many countries; and there are more traditions concerning him (H) than of *Salah*, the true ſon and ſucceſſor of *Arphaxad*.

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SALAH is the only patriarch concerning whom the chriſtian writers have obſerved an equal ſilence with *Moſes*. He hath been thought by ſome to be the ſame with the prophet *Saleh*, ſent to preach the true religion to the tribe of *Thamûd* in *Arabia Petræa* [q]; but this perſon appears to have been much later than the patriarch (I).

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[q] Hyde de rel. vet. Perſar. p. 58. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. Art. Salah.

ings in the ſeveral *Greek* copies, as well with regard to the years of *Arphaxad* after the birth of *Cainan*, as to thoſe of *Cainan* after the birth of *Salah*, are no ſmall evidence of corruption in this point (66).

Some of the moderns, to reconcile St. *Luke* with the *Hebrew*, make *Cainan* and *Salah* (67), others *Arphaxad* and *Cainan*, to be the ſame perſon (68).

(G) The *Alexandrian* chronicle (69) derives the *Sarmatians* from *Cainan*; *Euſtathius Antiochenus* (70) the *Sagodians*; *George Syncellus* (71), the *Gaſpheni*; *Epiphanius* the *Cajani* (72); *Salianus* (73) thinks the river *Caina* in *India* takes its name from him.

(H) Beſides the particulars already mentioned, it is ſaid, *Cainan* was the firſt after the flood who invented aſtronomy, and that his ſons made a god of him, and worſhipped his image after his death. The founding of the city of *Haran* in *Meſopotamia* is alſo attributed to him, which, it is pretended, he ſo called from a ſon he had of that name (74).

(I) An *Arab* writer makes the prophet *Saleh* to be the ſon of *Aſaf*, the ſon of *Caſſekh*, the ſon of *Hawer*, the ſon of *Khaber* the ſon of *Thamûd*, [the ſon of *Gather*] the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Sem* (75); ſo that he was five generations later than the patriarch *Salah*, who was the third in deſcent from *Noah*. Beſides, the deſtruction of the tribe of *Thamûd* was ſubſequent to that of the tribe of *Ad*, to whom the prophet *Hûd*, or *Eber*, was ſent, as we learn,

(66) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hiſt. Patr. tom. 2. ſect.* 10. *p.* 8. (67) HERMAN. CONTRACT. JOH. LUCIDUS LUD. DE DIEU. FR. GOMARUS, *&c.* (68) Bolduc *ubi ſup.* (69) *Pag.* 70. Ed. Raderi. (70) *Apud* Heidegg. *tom. 2. Exerc.* 1. § 12. (71) *Chronog. p* 46. (72) *Apud.* Heidegg. *ubi ſupra.* (73) *Apud eundem, p ibid.* (74) Abu'lfarag. *Hiſt Dynaſt p.* 11. (75) Tarikh Montakhab. *apud* D'Herbelot. *Art. Salah. p.* 740.

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Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648.

IT is the general opinion, that the *Hebrews* derive their name from the patriarch *Eber* (K), the son of *Salah*; and many of the *Jews* (as well as *Christians*) attribute to him the honour of being the founder of their name and nation [r] (L). But there is much more appearance, that the name

[r] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. I. cap. 7. SHALSH. HAKK. p. 803. EUTYCH. Ann. p. 47.

from one of the commentators (76) on the *Korân*; and consequently *Saleh*, the prophet of the *Thamûdites*, must be posterior to *Eber*.

(K) The *Hebrew* word עבר *Eber* signifies *beyond*, or simply, *a passage*; for what reason he was so called is uncertain: but if the *Hebrews* were so called from him, as most imagine, why might it not have been given him prophetically by *Salah*, to denote the future passage of his posterity over the *Euphrates* into the land of *Canaan*, in the same manner as many suppose *Eber* gave his son the name of *Peleg*, foreseeing the division of the earth, which was to happen towards the middle, or end of his life; This patriarch's name is in some versions confounded with that of חבר *Heber*, which both occur in one chapter (77).

(L) The maintainers of this opinion bring many arguments to support it, of which two only seem to be of any weight: 1. That a patriarch of that name being found among the ancestors of the *Jews*, it is reasonable to believe they derived their name from him. 2. That *Shem* is expressly said to be *the father of all the children of* Eber (78).

To the first of these it is answered, that, as *Moses* intimates nothing that way, the bare affinity of the name is not sufficient to determine the point in favour of that opinion. And as for what they alledge, either of the superior piety and merit of *Eber* above the other patriarchs, or of the *Hebrew* language being peculiarly spoken, or preserved, by him and his posterity, it is not only begging the question, there being no foundation in scripture for those suppositions, but may be presumed to be false as to the first (since he cannot be supposed to have been more pious than *Shem*), as it appears to be with regard to the last (79), the *Hebrew* having been spoken by nations which were not of his posterity.

To the second argument it is replied, that the word *Eber* in the before-mentioned text, has not respect to a person, but to place, and consequently that the words do not signify the children of the patriarch *Eber*, but the people who dwelt on one side, or the other of the river, meaning thereby either the *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, or

(76) Hossein Waedh, *apud.* D'Herbelot, *ibid. p.* 741. (77) 1 *Chron.* viii. 12, 17, 22. (78) *Genes.* x. 21. (79) *See the next note.*

both,

name of *Hebrews* was given to *Abraham* and his defcendants, on account of his paffing over the rivers in his way from *Irâk*, or *Chaldea*, into *Syria*[r]: fo that a *Hebrew* fhould fignify nothing elfe in the original fenfe of the word, than a man from beyond the *Euphrates*. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chrift 2648.

IN conſequence of the ſame opinion, it has been commonly believed by the antients, as well as moderns, that the *Hebrew* language alſo took its name from *Eber*, and that at the confuſion of tongues it remained ſolely in the family of that patriarch and his defcendants[t] (M): but as the firſt part of this

[r] Vid. ABU'LFARAG. p. 11. HYDE de rel. vet. Perſar. p. 47, &c. [t] Vid. EBN. AMÎD. p. 14. SHALSH. HAKK. p 803.

both, which parts were the ſeat of *Shem*'s poſterity; to enforce which acceptation, it may be farther obſerved, that if *Eber* be taken here as a proper name, then under the deſignation of his children muſt be comprehended not only the *Hebrews* properly ſo called, defcending from him by *Peleg*, and the *Arabs*, who were *Joktan*'s poſterity, and ſettled on this ſide of the river, but alſo thoſe who remained on the other ſide of the river, either in *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, or *Elemaïs*: but it could never be *Moſes*'s meaning to make *Shem* the father of *Eber*'s children in this ſenſe, which ſeems to have nothing in view; being too extended to illuſtrate any thing relating particularly to the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*; and too limited to reflect any honour on *Shem*, who was the father of many nations, and of ſome more conſiderable than thoſe deſcended from *Eber*. Nothing therefore ſeems to favour this opinion, unleſs it may be ſaid, that *Moſes* in this place had a mind to pay a compliment to all the poſterity of *Eber* in general, on account of the relation they bore to the *Jews*, as being collateral branches of the ſame anceſtor. But this point we ſhall more critically examine when we come to the hiſtory of *Abraham*.

(M) The confuſion of tongues having been conſidered as a puniſhment of the temerity of thoſe who undertook to build *Babel*, many authors, poſſeſſed with high ſentiments of *Eber*, have preſumed, that the poſterity of that patriarch, who was deſtined by GOD to be the ſtock of the holy people, and the depoſitory of the true religion, had no ſhare in that enterprize, nor conſequently in the puniſhment which attended it. But if *Eber*'s children were not concerned in it, it muſt have been becauſe none of them were grown up to an age capable of aſſiſting in that work, the diſperſion having happened at the birth of *Peleg*, who is by many ſuppoſed to have been *Eber*'s eldeſt ſon: for it ſeems to be inconteſtable, that all the deſcendants of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, were concerned in that building (80) However, it is plain, *Eber*'s poſterity ſhared

(80) *See ſect.* 4.

this assertion hath no better ground than the former opinion, so the latter is false in fact, the *Hebrew* language having been common to people who had no affinity with the family of *Eber*; as the *Phœnicians*, or *Canaanites*, who in the time of *Abraham* spoke *Hebrew*, or a language differing very little from it.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

THE building of *Babel* is properly referred to the time of *Eber*, just before the birth of his son *Peleg*, in the 134th year of his age, and of the flood four hundred and one. Some of the *Rabbins* and christian fathers, who refer that event to a subsequent part of *Peleg*'s life, say *Eber* gave him that name prophetically, to denote a division of the earth which was to happen some time after, and accordingly reckon *Eber* a prophet chiefly upon that account [u].

TILL this time all mankind lived in a body together, and spoke one language; but GOD being offended at the building of that city and tower, confounded their speech, and dispersed them abroad, in order to people and plant the earth. But what particular language the first was, in what manner it was confounded, together with an account of the whole transaction relating to the building of *Babel*, and the dispersion of mankind, must hereafter be the subject of different sections.

THE original of idolatry by image-worship is by many attributed to the age of *Eber* (N), though most of the fathers place it no higher than that of *Serug*; which seems to be the more probable opinion, considering, that for the first hundred and thirty four years of *Eber*'s life all mankind dwelt in a body together, during which time it is not reasonable to suppose idolatry broke in upon them: then some time must be allowed after the dispersion for the several nations, which

[u] ZEMACH DAV. part 1. p. 6. SEDER OLAM. cap. 1. p. 2. YARHI ad Genes. x. 25. HIERON. in quæst. Hebr. in Genes. CHRYSOST. Hom. 30 in Genes.

in the punishment, for their language was divided. Witness the difference between the *Arabic* (the language of *Joktan*'s posterity) and the *Hebrew*; not to mention the *Chaldee*.

(N) Dr. *Hyde* thinks idolatry may by numerous arguments be proved to have begun as high as the times of *Eber* and *Salah*, who preached to their countrymen, the idolatrous *Arab* tribes of *Ad* and *Thamûd* (81): But we have already observed that the apostle of the *Thamûdites* was much later than the patriarch *Salah*; and the mission of *Eber* is not an authority to build upon.

(81) Hyde *de rel. vet. Pers.* p. 58.

were

were but ſmall at the beginnning, to encreaſe and ſettle themſelves: ſo that if idolatry was introduced in *Eber*'s time, it muſt have been towards the end of his life, and could not well have prevailed ſo univerſally, and with that obſtinacy which is imagined by authors. However, the *Arabs* have a tradition that *Hud* (O), who is generally ſuppoſed to have been the ſame perſon with *Eber*, was ſent to preach to one of their antient tribes, named *Ad*, who had corrupted themſelves with the worſhip of idols, and were afterwards almoſt totally deſtroyed for not hearkening to him[w]. They alſo ſay, he ended his days in the province of *Hadramaut*, where they ſtill pretend to ſhew his ſepulchre, near *Merbât*, and within two miles of *Hâſec*, a port on the *Indian* ſea: there is a ſmall town built about it, which is now called *Kabr Hûd*, or the *Sepulchre* of *Hud*[x].

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EBER is ſuppoſed by many to have built *Hebron* in *Canaan*, and *Tanis* in *Egypt*; but thoſe are groundleſs imaginations[y]. Some refer the golden age to the time of him and his ſon *Peleg*[z]: and indeed, if we can ſuppoſe there ever was ſuch a pacific and innocent ſtate on this ſide the flood, it is moſt likely to have been in the days of *Noah* and his three ſons[a], that is, during the time their poſterity continued in their firſt habitation, before their removal to *Shinaar*, and a while after the diſperſion, which probably gave it a ſhort interruption.

EBER had two ſons, *Peleg*, and *Joktan*; *Peleg* was born juſt after the diſperſion happened, on which occaſion that

[w] Vid. POCOCK. Specim. hiſt. Arab. p. 36. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd. [x] Vid. D'HERBELOT, ibid. Art. Cabar Houd. [y] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 2. p. 11, 13. [z] Vid. GORDON, Chron. lib. 2. cap. 2. [a] Vid. BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 1.

(O) It ſeems as if the *Arabs* had ſome notion of the *Hebrews* being ſo called from *Eber*; and therefore from the other name of that nation, *viz. Jews*, which they pronounce *Hûd*, and *Yehud*, they have given this prophet the name of *Hûd* alſo.

Schickard, on the credit of two authors, one an *Arab*, who places *Hûd* between *Salah* and *Eber*; and the other a *Turk*, who ſets him between *Arphaxad* and *Eber*; conjectures *Hûd* is *Cainan* (82). But this is againſt the current of *Mohammedan* writers, who make him the ſon of *Salah* (83), and the ſame with *Eber* (84).

(82) Schickard *Tarik regum Perſiæ. apud* D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd.* p. 14. Eutych. *Annal.* p. 46. (83) *Tarîkh Montakhab* (84) *Vid.* Ebn Amid,

name

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name (P) was given him. Venerable *Bede* affirms, that temples were firſt built in his days, and that ſeveral of the chiefs of nations were worſhipped for gods. On the death of this patriarch we are told, that contention aroſe between his ſons and thoſe of his brother *Joktan*, whereupon men began to build caſtles for their defence [b].

THE ſcripture mentions only one ſon of *Peleg*'s, beſides which the orientals have given him another mentioned in ſcripture, though not as *Peleg*'s ſon, namely, *Melchizedec* [c]. They ſay, he begat him two hundred and nine years after the birth of his brother [d], which is a more rational opinion, though perhaps no better grounded, than that of the *Jews*, who make him to be the ſame with *Shem*. Of this perſon we have already related ſome particulars, and may have occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

JOKTAN is generally ſuppoſed to have been *Peleg*'s elder brother, upon a preſumption, that he and his thirteen ſons were leaders of colonies at the diſperſion of *Babel*. They are indeed mentioned at the ſame time with the other heads of nations, and are doubtleſs to be included amongſt thoſe *by whom*, it is ſaid, *the nations were divided in the earth after the flood* [f]: but we do not think it follows from thence, that they muſt have been leaders in that firſt diſperſion, in caſe their ages would allow it. Beſides, by that means we ſhould not only poſtpone the time of that tranſaction, which ſeems to be neceſſarily connected with the birth of *Peleg* (Q) but introduce

[b] ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. Annal. p. 48. [c] EBN AMÎD, p. 28. EUTYCH. [d] EBN. AMÎD. ibid. [e] EBN. AMÎD. p. 28. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 48. [f] Geneſ. x. 32.

(P) The name פלג *Peleg*, or *Phaleg*, ſignifies *diviſion*. The diviſion of the earth and diſperſion of mankind, was doubtleſs the ſame tranſaction, though ſeveral authors, eſpecially thoſe who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, make two of them, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter.

(Q) Thoſe, who follow the *Hebrew* computation, are at a great loſs for an expedient to make *Joktan* and his thirteen ſons leaders of colonies, at the diſperſion, ſuppoſing it to have happened at the birth of *Peleg*. For *Eber* having been but thirty four years old when he begat the latter, there cannot reaſonably be allowed above half that ſpace for *Joktan*'s age at that time, granting him to be the elder: ſo that we cannot well conceive him to have been the father of more than one ſon before the diſperſion. Upon which account many poſtpone that tranſaction to a ſucceeding part of *Peleg*'s life, ſuppoſing *Eber* impoſed that name prophetically (85).

(85) *See before*, p. 286.

But

introduce five generations in the line of *Shem* as concerned in it, which are two more than we find of the deſcendants of *Ham* and *Japhet*, and therefore we have reſerved them for a ſecond remove, or plantation. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt 2597.

THE ſcripture gives to *Joktan* thirteen ſons; whereas the *Arabs*, who derive their original from *Jcktan*, or, as they more uſually call him, *Kahtân*, aſſign him one and thirty by the ſame mother, of whom all but two leaving *Arabia* (R), went and ſettled in *India*[g]. *Yârab*, the elder of the two who ſtaid, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, and gave his name to that country, as well as to the *Arabic* language, which he firſt ſpoke[h]. *Jorham*, the younger, founded the kingdom of *Hejâz*[i], which contained part of *Arabia Petræa*, and other territories.

WE find little ſaid concerning the three ſucceeding patriarchs, *Rëü* (S), *Serug*, and *Nahor*: however, ſome authors refer the founding of certain kingdoms and cities (T), the

[g] AHMED EBN YUSEF, apud POCOCK. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 40.
[h] POCOCK. ibid. p. 40, 55, 151. [i] Idem. ibid. p. 40, 78.

But the great *Uſher* thinks himſelf obliged to refer it to his birth, though he knows not how to get over the difficulty juſt now mentioned (41); which may be ſolved well enough by the *Samaritan* chronology, according to which, time ſufficient may be allowed for *Joktan* and his ſons to propagate.

(R) *D' Herbelot* mentions four other ſons of *Kahtân*, namely, *Hadramaut* (the ſame with *Hazarmaveth*) *Seba*, *Ofir*, and *Khawilah*, or *Havilah* (42).

(S) According to the different pronunciation of the ע, this patriarch's name is variouſly written, *Rëû*, and *Ragau*; and by prefixing an א, ſometimes *Eru*, and *Argu*.

(T) The building of *Babel* is by ſome placed in the ſeventieth year of *Rëû* (43), and the beginning of *Nimrod*'s reign in his hundred and thirtieth (44). About the ſame time others fix the founding of the kingdom of *Egypt*, and the city of *Memphis*, by *Mizraïm* (45); of the city of *Saba*, in *Arabia Felix*, by a certain queen (46); of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and it's metropolis *Prague* (47); and of the kingdom of the *Amazons* (48): but theſe laſt are idle imaginations of the *Jews*. With more probability, though perhaps equal foundation, others attribute the building of

(41) *Chronolog. Sacra part* 1. *cap.* 5. *p.* 26. (42) D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Saba & Hegiaz.* (43) Abu'lfarag *p.* 12.
(44) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 29. (45) *Idem, ibid.* Midraſh, *ſect.* אכלה.
(64) Ebn Amîd, *ubi ſup.* (47) R. David Ganz, *in Zem. Dav.*
p. 4. Juchaſin, *p.* 135. (48) *Shalſhel hakkab. p.* 94, 95.

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the invention of several arts (U), the spreading of idolatry (W), and

Rages in *Media* to *Reû* himself (49) as that of *Sarûj*, the capital of *Diyar Modar* (50), might be to his son *Serug*, who is supposed to have dwelt in the place where that city now stands (51). In *Nabor*'s time we are told, that *Armûnes*, a king of *Canaan*, built *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and *Zoar*, to the two first of which he gave the names of his two sons, and to the last that of their mother (52).

(U) It is pretended, that the first mint for coining, and the first foundary for gold and silver ornaments were erected in the days of *Rëû* (53). Others attribute this invention to *Terah* (54), as that of coining gold and silver is ascribed to *Serug* (55). Weights and measures are said to have been invented by *Samirus*, king of the *Chaldeans*, in the days of the same patriarch (56), though the use of them seems not to have been instituted till *Nabor*'s time (57). The art of weaving silks, and of dying, is also attributed to the said king (58).

(W) Though the generality of authors, and particularly of the fathers, agree to place the origin of idolatry in the time of *Serug* (59), whom some suppose to be the introducer of it, erroneously making him (if he be not a different person from the patriarch) of the race of *Japhet* (60); yet others make it more early (61), and it is said, that in *Rëû*'s days mankind was fallen into various kinds of false worship; some adoring the heaven, others the celestial bodies, others animals and plants, others the images of their deceased friends (62). About the same time also the custom of men's sacrificing their children to devils, is pretended to have been introduced on the following occasion: A certain rich man dying, his son made a golden statue in representation of him, and placed it on his tomb, setting a servant to watch it. Some time after the son was robbed of all he had, and coming to make his complaints at his father's sepulchre, the devil spoke out of the image, and promised to restore him all he had lost, if he would offer his youngest son as a sacrifice to him, and bath himself in his warm blood; which he did, and thereupon the devil coming out of the image entered into the young man, and taught him magic. But at

(49) Hyde *de rel. vet Pers. p.* 55: (50) Geogr. Nubiens. *p.* 203. (51) Hyde *ubi sup. p* 57. (52) Abu'lfarag. *p.* 13. (53) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 30. (54) *Shalsh. hakkab. p.* 94. *a.* (55) Abu'lfarag. *p.* 12 (56) *Idem, ibid.* (57) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 30. Eutych. *Annales*, *p.* 63. (58) Abu'lfarag. *ubi sup.* (59) Joh. Damasc. Epiphan. *Panar. l.* 1. Chronic. Alex. *p.* 113. Abu'lfarag. *p.* 12. Eutych. *Annal. p.* 56. *Vid. etiam* Hyde *de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 57. Heidegg. *Hist. Patr. tom.* II. *Exerc.* 1. § 32. Gurtler. *Hist. Univ. p.* 93. (60) Euseb. *Chron. Græc. p.* 13. Cedren. *Compend. Hist. p.* 36. Suidas *in voce* Σιρούχ. Malela *Chron. p.*94, &c. (61) *See Page* 286. (62) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 29. Eutych. *p.* 59.

length,

and ſome other particulars of leſs moment (X) to their times.

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TERAH, the ſon of *Nahor*, was the father of *Abraham*, the founder of the *Hebrew*, or *Jewiſh* nation. The ſcripture informs us, that *Terah*, after the ſeventieth year of his age, begat three ſons, *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran* [k]. But of theſe ſons, *Haran* only, who was the eldeſt, at leaſt much older than *Abram*, was born in that year; and the other two probably much later [l], and, as is ſuppoſed, by a different mother [m]. *Haran* died in his native country, in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* (Y), before his father, leaving a ſon named *Lot*, and

[k] Geneſ. xi. 26. [l] See before p. 247. [m] Vid. HEIDEG. Hiſt. patr. tom. II. Exerc. 3. § 3.

length, this practice of human ſacrifices growing frequent, GOD ſent a violent earthquake, the firſt of the kind, with a whirlwind, which broke all their idols in pieces, and overthrew their temples (63). The riſe of the *Sabian* religion is by ſome referred to the age of *Nahor* (64).

(X) The oriental authors mention a king called *Karûn*, who reigned in the days of *Rëû*, but ſay not where. They pretend he was a famous chymiſt, and built a city called *Ukîſh* (65), or *Ukinîn* (66), with bricks of gold. But this ſeems to be the ſame perſon whom the *Mohammedans* make coeval with *Moſes*, and the *Corah* of the ſcriptures. We are alſo told, that, in the time of *Serug*, a king of *Egypt*, called *Aſhſanus*, built a ſhip, and invaded the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt; and that he was ſucceeded by *Pharaoh*, the ſon of *Sanes*, from whom the *Pharaohs* were denominated (67): that the giants began to encreaſe in *Nahor*'s time, of whom one was *Ad* a famous king of the *Arabs* (68), and another *Hellen*, who aſſiſted at the building of the tower of *Babel*, and was worſhipped by the *Greeks* (69); and that the troubles of *Job* happened in the twenty fifth year of the laſt mentioned patriarch (70).

(Y) Several writers taking *Ur*, which ſignifies *fire*, for an appellative, pretend, that *Haran* was burnt; ſome ſaying, that that accident happened as he endeavoured to take the images of *Terah* out of the fire, into which *Abraham* had thrown them (71). Others, as he attempted to quench the flames of an idol temple which *Abraham* had ſet on fire (72). A third party ſay, that *Abraham* being thrown by *Nimrod* into a burning furnace, *Haran* was intent upon

(63) Eutych. *p.* 63. Ebn Amîd. *p.* 30. (64) Eutych. *p.* 63. (65) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 30. (66) Eutych. *Annales. p.* 60. (67) Abu'l-farag. *p.* 12. (68) Ebn Amîd, *ubi ſup.* Eutych. *Annales p.* 63. (69) Suidas *in voce* Σιρούχ. (70) Arudh. *Cananæus apud Abu'l-farag. p.* 13. (71) Cedrenus *apud Bayle Dict. Hiſt. Art. Abraham. Rem. B.* (72) Abul'farag. *Hiſt. Dyn. p.* 13.

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and two daughters, one named *Milcah*, and the other *Iscah* [n]. *Nahor* married *Milcah* his niece, and *Abram Sarai* his half-sister [o].

TERAH, who is generally supposed to be the same whom the *Asiatics* call *Azer* (Z), is on all hands allowed to have been

[n] Genes. xi. 27, 28, 29. [o] Ibid. ver. 29, and xx. 12.

the event, resolving to follow the religion which prevailed; and seeing his brother come out unhurt by the flames, upon *Nimrod*'s demanding who he believed in, *Haran* replied, in the GOD of *Abraham*; whereupon he was cast into the furnace, and *died in the presence of his father*, as the *Rabbins* express (73) what our translation renders *before his father*. It is said, the fire had power over him, because his faith was not so strong as *Abraham*'s, nor was he destined to so great things (74). *Epiphanius* says, that *Terah*'s surviving *Haran* was a punishment for his daring to make images of clay; and that before him no father had seen his children die a natural death (75). *Josephus* affirms, that *Haran*'s sepulchre was to be seen at *Ur* in his time (76).

(Z) Some of the *Mohammedan* authors write, that *Azer* was the father of *Abraham*, and son of *Terah* (77); and *D'Herbelot* says, that the *Arabs* always distinguish them in their genealogies as two different persons; but that because *Abraham* was the son of *Terah* according to *Moses*, it is therefore supposed [by *European* writers], that he is the same with the *Azer* of the *Arabs* (78). How true this observation may be in relation to some authors, we cannot say, but we are sure, it cannot be true of all; for several *Arab* and *Turkish* writers expressly make *Azer* and *Terah* the same person (79). *Azer*, in antient times, was the name of the planet *Mars*, and the month of *March* was so called by the most antient *Persians*; for the word originally signifying fire (as it still does) it was therefore given by them and the *Chaldeans* to that planet (80), which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians* as a god, or planetary deity, whom they antiently worshipped under the form of a pillar: whence *Azer* became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods (81), and is found in the

(73) Ben. Uzziel *ad* Gen. xi. 28. Maimon. *Yad Haxzak. & de idolat. cap.* 1. *Shalshel. hakkab. p.* 8. (74) *Judæi apud Lyranum & Tostatum citante* Saliano *Annal. tom.* I. *p.* 402. (75) Epiphanius *de Hæres. lib.* 1. *p.* 8. (76) *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. (77) *Tarikh Montakhab apud* D'Herbelot *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham. p.* 12. (78) D'Herbelot *ibid.* (79) Ben Shohnah, Mirat Kainat, *&c. MSS. See also Pharhang Gehanghiri apud* Hyde *de rel. vet. Pers p.* 68. (80) Hyde *ibid. p.* 63. (81) *Idem, ibid. p.* 64.

composition

been an idolater; nor can this be denied, since he is expressly said in scripture to have served other gods[p]. The *Eastern* authors unanimously agree, that he was a statuary, or carver of idols; and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before[q], and taught, that they were to be adored as gods[r]: however, we are told his employment was a very honourable one, and that he was a great man (A); that at length he was converted by the earnest persuasions of *Abraham* (B), and prevailed upon to leave

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[p] Josh. xxiv. 2, 14. [q] EPIPHAN. Adverss. Hæres. lib. 1. p. 7, 8: [r] SUIDAS in Lexico, voce Σερούχ.

composition of several *Babylonish* names. For these reasons, a learned author supposes *Azer* to be the heathen name of *Terah*, and that the other was given him on his conversion (82).

(A) The *Eastern* authors say, *Azer* was a great lord, and in high favour with *Nimrod*, whose son-in law he was (83), because he made his idols for him, in which art he excelled all others. This employment was very honourable among the *Chaldeans*, the person who followed it being considered as the maker of gods: for it required profound skill in astrology to choose the proper materials, and fix the proper time for that work, every kind of wood, as well as stones, and metals, being by the *Chaldeans* dedicated to its peculiar planet, of whose influence it was thereby believed to participate more than any other; and an idol thus formed under a happy position of the heavens, and of the matter appropriated to such a planet, was conceived to be rightly prepared and made according to art (84). Some of the *Rabbins* say *Terah* was a priest, and the chief of them (85).

(B) *Mohammedan* authors relate, that *Abraham* often advised his father to forsake the worship of images, asking how he could worship that which neither heard, nor saw, nor did him any good (86): that this offending *Terah*, he was often ready to fall from words to blows; but that at length *Abraham* got the better of his father's obstinacy, refusing to pray for him until he promised to become a convert (87); for while he was an enemy to GOD, he was an enemy also to *Abraham* (88). The *Jews* say he repented (89); and it is thought to have been owing to the merit thereof, as well as of his son *Abraham*, that the chain of the oral law descended from

(82) *Idem, ibid. p.* 62. (83) D'Herbelot *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham* (84) D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient. Art Abraham. p*, 63. (85) *Shalshel. hakkab. p.* 64. (86) Shahristani *ex Alkorano*, c 19. *ver.* 39. *apud* Hyde *de rel. vet. Persar. p.* 68. (87) *Al Korân c.* 9. *ver.* 116. (88) Hyde, *ubi sup.* (89) *Shalshel hakkab. p.* 94.

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leave *Ur*. *Josephus* says, he quitted *Chaldea*, being not able to endure the country after the loss of his son *Haran* [f]. Some would have it that he did not become an idolater till he was settled at *Haran* [t], which is absurd [u]; and others say, he never was converted [x], any more than his son *Nahor*, who afterwards left *Ur* to join his father at *Haran* [y], which seems from him to be called the city of *Nahor* [z]: but there is more probability, that both *Nahor* and *Haran* were converted, seeing *Lot* was bred in the true religion, and *Abraham* chose *Isaac* a wife out of the family of *Nahor*, not caring to marry him to the idolatrous daughters of *Canaan* [a]: wherefore a learned author supposes *Nahor* and *Haran* to have been the names given to those two brothers at the time of their conversion [b].

HOWEVER, *Terah*, towards the latter part of his life, designing to remove from *Chaldea* into the land of *Canaan*, took his son *Abram*, and *Sarai* his daughter-in-law, and his grandson *Lot*, and leaving *Ur* came to *Haran*, a city in the north-west parts of *Mesopotamia*, where having dwelt for some time he died, being two hundred and five years old.

THUS have we collected in the best method we could, what we have found worth notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the postdiluvian patriarchs. In the next section we shall proceed to give part of the fragments of a heathen author, whose history is supposed to relate to the earliest times of this period.

SECT. III.

The history of Sanchoniatho, *after the flood.*

Sanchoniatho's *history continued.*

HAVING in a preceding section brought down the *Phœnician* history of *Sanchoniatho* to the tenth generation,

[f] Antiq. lib. 1. cap. [t] TOSTAT. apud PERERIUM in Genes. cap. 11. 32. [u] Vid. BAYLE Dict. Art. Abraham, Rem. C. [x] CHRYSOST. Hom. 31, & 37. [y] St. AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 13. [z] Compare Gen. xxiv. 10. with Gen. xxvii. 43, and xxviii. 10. [a] Gen. xxiv. 3. [b] HYDE de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 62.

Adam to him, and thence to his son *Abraham* (90). There is some ground to think *Terah* was converted by *Abraham*'s perswasions, because he travelled with him from *Ur* to *Haran*, in order to go into *Canaan* 91 [1].

(90) *Zoar apud* Hottinger, *in Smegm. Orient. lib.* 1. *p.* 280.
(91) Hyde *ubi sup. p.* 59.

tion,

tion, which probably periſhed in the flood, though he takes no notice of that great event; we ſhall here reſume the thread of his narration: premiſing only, that, according to the plauſible hypotheſis which we have formerly mentioned (C), that

(C) Biſhop *Cumberland*, ſuſpecting the *Phœnician* records to have been corrupted in this place, has propoſed an amendment of them (92): He ſuppoſes a diſlocation in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth generations, either through neglect in tranſcribers, or rather purpoſely made by the *Cabiri*, who wrote thoſe records, to conceal the great judgment of the flood, which ſwept away the race of *Cain* (93), and of which for that reaſon they have ſuppreſſed all mention (94). To ſupport this opinion, he alledges, 1. That *Sydyc* and *Miſor* could not be the children of *Amynus* and *Magus*, becauſe the tenth generation in the line of *Genus*, or *Cain*, wherein thoſe two laſt perſons are placed, muſt have been drowned in the flood, together with ſuch children as might then be born of them (95), anſwering to *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*. 2. That *Sydyc* being *Melchizedec*, whom he takes to be *Shem*, and *Cronus Ham*, it was neceſſary to join them both together under the line of *Uranus*, which *Sanchoniatho* owns to be diſtinct from that of *Genus* (96) 3. That *Miſor* being manifeſtly *Mizraïm*, the ſon of *Ham*, or *Cronus*, there is a neceſſity of placing him one generation lower than he is placed in *Sanchoniatho*, *viz.* in the twelfth (97); and that without this change, the beginning of the *Egyptian* kingdom would be placed too near the flood (98). 4. That *Japhet* being ſtill wanting to make up the three ſons of *Noah*, and *Nereus* being the only perſon in *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies which anſwers the ſcripture account of him, he has joined him to *Sydyc* and *Cronus* in the line of *Uranus* (99). But the alterations will better appear, by giving the reader a table of *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies, from the place where the biſhop's corrections begin; referring him for our remarks on the ſcheme itſelf to the ſucceeding notes.

The two Lines as they ſtand in SANCHONIATHO.

SETH's Line	CAIN's Line.	
9. *Elium*, or *Hypſiſtus*,	*Agrus*,	*Agrouerus*,
10. *Uranus*,	*Amynus*,	*Magus*,
11. *Cronus*,	*Miſor*,	*Sydyc*,
12.	*Thoth*.	*Cabiri*, or *Dioſcuri*,
13.		The ſons of the *Dioſcuri*.

(92) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 43. (93) *Ibid. p.* 49. (94) *Ibid. p.* 47, 177. (95) *Ibid. p.* 41, 677. (96) *Ibid. p.* 47. (97) *Ibid. p.* 48. (98) *Ibid. p.* 49. (99) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 257, 258, 259.

taht writer proceeds to continue the idolatrous line of *Cain*, by persons taken out of the line of *Noah*, and annexing them as sons to *Amynus* and *Magus*, the last of that race.

Generation XI.

FROM these men, says he, were begot *Misor* (D), and *Sydyc* (E), *i. e. Well-freed*, and *Just*: these found out the use of salt. FROM

SETH's *Line* in SANCHONIATHO, *corrected*.

9.	*Eliun*, or *Hypsistus*,		
10.	*Uranus*,		
11.	*Sydyc*, or *Shem*,	*Cronus*, or *Ham*,	*Nereus*, or *Japhet*,
12.	*Cabiri*, or *Dioscuri*,	*Misor*,	*Pontus*,
13.	The sons of the *Dioscuri*.	*Thoyth*,	*Posidon*, or *Neptune*.

(D) This person Dr *Cumberland* takes to be the *Mizraïm* of the scripture, and the *Menes* of the *Egyptians*, for these reasons; 1. He supposes *Misor* to be the singular of *Mizraïm*, the first king of *Egypt* according to the *Hebrews*, as *Menes* is according to the *Egyptians* (1). 2 That *Eratosthenes* in *Syncellus* and *Scaliger*'s *Eusebius* (2), affirms *Menes* to be *Mestraïm*, as the *Greeks* write the name of *Mizraïm* (3). 3. That *Thoth* was the son of *Menes* as well as of *Misor*, and the second king of *Egypt* (4). 4. That *Misor* and *Menes* lived at the same time, and 5. Died the same violent death (5). We shall consider this opinion, which we take to be absolutely untenable, in another place; and shall only observe at present that we cannot find *Eratosthenes* has affirmed any such thing, as that *Menes* is *Mestraïm*; which is the mere imagination of those authors who have transcribed him.

As to the translation which *Philo* gives of the name *Misor*, Ἐυλαῖος, or *well fi eed*, *Bochart*, derives it from the *Syriac* ܡܨܪܐ *Mesro*; but bishop *Cumberland* rather thinks the notion of freedom to be consequent to his name, which he supposes to signify a prince, from the root עצר *asar*, to *rule*, or *restrain*, by addition of the servile *Mim* (6); [though to effect this the first radical must be thrown out] freedom from any coercive power being the consequent of his dominion and superiority (7).

(E) *Sydyc* the bishop supposes to be *Melchizedec*, and *Melchizedec Shem* (8). All the arguments he brings in favour of the first supposition is, that *Grotius* (9) affirms *Melchizedec* to be *Sydyc* (10), probably

(1) *Ibid.* p. 45, 55, (2) *Chron. Græc.* p. 17. (3) Cumberl. *ubi sup.* p. 54, 185. (4) *Ibid* p. 44, 55. (5) *Ibid.* p. 55. (6) *Ibid* p 98. (7) *Ibid.* p. 179. (8) *Ibid.* p. 47, 173. (9) *In not. ad* Heb. vii. 1. (10) Cumberl. *on Sanchon.* p. 174.

FROM *Misor* came *Taautus* (F), who found out the writing of the first letters; whom the *Egyptians* called *Thoör*, the *Alexandrians Thoyth*, and the *Greeks Hermes*: but from *Sydyc* came the *Dioscuri*, or *Cabiri* (G) called also *Corybantes*, and *Samothraces*. These first invented the building a complete ship. *Generation* XII.

OF these, others came who found out herbs, the cure of bitings, and charms. *Generation* XIII.

URANUS, whose parents lived in these mens age, as hath been already mentioned, succeeding his father *Elium* in the kingdom, had by *Ge*, his sister, four sons; 1. *Ilus*, or *Cro-*

probably on account of the similitude of the names, *Sydyc*, or *Sedec* signifying *just*, and *Melchisedec* the *just king*. Nor does he bring any proof that *Melchizedec* is *Shem:* he only says, that he thinks the objections against that opinion are sufficiently answered (11) by other authors. So that he produces no reason to support these two opinions, on which his system is chiefly grounded. If it be objected, that *Misor* and *Sydyc* were the sons of *Amynus* and *Magus*, he answers, that *Sydyc* was not the son of those persons, but brother to *Ham*, or *Cronus*, and son to *Noah* (12); and that the *Cabiri*, who had corrupted the records by suppressing all mention of the flood (13), have taken the righteous king *Sedec*, or *Melchisedec* (14), with *Misor*, and their children the *Cabiri*, and *Thoth*, and placed them in *Cain*'s line, being willing to transfer all the honour gained by them to the family in which their false religion began; for which *Sydyc*'s [or *Melchizedec*'s] living in *Canaan*, might furnish a pretence (15).

(F) *Taaut*, or *Thoth* is thought to be *Athothes*, the son of *Menes*, and the second king of *Egypt*, according to *Eratosthenes*, upon a presumption that *Misor* and *Menes* are the same; and because he was also a king of *Egypt*, and son of a king [though it does not appear from *Sanchoniatho*, that *Misor* was a king] as *Athothes* was (16). It is observed also, that as *Sanchoniatho*'s line ends with *Misor* and *Thoth*, so *Eratosthenes*'s line of *Theban* kings begins with *Menes* and *Athothes* (17), as does the first dynasty of the *Thinites* in *Manetho*. And the difference between the names *Thoth* and *Athoth* is no objection, the bishop producing several instances of proper names in the *Eastern* languages, where the initial *A* was frequently left out (18).

(G) Of the *Dioscuri*, or *Cabiri*, the sons of *Sydyc*, we shall speak hereafter, when we come to the *Grecian* mythology. According to Dr. *Cumberland*'s scheme, they were a little branch of *Sydyc*, or *Shem*'s race, that lived with *Ham*, or near him (19).

(11) *Ibid. p.* 175. (12) *Ibid. p.* 47. (13) *Ibid p* 47, 177. (14) *Ibid p.* 47. (15) *Ibid. p.* 178. (16) *Ibid p* 44, 54, 186. (17) *Ibid. p.* 46. (18) *Ibid p.* 127. *Vid.* Bochart *Canaan p.* 826. (19) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 261.

LUS;

nus; 2. *Betylus*; 3. *Dagon*, or *Siton*; and 4. *Atlas* (H); besides

(H) We shall consider these four sons of *Uranus* in their order. 1. *Cronus* is in all probability the same with the *Ham* of *Moses*; the last seems to have been his proper name, and the other, which may be derived from קרן *Keren, a horn*, or *power*, and importing regal dignity, might have been his *Phœnician* title, as *Belus*, or בעל *Baal*, signifying *a lord*, was his *Chaldean* title (20); for the *Babylonians* are said to have called the first *Baal Cronus* (21); *Moloch* and *Milcom*, names of the same signification, are also frequently used to design the same man (22): and *Baal-Berith* (23) probably signifies this *Cronus* worshipped antiently at *Berytus* (24). That *Cronus* is the *Ham* of *Moses* appears from the authority of *Eupolemus*, whose words are these: πρῶτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον καὶ Χαναάν, τοῦτον δὲ τον Χαναὰν γεννῆσαι τον πατέρα τῶν Φοινίκων· τούτου δὲ Χοῦμ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγεσθαι Ἄσβολον, πατέρα δὲ Αἰθιόπων, ἀδελφὸν δὲ του Μεσραεὶμ πατέρα [πατρὸς] Αἰγυπτίων (25); which bishop *Cumberland* renders thus: *There was at first* Belus, *who is* Cronus; *but of him came another* 1. Belus, *and* 2. Canaan, *who was, or begot the father of the* Phœnicians; *his son too was* 3. Chûm, *whom the* Greeks *call* Asbolos, *the father of the* Ethiopians, *the brother of*, 4. Mestraim, *the father of the* Egyptians. It is eaty, says that author, to adjust this translation to the four sons of *Ham* (26); for two of their names are plainly the same, *Canaan* and *Mizraïm*; the third, *Chûm*, is but slightly altered from *Cush*, the ש being changed into μ only to express the accusative case, as *Bochart* has well noted; [though, by the way, this is an odd manner of accounting for that variation, the *Greeks* having no accusative in *m*, nor indeed any word ending in *m*]: wherefore it only remains, that *Belus*, the successor of *Ham*, in his dominions in *Africa*, be allowed to be the same with *Phut* in *Moses*; and it is reasonable to admit, that he who succeeded his father in that large empire, should bear his title among the *Babylonians*, as he is here called by the *Chaldean* title of honour *Belus*, whereas *Moses* calls him properly by the name given him at his birth (27). We find several footsteps of *Chronus* in that passage of the *Mosaical* history, where *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates are recorded to have smitten the *Rephaims* in *Ashteroth Carnaim*, and the *Zuzims* in *Ham*. *Ashteroth* will easily be admitted to be *Astarte*, and *Carnaim* being derived from *Keren*, the root of the name of *Cronus*,

(20) *Vid Ibid. p.* 111, *&c.* (21) Eupolemus *in Alex. Polyhist. apud* Euseb. *de Præp. Evangelic. lib.* 9. *cap.* 17. (22) *Vid.* Theophil. Antiochen. *ad Autolyc. lib.* 3. Damascium *in vita Isidori*, & Suidam *in voce* Κρόνος (23) Judg. viii. 33. (24) Cumberland, *on Sanchon. p.* 152. (25) *Apud* Euseb. *de præp. Evangel. lib.* 9. *cap.* 17. *p.* 419. (26) Genes. x. 6. (27) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 115.

may

beſides much iſſue by other wives: wherefore *Ge*, being grieved at it, and jealous, reproached *Uranus*, ſo that they parted from each other. But *Uranus*, though he parted from her, yet by force invading her, and lying with her when he lifted, went away again; and he alſo attempted to kill the children he had by her. *Ge* alſo defended, or avenged herſelf, gathering auxiliary powers unto her.

may relate to him. And as *Ræphas* is acknowledged by the learned to have been a title of *Cronus*, both from the *Coptic* name of his *Star*, and from the *Septuagint*, who tranſlate *Chium Cronus*'s known name) by *Ræphas*, written in ſome copies *Remphas*, which is the cleareſt account of that paſſage in *Amos* (28), ſo from him ſome of his poſterity, who were moſt like him and other antediluvians, of long life, great ſtrength, and ſtature, were called *Rephaim*; eſpecially thoſe who dwelt in his city *Aſhteroth Carnaim*, and ſeem to have been his children, and their cities to have taken their father's name (29). As to *Ilus*, or *Il*, it ſeems to be no other than אל *El*, which ſignifies *ſtrong*, and is therefore in *Hebrew* one of the names of GOD.

2. *Betylus* biſhop *Cumberland* does not find mentioned by any other writer; his name ſeems to be of eaſtern original, from the root בטל *Betel*, which though it often ſignifies diſhonourable idleneſs, yet ſometimes denotes that quiet ſpirit which ſerves religious duties and ſtudy. And in *Arabic* it ſignifies *a hero*, who, by ſucceſsful wars procures to himſelf and ſubjects reſt and peace (30).

3. *Dagon* is called agreeably to *Philo*'s ſkill in the eaſtern languages, *Siton*, becauſe he was the inventor of ſowing bread-corn; and *Jupiter Arotrius*, from his contriving of ploughs. He was worſhipped by the *Philiſtines* in *Canaan*; and his name, which the biſhop ſuppoſes was given him at his canonization, ſuggeſts to us the reaſon of the divine honours they gave him (31) [being derived from דגן *Dagan*, *bread-corn*].

4. *Atlas* is alſo reckoned one of the moſt celebrated ſons of *Uranus* in the *Atlantian* theology; the *Atlantij* in *Africa* are derived from him. The biſhop ſuppoſes the reaſon of his being cruelly buried alive by his brother (as *Sanchoniatho* tells us preſently) was, to ſecure to him and *Thoth* the dominion over the weſtern parts of *Africa*, where the *Atlantij* were ſeated; though that deſign was not effected but by *Hercules*, or *Arcles*, called *Aſſis* (the paſtor king of *Egypt*) in the reign of *Antæus* the ſon of *Atlas* (32). The biſhop chooſes rather to conſider *Atlas* as the brother, than the ſon of *Japetus*, as the *Greeks* repreſent him, becauſe *Sanchoniatho* reports him to be the brother of *Cronus*, whom the *Greeks* alſo agree to be brother to *Japetus*.

(28) Chap. v. 26. *Vid. etiam* Pocock. *Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. ult.*
(29) Cumberl. *ubi ſup. p.* 120, 121. (30) *Idem, ibid. p.* 326.
(31) *Idem, ibid. & p.* 327. (32) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 327, 328.

BUT

BUT when *Cronus* came to man's age, uſing *Hermes Triſmegiſtus* as his counſellor and aſſiſtant (for he was his ſecretary), he oppoſed his father *Uranus*, avenging his mother: but *Cronus* had children, *Perſephone* [*Proſerpina*] and *Athena* [*Minerva*]: the former died a virgin, but by the counſel of *Athena* and of *Hermes*, *Cronus* made of iron a ſcimeter and a ſpear. Then *Hermes* ſpeaking to the aſſiſtants of *Cronus* with enchanting words, wrought in them a keen deſire to fight againſt *Uranus*, in behalf of *Ge*. And thus *Cronus* warring againſt *Uranus*, drove him out of his kingdom, and ſucceeded in the imperial power, or office.

IN the fight was taken a well beloved concubine of *Uranus*, big with child. *Cronus* gave her in marriage to *Dagon*, and ſhe brought forth, at his houſe, what ſhe had in her womb by *Uranus*, and called him *Demaröon*.

AFTER theſe things *Cronus* builds a wall round about his houſe, and founds *Byblus*, the firſt city (I) in *Phœnicia*. Afterwards *Cronus* ſuſpecting his own brother *Atlas*, with the advice of *Hermes*, throwing him into a deep hole of the earth, there buried him.

AT that time the deſcendants of the *Dioſcuri*, having built ſome tumultuary, and other ſtronger ſhips, went to ſea, and being caſt on ſhore near mount *Caſſius*, there conſecrated a temple (K).

THE auxiliaries of *Ilus*, or *Cronus*, were called *Eloim* (L), which

(I) It is urged as an objection to the veracity of this fragment, that *Byblus* is here ſaid to be the firſt city in *Phœnicia*, after mention has been made of *Tyre* in the fifth generation (33); but no more can be made of what is ſaid there, than that it was a place inhabited, perhaps by people living in tents, or ſcattered huts; for building with ſun-dried bricks was not found out till three generations after. Beſides, if it had been called a city, the expreſſion would have admitted of an explanation by *prolepſis*. *Byblus* ſeems to have been the imperial ſeat of *Cronus*; as it was of *Mizraïm* for ſome time, according to the biſhop (34).

(K) Dr. *Cumberland* obſerves, that this is the firſt navigation we have any account of in hiſtory after the flood (35); and perhaps this is the firſt temple founded alſo; for before they uſed itinerant temples, carried about on carts (36). Mount *Caſſius* lay on the coaſt forty miles from *Peluſium* in *Egypt* eaſtward, in the road to *Paleſtine* (37).

(L) *Eloim* is אלהים the plural of אלה *Eloah*, and ſignifies the *gods*, as they are called juſt after. The biſhop renders the word in

(33) *See before*, p. 177. (34) Cumberl. *Orig. Gent. Antiquiſſ.* p. 174. (35) *Ibid* p. 368. (36) *See before*, p. 179. (37) *Vid. Itinar.* Antonini.

this

which is as much as to ſay *Cronij*, for ſo were they named who were under *Cronus*. But *Cronus* having a ſon called *Sadid* (M), diſpatched him with his own ſword, having a ſuſpicion of him, and deprived his ſon of life with his own hand. So alſo he cut off the head of his own daughter, ſo that all the gods were amazed at the mind of *Cronus*.

IN proceſs of time, *Uranus*, being in flight, or baniſhment, ſends his virgin daughter *Aſtarte*, with two other of her ſiſters, *Rhea* and *Dione*, to cut off *Cronus* by deceit, whom *Cronus* taking, made thoſe ſiſters his wives. *Uranus*, underſtanding this, ſent *Eimarmene* and *Hora* [*Fate* and *Beauty*] with other auxiliaries, to war againſt him: but *Cronus* having gained the affections of theſe alſo, kept them with him. Moreover, the god *Uranus* deviſed *Bætylia*, contriving ſtones that moved, as having life (N).

CRONUS

this place *Ilus*'s *men*, or *thoſe that were for* Cronus (38); in which ſenſe it may be underſtood, conſidering the perſons who aſſumed it were the auxiliaries of *Il*, and took their name from him on that account.

(M) شديد *Shadid* in *Arabic* ſignifies a *ſtrong man*, and ſeems to be of kin to *Shaddai*.

(N) *Bochart* conceives that by the tranſpoſitionof a letter by the tranſcriber of *Sanchoniatho*, writing אבנים נפשים for נשפים, *anointed ſtones*, have been transformed into *animated ſtones*. *Jacob* ſeems to have ſet up the example of anointing ſtones, when he poured oil upon the top of the pillar which had been his pillow, calling the place *Beth-el* (39). The *Jews* ſay, the *Phœnicians* worſhipped that pillar of *Jacob*, withal conſecrating, and anointing ſtones in imitation of it, which they called *Bætylia*, and *Bætyli*, in memory of the ſtone erected at *Beth-el*. *Heſychius* ſays, the ſtone was ſo called which *Rhea* gave *Saturn* to devour inſtead of *Jupiter*. *Priſcian* ſays, the ſame ſtone is called *Abadir*, or *Abaddir*, and that it is the *Bætylus* of the god *Abaddir*. But that name, taken for the ſtone, ſeems to be corrupted from the *Phœnician* אבן דיר *Aban dir*, ſignifying a ſpherical ſtone which was the figure of the *Bætylus*. *Damaſcius*, a ſuperſtitious heathen writer in *Juſtinian*'s time, ſays he ſaw ſeveral of theſe *Bætylia*, or *Bætyli*, of which many wonders were reported, in mount *Libanus*, near *Heliopolis* of *Syria* (40): nay, and pretends, he ſaw one of theſe ſtones moved in the air (41), and deſcribes it to be round, about a ſpan in diameter, and whitiſh, though it often appeared of different colours, (42); which ſhews there was a popular notion in thoſe days

(38) Cumberl. *on Sanchon p.* 31. (39) Geneſ. xxviii. 18, 19. *and* xxxi. 13. (40) *Apud* Photium. *Bibl. p.* 1047. (41) *Vid.* Photium. *ibid. p.* 1062. (42) *Ibid. p.* 1063.

of

CRONUS begat on *Astarte* seven daughters, called *Titanides*, or *Artemides*; and he begat on *Rhea* seven sons, the youngest of which, as soon as he was born, was consecrated a god (O). Also by *Dione* he had daughters, and by *Astarte* two sons, *Pothos* and *Eros* [*Desire* and *Love*].

DAGON, after he had found out bread-corn and the plough, was called *Zeus Arotrius*.

To *Sydyc*, or *the just*, one of the *Titanides* bare *Asclepius* (P). *Cronus* had also in *Peræa* (Q) three sons: 1. *Cronus*, of

of the *Bætylia* being moving stones. They were generally consecrated to some god or other, as *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, the *Sun*, &c. (43).

(O) Dr. *Cumberland* supposes this son of *Rhea* was *Muth*, because afterwards mention is made of a consecrated son of *Rhea*, called *Muth*; but the last seems to be a different son from him spoken of in this place; for *Muth* was not consecrated till his death, the other as soon as he was born.

(P) He was surnamed *Esmunus* from שמיני *Shemini*, which signifies the eighth. His mother was one of the daughters of *Cronus*. This is hard to believe, yet it is not impossible that *Sydyc*, in his latter time dwelling in *Canaan*, might, to secure his quiet life, (for we read of no warlike action of *Shem*) marry a daughter of *Ham*'s, and by her have this son *Asclepius*; whom alone of all the sons of *Sydyc*, *Sanchoniatho*, chiefly regarding his own country, hath taken notice of, probably because he only might have settled in *Phœnicia*, among the issue of *Ham* (44); and that he did settle among them appears from *Apuleius*'s saying that *Apollo* (whom *Sanchoniatho* makes *Cronus*'s son) gave to *Æsculapius*, as he calls him, the herb *Solanum* (45), or *night-shade*, called from his *Phœnician* name, *Astir Esmuni* in *Punic* (46). *Asclepius* is also called *Memphites* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and passed for a god in *Egypt* (47). And *Pausanias* (48) mentions a temple to *Æsculapius*, *Apollo*, and *Hygeia*, *Egyptians*. This is the eldest account the bishop meets with of skill in physic or medicines (49).

(Q) *Peræa* being the *Greek* name of the country of *Bashan*, beyond *Jordan*, the bishop supposes these three sons of *Cronus* to have been born at *Ashteroth Carnaim* (50), a noted city thereof, from the relation already mentioned, which that place hath to *Cronus*. The names of these sons are well known to belong to heathen deities by antient writers; but it does not appear from such writers, that they were the sons of *Cronus*; only *Eupolemus* says something to the pur-

(43) *Idem*, *ibid.* *Vid. etiam* Bochart. *Chanaan. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. (44) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 200. (45) Apuleius *de virtutib. Herbar.* (46) *In Auctuar. ad Dioscorid.* (47) Clem. Alex. *Stromat. lib.* 1. (48) *In Corinthiac.* (49) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 201. (50) Gen. xiv. 5.

pose

of the ſame name with his father. 2. *Zeus Belus.* 3. *Apollo* (R).

CONTEMPORARY with theſe were *Pontus* and *Typhon*, and *Nereus*, the father of *Pontus* (S). From *Pontus* came

poſe in the fragment above-mentioned; though neither *Moſes*, nor *Eupolemus*, who writes the *Babylonian* traditions about them, do uſe, or own the names given them by the *Canaanites*; and indeed the ſame man was deified in one place, who was not honoured ſo in another; and often the ſame perſon was worſhipped in ſeveral places under ſeveral names (51).

(R) The firſt of theſe ſons, *Cronus* the ſecond, the biſhop conjectures to be *Mizraïm*, from a paſſage of *Nonnus*, where *Apis*, the living image of *Oſiris*, whom he ſuppoſes alſo to be *Mizraïm*, is ſaid to be likewiſe called *Chronus*; *Belus*, *Hammon*, and *Zeus*, all acknowledged to have been names belonging to *Ham* his father, and therefore he muſt be the ſecond in them all (52). By *Belus*, the biſhop ſuppoſes *Cuſh*, the ſon of *Ham*, to be intended by our author (53); and that the third, whom he calls *Apollo*, was the *Phut* of *Moſes*, known among the *Greeks* ſometimes by the name of *Pythius*, which in radical letters agrees with *Phut*; and ſometimes by that of *Apollo Carneus*, which he takes to ſignify the elder *Apollo*, the ſon of *Cronus*, from קרן *Keren*; from which root alſo his town was called *Carnaim* (54), or, as it is elſewhere (55) written, *Carnion* (56).

(S) Biſhop *Cumberland* has made another alteration here in *Sanchoniatho*'s ſucceſſions, placing *Nereus* and his deſcendants, whoſe line is uncertain, in the line of *Uranus*, and ſuppoſes *Nereus* to be *Japhet*: 1. Becauſe being contemporary with *Ham* and his iſſue, and having found *Shem* under the name of *Sydyc*, it remains, that he takes *Japhet* and his iſſue to be here pointed at (57). 2. Becauſe every one knows *Nereus*, *Pontus*, and *Poſidon*, or *Neptune*, relate to the ſea, its iſles, and ſhores, which in ſcripture fall to *Japhet*'s ſhare (58). 3. Becauſe this author never mentions *Japhet* and his line if it be not here (59); and it would be ſtrange, if an hiſtorian, writing of that age wherein mankind was repaired, ſhould omit him who peopled a third part of the world (60). 4. Becauſe though *Nereus* and his iſſue are not ſaid to be deſcended from *Uranus*, or *Noah*, yet we know by ſcripture, that they muſt come from him; and there is no other line known, in which they might come from *Noah*, but *Japhet*'s. 5. Becauſe *Sanchoniatho*, being a *Canaanite*, has taken no care to clear other pedigrees, but only that of *Ham* and *Cain* (61).

(51) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 335. (52) *Ibid. p.* 336. (53) *Ibid. p.* 337. (54) Gen. xiv. 5. (55) 2. Macc. xii. 21. (56) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 116. 337. (57) *Ibid. p.* 257. (58) *Ibid. p.* 259. (59) *Ibid. p.* 257. (60) *Ibid. p.* 258. (61) *Ibid. p.* 259.

Sidon

Sidon, who, by the exceeding ſweetneſs of her voice, or ſinging, found out firſt the hymns of odes, or praiſes; and *Poſidon* [or *Neptune*]. But to *Demaröon* was born *Melicarthus*, who is alſo called *Hercules* (T).

THEN again *Uranus* makes war againſt *Pontus*, and being ſeparated from him, joins with *Demaröon*. *Demaröon* invades *Pontus*, but *Pontus* puts him to flight, and *Demaröon* vows a ſacrifice for his eſcape.

BUT in the thirty ſecond year of his power and reign, *Ilus*, who is *Cronus*, having laid an ambuſcade for his father *Uranus* in a certain midland place, and having gotten him into his hands, cuts off his privities (U) near fountains and rivers. There *Uranus* was conſecrated, and his ſpirit, or breath was ſeparated, and the blood of his ſecrets dropped into the fountains and waters of the rivers; and the place is ſhewed unto this day.

THEN our hiſtorian, after ſome things interpoſed, goes on, ſaying: But *Aſtarte*, called the Greateſt, and *Demaröon*, ſurnamed *Zeus*, and *Adodus*, the king of the gods, reigned over the country by *Cronus*'s conſent, or authority (W): and

(T) This is the old *Phœnician Melcartus*, or *Hercules* (62), whoſe temple at *Gadira*, or *Gades* had no images in it, and continued to the time of *Silius Italicus* (63). *Bochart* ſuppoſes this way of worſhip, practiſed in this temple, was taken from the *Jews*; not conſidering, that *Hercules Phœnicius* was long before the *Jewiſh* law, and that the patriarchal religion uſed no images (64).

(U) It may be preſumed, that this circumſtance gave occaſion to that notion of ſome, already mentioned (65), that *Ham* caſtrated *Noah*.

(W) It is conceived that *Adodus*, or *Adad*, which ſignifies among the *Aſſyrians*, *the one*, by way of eminence (66,) was a title belonging either to *Cuſh* the ſon of *Ham*, or to *Nimrod*, who as his kingdom extended even to *Aſſyria*, might well have many ſubordinate kings under him, who are called gods, as *Cronus*'s confederate princes were called *Eloim*. Agreeably hereto, we find that *Hadad* was antiently a kingly name in *Edom* (67) and *Syria* (68), ſometimes written *Hadar* (69). *Adar*, or *Adir* is *the magnificent* or *mighty potentate*, and therefore may alſo be a title. *Adodus* reign-

(62) *Ibid. p.* 265. (63) Sil. Ital *lib.* 3. (64) Cumberl. *on Sanchon. p.* 265. (65) *See before p.* 264. (66) Macrob. *Saturnal lib.* 1. *cap.* 31. Bochart. *Chanaan. lib.* 2 *cap.* 8. (67) Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 30. (68) 2 Sam. viii. 5. 6. *Vid. etiam* Nicol. Damaſcen. *apud* Joſeph. *Antiq lib.* 7. *cap* 5. (69) Gen. xxxvi. 39. 1 Chron. xviii. 5, 7. *See alſo* Cumberl. *Orig. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p.* 171.

ing

and *Aſtarte* put on her head, as the mark of her ſovereignty, a bull's head. But, travelling about the world, ſhe found a ſtar falling from the air, or ſky, which ſhe taking up, conſecrated in the holy iſland *Tyre*. And the *Phœnicians* ſay, that *Aſtarte* is ſhe, who is among the *Greeks* called *Aphrodite* [or *Venus*].

CRONUS alſo, going about the world, gave to his own daughter *Athena* the kingdom of *Attica* : but when there was a plague and mortality, *Cronus* made his only ſon a whole burnt-offering to his father *Uranus* [c]. This fact our author relates more particularly in another place, ſaying, that it was eſtabliſhed as a cuſtom among the antients, that in all extraordinary calamities of the public, the rulers of a city or nation ſhould give up their moſt favourite child to be ſlain, as an expiation to appeaſe the avenging dæmons; and the victims, in theſe caſes, were butchered with much myſterious ceremony. *Cronus* therefore, called by the *Phœnicians Iſrael*, who reigned there, and was after his death conſecrated into the planet *Cronus* [or *Saturn*], having an only ſon by a certain nymph of the country named *Anobret*, and whom therefore he called *Jeud*, which in the *Phœnician* tongue, at this day, ſignifies *only begotten* ; and the country being involved in a dangerous war, he adorned this only ſon with royal attire, and ſacrificed him on an altar, which he had prepared for that purpoſe [d] (X). *Cronus* was alſo circumciſed in his privities,

[c] SANCHONIATHO apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 36, &c. [d] Idem, apud eundem, l. 1. c. 10. p. 40. & l. 4. c. 16. p. 156.

ing over many gods or kings, can only be underſtood of the large dominion allowed him by *Ham* (70); and we may ſee what ſort of gods they were, when the king of them ſeems to have been but a delegate of *Cronus*, and could not reign without his conſent.

This *Adodus* may poſſibly be the *Adad Joſephus* mentions, whom, together with *Azaël*, the *Syrians* worſhipped as gods, boaſting much of their antiquity ; whereas that author obſerves, they were no other than *Hadad* and *Hazael*, kings of *Syria* (71), who reigned at *Damaſcus*, in the time of *Joram* king of *Iſrael* (72); the firſt of whom had thirty two kings ſerving under him in his army (73), from whence he might have acquired the title of king of the gods, kings antiently having been called gods.

(X) This is thought by ſome men of learning not to be a true account of any ſacrifice really performed, but only a miſrepreſentation of *Abraham*'s intended ſacrifice of his ſon *Iſaac*, with ſome

(70) *Ibid. p.* 173, 236, 256, (71) 2 Kings viii, 7. &c.
(72) Joſeph. *Antiq. lib.* 9 *cap.* 4. (73) 1 Kings xx. 1. 24.

privities, and forced his auxiliaries to do the ſame. And not long after he conſecrated, after his death, another ſon, which he had by *Rhea*, called *Muth*; ſo the *Phœnicians* call *death*, or *Pluto*.

AFTER theſe things *Cronus* gives the city *Byblus* to the goddeſs *Baaltis*, which is *Dione*; and *Berytus* he gave to *Poſidon*, and to the *Cabiri*, and to huſbandmen, and to fiſher-

men,

additions and miſtakes, which the heathen writers frequently made in all their relations (74). The reaſons alledged for this opinion are; 1 *Cronus* ſacrificed his only ſon; ſo was *Abraham* reported to have done. 2. That ſon was called *Jeoud*; and יחיד *Yehid*, or *only ſon*, is the epithet given to *Iſaac* by *Moſes* (75). 3. The mother of this only ſon is the ſame with *Sarah*; *Anobret*, or חנעברת *Anobberet*, ſignifying *conceiving by grace*, as *Sarah* did 4 *Cronus* and his followers were circumciſed; ſo was *Abraham* and his houſehold. 5 *Cronus* was called *Iſrael*, which name the *Canaanites* gave to *Abraham*, from the nation of which he was the father

To theſe reaſons it is anſwered: 1. That the ſacrificers in *Moſes* and *Sanchoniatho* are two different perſons; *Cronus* being plainly *Ham*, and here called *Iſrael* by a miſtake of tranſcribers, who took *Il*, the ſurname of *Cronus*, to be an abbreviation for *Iſrael* (76), as the letters ιλ frequently are. 2. The occaſion of the offerings, and of the circumciſions of *Cronus* and *Abraham* were alſo different; *Cronus* ſacrificed his ſon to remove a war and plague on the country, according to a ſettled cuſtom, and circumciſed himſelf for the ſame purpoſe, to appeaſe an angry deity; but what *Abraham* did was by a ſpecial command from GOD, as an inſtance of his faith and obedience. 3. The perſons to be ſacrificed were different; *Cronus*'s ſon was his only ſon by *Anobret* a *Cananitiſh* concubine; but *Abraham*'s ſon was the only child of his wife *Sarah*, who was of *Chaldea*; and the name of *Anobret*, even according to the above-mentioned derivation, rather ſignifies *a paſſing fair one*, 4. The deities to whom the two ſacrifices were offered were not the ſame; *Abraham* certainly offered to none but the true GOD, *Cronus* to his father and the avenging dæmons (77).

Bochart (78), beſides this notion, that *Cronus* (whom he elſewhere makes to be *Noah*) was *Abraham*, imagines alſo, that the *Canaanites*, miſunderſtanding that paſſage of *Moſes*, where *Abraham* is called a *great prince*, or as the *Hebrew* is, נשיא אלהים *a prince of God*, made a deity of him, dedicating the ſeventh day of

(74) *Vid* Bochart *Canaan*, *l.* 2. *c.* 2. Shuckford's *Connect. vol.* II. p. 30, *&c. and* Dodwell's *Diſc. on Sanchon.* p. 49. (75) *Gen* xxii. 2. (76) *Vid* Grot. *de veritat. rel. Chriſt. l.* 1. § 16. *not.* 50. (77) *Vid* Cumb. *on Sanchon.* p. 134, *&c.* (78) *Ubi ſup.*

the

men, who consecrated the remains (Y) of *Pontus* in, or unto, *Berytus*.

BUT before these things, the god *Taautus*, having formerly imitated or represented *Uranus*, made images of the countenances of the gods *Cronus* and *Dagon*, and formed the sacred characters of the other elements. He contrived also for *Cronus* the ensign of his royal power, four eyes, partly before, and partly behind, two of them winking as in sleep; and upon his shoulders four wings, two as flying, and two as let down to rest. The emblem was, *That* Cronus *when he slept yet was watching, and waking yet slept*: and so for his wings, *That even resting he flew about, and flying yet rested.* But the other gods had two wings each of them on their shoulders, to intimate, that they flew about with, or under, *Cronus*. He also had two wings on his head, one for the most governing part the mind, one for the sense.

BUT *Cronus* coming into the south country, gave all *Egypt* to the god *Taautus*, that it should be his kingdom. These things, saith he, the *Cabiri*, the seven sons of *Sydyc*, and their eighth brother *Asclepius*, first of all set down in memoirs, as the god *Taautus* commanded them.

ALL these things the son of *Thabion*, who was the first hierophant [or director of sacred rites] that ever was among the *Phœnicians*, allegorized; and mixing the facts with physical and mundane phænomena, he delivered them down to those that celebrated *Orgia*, and to those prophets who presided over the mysteries: who always contrived to improve their fables; and so delivered them down to their successors,

the week, and sacrificing their children to him; which is a mere fancy, and without the least ground. A late writer (79) has endeavoured to prove *Cronus*, at least the second of that name (which last he supposes to be the person that sacrificed his only son, though *Sanchoniatho* expressly says, it was the son of *Uranus*), was not more antient than *Abraham*, from the order of *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies, placing *Eliun*'s birth in the time of the *Dioscuri*, who were a generation younger than *Misor*, or *Mizraïm*; but, even in this case, the elder *Cronus* could not be later than *Reü*, who was four generations older than *Abraham*, and therefore much earlier than that patriarch; notwithstanding that, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, they might possibly have lived at the same time; for the same chronology is absurd enough to make *Ham* himself contemporary with *Abraham*.

(Y) This is supposed to be the oldest consecration of relicks to be met with in history (80)

(79) Shuckford *ubi sup.* (80) Cumberl. *on Sanchon.* p. 262.

and to thoſe that were afterwards introduced among them. One of whom was *Iſiris* (Z), the inventor of three letters, the brother of *Chna*, the firſt *Phœnician*; as he was afterwards called[e].

Biſhop Cumberland's *amendments of* Sanchoniatho *conſidered.*

THUS we have preſented the reader with the ſmall remains which are left of the *Phœnician* antiquities, collected by *Sanchoniatho*; wherein a free and open confeſſion is made of the beginning of idolatry, and their gods ingenuouſly acknowledged to have been once mortal men; a thing the *Greeks* were aſhamed to do, and therefore turned all the ſtories of the gods into allegories and phyſical diſcourſes[f]. A late learned prelate (A), who has endeavoured to explain this fragment, and reconcile it with ſcripture, has for that purpoſe made ſeveral corrections and alterations therein; ſuppoſing, that the re-

[e] Idem, apud eund. p. 40, 41. [f] STILLINGFLEET Origin. Sacræ, book 1. chap. 2. §. 7.

(Z) *Iſiris* being here called the brother of *Chna*, or *Canaan*, the biſhop concludes him to be *Miſor*, or *Mizraïm*, the father of *Thoth* (81). He obſerves alſo, that *Hellanicus*, an author older than *Herodotus*, often heard the *Egyptian* prieſts pronounce the name *Oſiris*, *Hyſiris* (82): and ſays, that *Sanchoniatho* repreſented *Iſiris*, or *Mizraïm*, and *Thoth*, as *Phœnicians*, to do honour to his country. And the reaſon why our author calls the ſame perſon in this place *Iſiris*, whom he before called *Miſor*, was becauſe in the preceding part of the work he wrote his name as he found it, thinking he ought not to recede from the records; and here he wrote it as it was ſpoken in his time, thinking, he ought to comply with cuſtom (83). To the objection, that *Iſiris* cannot well be *Mizraïm*, becauſe it is not likely, that he ſhould make the doctrines of religion allegorical, and his ſon *Thoth* ſet them down in a different hiſtorical manner; it is anſwered, *Thoth* might cauſe the *Cabiri* to write this hiſtorical account or explanation before he went to reign in *Egypt*, for a help to his memory, or to ſhew the *Egyptians* the *Phœnician* form of worſhip was elder than their fabulous repreſentations; and that this was not to aboliſh, but to explain the religion eſtabliſhed by his father. Laſtly, All that allegorical ſcene of *Egyptian* ſolemnities delivered by *Plutarch*, cannot be ſo old as *Mizraïm*'s eſtabliſhment, ſince much of it relates to his death, and is owned by *Plutarch* (84) to have been added by *Iſis* (85).

(A) Biſhop *Cumberland*, whoſe notes on this author we have hitherto given, intermixing very little of our own, having reſerved our obſervations for this place.

(81) Cumberl. *on Sanchon.* p. 94, 99, &c. (82) *Vid.* Plutarch. *de Iſide & Oſiride*, p. 364. (83) Cumberl. *on Sanchon.* p. 101, 102. (84) *Ubi ſupra.* (85) Cumberl. *on Sanchon.* p. 103, &c.

cords,

cords, from which *Sanchoniatho* extracted his hiſtory, were corrupted in thoſe inſtances by the *Cabiri*, the firſt writers of them; who in particular ſuppreſſed all mention of the deluge for the reaſons already given (B). The principal corruptions which the biſhop obſerves and would amend are; 1. That *Sanchoniatho* and thoſe he tranſcribes have removed ſeveral perſons out of the line of *Uranus*, and placed them under that of *Cain*, in order to do honour to it; particularly *Miſor* and *Sydyc*, who are placed in the eleventh generation, as ſons of *Amynus* and *Magus*, the biſhop takes to be *Mizraïm* and *Shem*, both of the line of *Uranus*; and he accordingly places *Sydyc* in the ſame generation with *Cronus*, ſuppoſed to be *Ham*, and *Miſor* a generation lower, as the ſon of *Cronus*. 2. That they have introduced *Nereus* and his iſſue, as belonging neither to the line of *Noah*, nor to that of *Cain*, and as contemporaries with *Cronus*'s children: but the biſhop finding *Nereus* to anſwer the deſcription of *Japhet*, better than any of the ſons of *Uranus* mentioned by *Sanchoniatho*, he raiſes him two or three generations higher, and makes him the ſon of *Uranus*; in which two alterations this author's ſcheme principally conſiſts. But however plauſible his hypotheſis may be, on a nearer examination it ſeems liable to ſeveral objections.

FOR as to the reaſon given for the *Cabiri*'s making theſe diſlocations, *viz.* to do honour to the line of *Cain*, it may be aſked, why they, who were of *Uranus*'s line (for they could be deſcended from no body elſe, ſuppoſing him to be *Noah*), ſhould deſire to do honour to that of another, by renouncing their anceſtors? why in doing this did they ſeparate *Miſor* from his father, and deny *Cronus* the honour which they did his ſon? or rather were they afraid *Cronus* would diſgrace the line of *Cain*, and would not have it thought *Miſor* and *Thoth* were deſcended from him, whom yet they acknowledge to be the founder of the *Phœnician* and

(B) But after all, it ſems not neceſſary to ſuppoſe, the *Cabiri* purpoſely omitted to mention the flood, in order to ſuppreſs the memory of that judgment on the idolatrous race of *Cain*; becauſe they might have retorted the reproach on their adverſaries, and pretended their religion to have been that falſe one for which the world was puniſhed; and this might have been the eaſier, conſidering, the tradition concerning that religion muſt have been much more uncertain than that of the deluge, to which a conſiderable part of mankind then living, was able to bear teſtimony. It is more probable, that the writers of thoſe records were entirely ignorant of the deluge; and conſequently that they are not genuine, or of that antiquity which is pretended.

Egyptian nations? how happened it, when they separated *Nereus*, or *Japhet*, from *Cronus*, that they did not make him the same honourable amends as they did his brother *Sydyc* (C), but drop him by the way, two or three generations lower? was he a reprobate not fit to keep company even with *Cronus*? to be serious, it is not to be imagined that *Thoth*, who directed the *Cabiri* to write these records [g], could think it a greater honour to be descended from a person in another line, who makes no figure in the history, than from *Cronus*, so renowned in the antient world: nor could he, as the case stood, have any prospect of concealing his true pedigree, if he were so minded, or the *Cabiri* be supposed to have so little regard to themselves, or their father *Sydyc*, if he were *Shem*, and in all probability still living, as to place themselves in the hateful line of *Cain*. The dislocation of *Misor* is opposed by a circumstance which seems to require that he should belong to the generation where he is placed in the history; for its being said that *Cronus*, when he came to man's age, used the council of *Hermes*, or *Thoth*, who was his secretary, seems to imply, that *Thoth* was a man of more years and greater experience than *Cronus* himself, and consequently could not be his grandson. It is also unlikely, that *Sydyc*, if he were *Shem*, should marry a daughter of *Cronus*, or *Ham*; which the bishop supposes he did to secure his quiet in *Canaan*, upon the presumption, that *Shem* was *Melchizedec* [h], which notion we have already shewn to be groundless [i], and shall consider farther hereafter.

NOR can we approve of another supposition of the bishop's, *viz.* that *Isiris* is the same with *Misor*, because said to be the brother of *Chna*, or *Canaan*; for they are certainly designed to be two persons, differing as well in age as other circumstances. *Thoth* was king of *Egypt* when the *Cabiri* wrote these records at his command; which shews that his father *Misor*, whom the bishop supposes to have been *Menes*, the first king of *Egypt*, who reigned but sixty two years, was dead; as the bishop himself confesses [k]: the son of *Thabion*, who turned the history into allegory, and mixed it with phy-

[g] CUMBERL on Sanchon. p. 104. [h] Ibid. p 200. [i] See before, p. 276. [k] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 95.

(C) The first writers of these memoirs seem to have nothing more in view, by the particulars relating to *Sydyc* and *Nereus*, and their descendants, than to account for the original of the *Cabiri*, and of navigation, and to do honour to *Berytus*, a *Phœnician* city, by making it the prime seat of their religion and trade.

sical

ſical matters, came after the *Cabiri*, and delivered in the new form he had given it to thoſe who preſided over the ſacred myſteries, from whom it paſſed to their ſucceſſors, and to thoſe that were afterwards introduced among them, of whom *Iſiris* was one. So that *Iſiris* ſeems not only to have been ſome generations later than the *Cabiri* and *Thoth*, who reigned but ſixty two years; but alſo to have been no more than one of the *Phœnician* prieſts, and not a king of *Egypt*. Nor is this in the leaſt repugnant to the ſcripture account; it being very probable, that the nation properly called *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, did not take their name immediately from *Canaan* the ſon of *Ham*, but from ſome later deſcendant of his of the ſame name, ſince we do not find the *Canaanites* among his children, or deſcendants, in the place ſet apart for giving an account of them [l]; nor do we hear of them, or the *Perizzites*, another branch deſcended from *Canaan*, before *Abraham*'s arrival in the land of promiſe [m].

MANY more objections ariſe againſt the biſhop's ſcheme, but we think it enough to have conſidered the fundamentals of it, leaving the reader to make his farther remarks from the hints we have given. Upon the whole, we think the hiſtory of *Sanchoniatho* will in no wiſe admit of the corrections the biſhop has made; it may be confuted by ſcripture, but it can never be reconciled with it; the plan is quite different from that of *Moſes*, and ſeems to be grounded upon a very different tradition relating to the firſt ages; if it be not rather a hiſtory framed long after the facts ſpoken of happened, by mixing fable, or invention, with ſome vulgar notions and glimmerings of antient tranſactions, which ſtill remained in the time of the author, or editor, when the genuine and more perfect tradition of things had been loſt.

BUT, before we cloſe this ſection, we muſt not omit mentioning a word concerning the chronology of this hiſtory of *Sanchoniatho*, in which the biſhop ſeems to vary from himſelf. In one place he ſays, it is bounded within the three firſt centuries after the flood, as ending with the beginning of *Thoth*'s reign in *Egypt* [n]: in another, that it ends within four or five hundred years after that event [o]. But the repugnancy is more obvious with regard to *Cronus*, or *Ham*. The biſhop allows in ſeveral places, and thinks it but reaſonable, that *Ham* and the other children of *Noah* ſhould live to near about the ſame age, though he thinks *Ham* did not live altogether

[l] Geneſ. x. 15. [m] Geneſ. xii. 6. and xiii. 7. [n] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 95. [o] Ibid. p. 119.

ſo long as *Shem* [p]. He ſays, it appears plain enough from *Sanchoniatho*, as in fact it does, that *Cronus*, or *Ham*, outlived his father *Uranus*, or *Noah* [q]: and as *Noah*'s death is determined in ſcripture to have happened three hundred and fifty years after the flood, he concludes the life of *Ham* muſt be above four hundred and fifty years [r]. And elſewhere, from the circumſtance of *Chedorlaomer*'s invaſion of *Canaan* [s], concluding *Ham* to be then dead, he fixes his death in the fifth year before *Abraham*'s entrance into *Canaan*, A. M. 2078; that is, in the year of the flood 422 [t]. Notwithſtanding all which, in another place, ſpeaking of the age of *Ham*, he ſuppoſes him and his deſcendants to have ſhortened their days by debauchery, and that he only lived about three hundred years after the flood; and this, ſays the biſhop, may well be granted, becauſe his father lived fifty years longer, as it is certain his brother *Shem* outlived him two hundred years [u]. Such contradictions and miſtakes may the greateſt men run into when they have ſet their minds on an hypotheſis; notwithſtanding which, to do this learned writer juſtice, he has, in his remarks on our author, given great light into the hiſtory of thoſe antient times, and made many valuable obſervations.

SECT. IV.

Of the removal of mankind from about mount Ararat *to the plain of* Shinaar; *and of the building of* Babel.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt 2597.

AS there fall two or three very remarkable events within this period, namely, the building of *Babel* by the poſterity of *Noah*, the confuſion of languages, and the diſperſion of mankind; it is incumbent upon us to give the reader ſome account of thoſe important facts, the effects of which are felt to this day, and were doubtleſs of great benefit to mankind.

The firſt migration of the ſons of Noah *to* Shinaar.

AFTER the death of *Noah*, his ſons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, thought fit to remove, with their families, from the plains near *Ararat*, where we ſuppoſe they till then continued, and, *travelling from the eaſt, found a plain in the land of* Shinaar, *and dwelt there* [w]. The wording of this paſſage has occaſioned ſome doubt, whether by *Ararat* could be meant *Armenia*, ſince then their journeying would have been from

[p] Ibid. p. 103. 119, 120, 123. [q] Ibid. p. 119. [r] Ibid. p. 104. [s] Geneſ xiv. [t] CUMBERL. on Sanchon, p. 123. [u] Idem, Orig. Gent. Antiquiſſ p 172. [w] Geneſ. xi. 2.

the

the north-weſt. Wherefore others, inſtead of *from the eaſt*, render it *eaſtward*. But there is no need to ſtrain the text to explain a geographical difficulty. *Moſes* ſpoke according to the beſt of his knowledge, or perhaps with reference to the wilderneſs where he wrote; from which *Shinaar* lying eaſtward, he might judge *Ararat* lay eaſtward too, as lying farther off: or the difficulty may be eaſily ſolved by ſuppoſing with *Kircher* [x] and others, that as mankind multiplied they ſpread themſelves in the country ſouth eaſtward of *Ararat*, and made ſmall removes between the time of their deſcending from *Ararat*, and their coming to the place from whence they are mentioned to have moved towards *Shinaar*, which might have lain weſtward of that place. But after all, the miſtake ſeems to lie on the ſide of the critics, and not of *Moſes*; for even the mountain, which at preſent paſſes with us for *Ararat*, lies above two degrees more eaſt than the the city of *Shinaar*, or *Senjâr*, from whence the plain in all probability took the name, and if the ſons of *Noah* entered *Shinaar* on the north ſide, they muſt of neceſſity have *journeyed from the eaſt*, or, which is the ſame thing, have travelled weſtward, in order to arrive there; though at the ſame time they muſt have travelled ſouthward too; for *Ararat* lies about north-eaſt by north of *Senjâr*; but all the geographers (*De Liſle* excepted) having drawn that mountain a good way out of its place to the weſtward, the commentators, and hiſtorians who relied upon them, have been embarraſſed to reconcile the words of ſcripture with what they took for certain fact, *viz.* that *Ararat* lay to the weſtward, and not at all to the eaſtward of *Senjâr*.

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IT is hard to determine what were the limits of the land of *Shinaar* (D) in the early times. We are informed from ſcripture, that the city and tower of *Babel* were built in a plain within that province [y], and that *Nebuchadnezzar* carried the veſſels of the temple into the land of *Shinaar* into

The extent and ſituation of the land of Shinaar.

[x] Turris Babel. p. 12. [y] Geneſ. xi. 2, &c. x. 10.

(D) The name in *Hebrew* is שִׁנְעָר *Shinaar*, or *Sennaar*, in *Arabic* سنجار *Senjâr*. *Bochart* ſays, it is derived from נָעַר *naar*, which ſignifies to *ſcatter*, and *diſſipate* (86); and if ſo, it could not have been impoſed by the *Noachidæ* on the plain where they firſt fixed, as *Joſephus* affirms (87), without ſuppoſing them to have foreſeen the diſperſion; to which that etymology, if it be right, plainly alludes.

(16) *Phaleg. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. (87) *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

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Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

the house of his GOD [z], which in all probability was the temple of *Belus* in *Babylon*. Besides *Babel* there are three other cities mentioned in scripture to have been situate in *Shinaar*, *viz. Erec*, *Accad*, and *Calneh* [a]; but as all the four seem to have stood at no great distance from each other [b], we cannot thence judge of the extent of the country. Thus far in general may be presumed, that it took in more to the north of *Babel* than to the south, and that it lay for the most part, though not entirely, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; for *Babylon*, if it was the same with *Babel*, stood on the east side of *Euphrates* (E), which passed along the west side of it, before *Nebuchadnezzar* built the new city on this side that river, which thenceforth ran through the middle of the whole.

WE meet with footsteps of the name of *Shinaar* in those parts, both in antient and modern authors; *Sennaar* of *Babylon* is mentioned by *Hestiæus* the *Milesian* [c], and the city of *Singara* in *Mesopotamia* by several [d]. Some speak of a territory of that name in the same quarters [e]; *Ptolemy* places both the city and mountain of *Singara* there [f]: all which seem to be the same city, mountain (F), and territory, which still bear

[z] Dan. i. 2. [a] Genes. x. 10. [b] See before, p. 272. in the notes [c] Apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. & EUSEB. de pr. ev. l. 9. c. 15. [d] PLINIUS, Hist. Nat. AMMIAN. MARCELLINUS, EUTROPIUS, ATHANASIUS, in Epist. ad solitar. Vit. agent. [e] SEXT. RUFUS, POMP. LÆTUS. [f] Tab. 4. Asiæ.

(E) Among other circumstances it may be observed that the modern travellers represent the *Euphrates* a mile and half broad in those parts; whereas *Strabo* says the breadth of the branch of that river which passed through *Babylon* was but a furlong (88), or the eighth part of a mile; though the bridge according to *Diodorus* (89), was five furlongs in length, if he does not mistake: but supposing the river as broad as the bridge was long, it will be but little more than one third of the present breadth of the *Euphrates*: which yet lower down, at *Hella*, becomes more narrow.

(F) *Haitho* the *Armenian* writes, that in *Mesopotamia* there are two mountains of great length, abounding with fruit trees, the more easterly of which is called *Sinjar*, the other *Lessor* (90); probably the desert, or plain of *Senjâr* lay between these two ridges of hills. We cannot conceive upon what ground *Heidegger* charges *Haitho* with a mistake, as if he made *Sinjâr* a mountain of

(88) *Lib.* 16. (89) *Lib.* 2. (90) Haitho *de Tartaris, cap.* 12. *apud Grinæum, nov. orb.* p. 373.

Chaldæa

bear the name of *Senjâr* in the east [g]. The part of *Mesopotamia* chosen out by the astronomers in the time of the *Khalifah al Mamûn*, for measuring the content of a degree of a great circle, was the desert of *Senjâr* [h]; which the nature of the experiment shews to have been large, as well as a level country: and this we take to have been at least a part of the antient plain of *Shinaar*. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ 2597.

THE city of *Senjâr* stands, or stood, in the northern borders (as we conjecture) of its territory, in the desert, at the foot of a certain mountain (perhaps that of the same name), twenty one miles from *Balad*, and twenty seven from *Mûsol*, which two last are situate on the *Tigris*, twenty one miles asunder [i]. It is said to lie to the southward of *Nisibin*, almost three stages west of the *Tigris* [k], or more particularly of *Mûsol* [l]; so that *Ptolemy* is in the wrong to place *Singara* on that river. As for the difference between the words *Shinaar* and *Singar* it is very small, considering, in the *Hebrew* the same character stands for the *Ain* and the *Ghain* (G). We find *Senjâr* called also by another name, *viz. al Sâmara* [m], which seems to be the contraction of *Sarra-man-rai*, a city on the east of the *Tigris*, three stages above *Baghdâd*, and for a time the seat of the *Khalîfah* [n].

THE sons of *Noah*, upon their arrival in this plain, began to think of building a city and tower. The learned are divided in their opinions about the sense of the passage which gives an account of this enterprize: *And they said go to, let us build us a city and tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth* (o). Many imagine, that the motive which induced them to undertake this building, was their apprehension of a second deluge, and therefore they resolved to *The building of* Babel *began*

[g] GEOGR. NUB. p. 201. THEVENOT, Voyages, part 2. c. 10. [h] Vid. GOL. Not. ad Alfragan p. 72. [i] GEOGR. NUB. p. 201. [k] GOLIUS ubi supra. [l] HYDE de Relig. vet. pers. p. 64. [m] ABU'LFARAG. Hist. Dyn. p. 18. [n] Vid. GOL. ubi supra, p. 130. GEOGR. NUBIENS. p. 203. (o) Gen. xi. 4.

Chaldæa (91): on the contrary, that author seems to have mistaken *Haitho*, and placed what he found in the chapter concerning *Mesopotamia*, as belonging to the foregoing chapter which treats of *Chaldæa*

(G) Thus עמרה may be written either *Gomorrah*, or *Amorrah*, עזה either *Gazah*, or *Azzah*, as we find it in the margin of our Bibles (92).

(91) Heidegg. *Hist. Patr. tom.* I. p. 419. (92) *Genes. x.* 19.

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raiſe a ſtructure of ſufficient height to fly to in caſe of danger [o]. Others think, there is no room for this ſuggeſtion, for in that caſe they would rather have built it on an eminence than a plain, and the ſcripture expreſly aſſigns the reaſon of their ſetting about it, *viz.* to *make them a name*, or leave a memorial of themſelves, *leſt they ſhould be ſcattered*, or, as it is otherwiſe rendered (perhaps to ſerve the purpoſe) *before they ſhould be ſcattered abroad* [p]; which implies, they knew they ſhould be diſperſed before they began to build, being warned by GOD, according to ſome, to ſeparate themſelves into colonies [q]. But a third ſort, to whom the text appears altogether unintelligible, as it now ſtands in the ſeveral tranſlations, will have it, that the word שם *ſhem* ſhould not be rendered *name*, but *ſign*; and ſo the paſſage will run, *let us make us a ſign, leſt we be ſcattered*; that is, as *Perizonius* explains it, the tower was to ſerve them as a beacon, or mark, by the ſight of which, or of a ſignal made from the top of it, they might avoid ſtraying in the open plains with their flocks (the firſt men being ſhepherds), and be brought back to the city which they had built for a place of abode, being unwilling to diſperſe themſelves [r].

Their deſign fruſtrated.

BUT whatever the motives of the chiefs were, which ſeem to be dubiouſly expreſſed in the text, the effect of their conſultation was, that they ſet on foot the building of the city and tower of *Babel*. But this enterpriſe being diſpleaſing in the eyes of GOD, as tending to fruſtrate or delay the execution of his deſign, which was, that mankind ſhould not always continue together in one place, he obliged them to give over their project before they had finiſhed it (H), by confounding their language, ſo that one could not underſtand what another ſaid; from whence the city took the name of *Babel* [s], which ſignifies *confuſion*: whereupon the diſperſion and planting of nations enſued.

[o] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 5. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 50. BASNAGE, Antiq. Judaiques, tom. II. cap. 2. § 27. p. 419. [p] Vid. the vulgat. tranſlat. Gen. xi. 41. [q] USHER's Annals in Engliſh, ad ann. mundi, 1757. [r] Vid. PERIZON. Origin. Babylon. cap. 11. p. 193. [s] Gen. xi. 7, 8, 9.

(H) Some pretend, that the tower was thrown down by tempeſtuous winds, on the builders heads; and that the city of *Babylon* was built out of the ruins (93).

(93) Abyden. *apud Euſeb. de præp. Ev. l.* 9. *c.* 14. & Sibylla, *apud* Joſeph. *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 4.

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THIS great event happened juſt before the birth of *Peleg*, in the year of the flood four hundred and one, when the work, according to ſome, had been carried on twenty two years [t], and according to others forty [u]; ſo that the foundation muſt have been laid ten, or at moſt, but twenty eight years after *Noah*'s death. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

MANY conſidering the confuſion of tongues, and the diſperſion of mankind thereupon, as a divine judgment, have deemed the building of *Babel* an evil attempt (I); and being concerned for the honour of *Shem* and his race, will not allow them to have been preſent at it, ſuppoſing that undertaking to be ſet on foot wholly by the unbelieving part of mankind [w], in which ſenſe they underſtand the words *the children of men* [x]. On the contrary, others will have it, that not only *Shem*, but *Noah* and *Abraham* (who, according to one way of computing the *Hebrew* chronology, were contemporary) aſſiſted in the raiſing of that ſtructure [y], while ſome ſay *Nimrod*, who is generally looked on as the chief promoter of that work [z], retired into *Aſſyria*, becauſe he would not give his aſſent to it [a]. *The time of their enterprize.* *Whether ſinful.*

THAT the building of *Babel* was a thing indifferent in itſelf, and no way ſinful, ſeems evident from the ſilence of ſcripture, which does not condemn that attempt as bold or preſumptuous, or intimate any revelation of a previous command to the contrary, which only could make it criminal. And that the family of *Shem* were concerned in the work as well as the reſt, appears from their ſharing in the puniſhment,

[t] TORNIELLUS, SALIANUS, PERERIUS, &c. [u] SYNCEL. Chronogr. p. 80. EUTYCHIUS Annal. p. 53. [w] MORIN. Exercit. de Ling. cap 8 p. 47. SCOTANUS Hiſt. Sacr p. 48, &c. MARSHAM Chron. Canon. ſecul. 17. p. 478. VON DER HART Ephemer. Philol. Diſc. 3. USSER. Chronol. Sacra, part 1. cap. 5. p. 26. GURTLER. Hiſt. Univerſal. cap. 9. p. 93. BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 10. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 5. [x] Geneſ. xi. 5. [y] ABEN EZRA apud R. Gedal. in Shalſh. hakkab. p. 7. b. [z] JOSEPH. Antiq lib. 1. cap. 5. VON DER HART ubi ſupra. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 4. CONSTANT. MANASS. Annal. p. 14. [a] See before p. 271.

(I) A learned divine of our nation, being of this opinion, ſuppoſes, that this tower, (whoſe pyramidal form, he ſays, reſembles fire, or the conic ſhape of its flame) was a monument erected to the honour of the ſun, as the moſt probable cauſe of drying up the flood (94). But of this there is not the leaſt footſtep in ſcripture.

(94) Teniſon *of idolatry*.

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if it be a puniſhment, that is, the confuſion of tongues; though this is denied by ſeveral [b]; for the languages of *Elam*, or *Perſia*, and of *Aſſyria*, and *Meſopotamia*, were different, as were alſo thoſe even of the deſcendants of *Eber*, the *Arabs*, and *Jews*, whatever others [c] may pretend; and if ſpeaking the *Hebrew* language be a proof, then the *Canaanites* were not concerned in the building of *Babel*, any more than *Eber* and his deſcendants, for their language was the ſame with the *Hebrew*.

But this ſuppoſed abſence of the *Shemites*, as alſo another common opinion, current among thoſe who adhere to the *Hebrew* chronology, that ſeveral nations were planted before the diſperſion, are overthrown by the authority of ſcripture, which ſtrongly intimates, that all mankind then in being, without exception, were aſſembled in the plain of *Shinaar* (H); and

[b] Buxtorf. in Diſſertat. Philologico-theolog. p. 70. Chryſoſtom. Homil. 30. in Geneſ. Fuller. Miſcell. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4. Scotanus, Bibl. Æt. ſec. p. 91. Heidegger. Hiſt. Patriarch. tom. I. Exercit. 16 § 16. Steph. Morin. ubi ſup. p. 44, & 68. [c] Epiphan. apud Glycam, Annal. p. 3. Constant. Manass. Annal. p. 14.

(H) There is not a fact in all the *Moſaical* hiſtory which ſeems to be more firmly eſtabliſhed than this. As ſoon as *Moſes* hath brought the three ſons of *Noah* out of the ark, he takes care to inform us, that of them was the WHOLE EARTH *overſpread* (93). And, after giving us the names of their deſcendants at the time of the diſperſion, he ſubjoins, *and by theſe were the nations divided in the earth after the flood* (94). Then, proceeding to give an account of that memorable tranſaction, he tells us, *That the whole earth was of one language, and of one ſpeech* (95). That as *they*, namely, the whole earth, *journeyed from the* Eaſt, THEY *found a plain in the land of* Shinaar, *and dwelt there; and they ſaid, let us make brick, and build a city and a tower; and the* Lord *came down to ſee the city and the tower which the children of men builded, and ſaid, behold the people is one, and they have all one language* (96). Theſe ſeem to be convertible terms, and import, that as all mankind collected there in one body, had but one language, ſo all thoſe who had but one language, were aſſembled in one body; which argument is the more cogent, becauſe it is allowed on all hands, that there was but one language in the world at the time of the building of *Babel*, which city was ſo called, *becauſe the* Lord *did there con-*

(93) *Geneſ ix.* 19 (94) *Gen. x.* 32. (95) *Gen. xi.* 1. (96) *Ibid. v.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

found

and it is probable, that after the building of *Babel*, *Shem* and his descendants chose, or accepted of, the adjacent country for their settlement [d]. So that the most we can allow, with *Buxtorf* [e] and others, is, that they dissuaded the rest from that enterprise. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

THE reader must needs have a curiosity to see some account of a city and tower which employed all the men in the world for so many years in building them. The scripture informs us, that they made use of burnt brick instead of stone, and slime instead of mortar [f]. According to an eastern tradition, they were three years employed in making and burning those bricks, each of which was thirteen cubits long, ten broad, and five thick [g]. The slime with which these bricks were cemented, was a pitchy substance, or bitumen [h], brought from a city in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, called *Is* [i], or *Hit* (I). The oriental

A description of Babel.

[d] See § 6. [e] Dissertat. Philologico-theol. p. 70. [f] Gen. xi. 3. [g] EBN AMID. p. 14. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 53 [h] JOSEPHUS Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. [i] HERODOTUS Clio, p. 32.

found the language of all the earth, and from thence did scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth (97).

From the beginning to the end of this narration, the connection is so well preserved between the antecedent and the relative, that there is no room to suppose, that any less than all mankind were gathered together in the plain of *Shinaar*, and assisted in the building of *Babel*; and *Moses* seems to have made those unusual repetitions to inculcate the certainty of that fact, and take away all ground for supposing any branch of *Noah*'s posterity were in any other part of the earth at that time. Wherefore the arguments used by some, that the phrase *all the earth*, is often taken in a restrained and improper sense elsewhere in scripture, to signify only a part of the earth 98, and sometimes no more than the land of promise 99; as also that the expression *the children of men*, confines the builders to the unbelieving part of mankind only, because that phrase is also used in such a sense in other places of scripture (1), are of no force here; the sense of the whole (by which that of a part is always to be governed being directly against such a meaning, and this last expression being evidently used only to vary the diction: besides, those who urge this last argument, do not seem to consider, that before the dispersion, infidelity could not well have crept in amongst mankind; who, it is but reasonable to conclude, while they kept together, were united in one faith as well as government.

(I) It is much no modern author, that we know of, excepting *Bochart* (2), out of the many who have occasionally, or professedly

(97) *Ibid. v.* 8, 9. (98 Jerem *li.* 7, 49. *Dan. ii.* 39. (99) *Judg. vi.* 37. 1 *Sam. xvii.* 46. *Isai. x.* 14. (1) 1 *Sam. xxvi.* 19. 2 *Sam. vii.* 14. *Psal. xii.* 1. (2) *Phaleg. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. spoken

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oriental authors say, that the city, built by the sons of *Noah*, was

spoken of *Babylon*, have taken notice of this nice circumstance in *Herodotus*. That prince of historians observes, that by the city *Is*, eight days journey from *Babylon*, there runs a small river of the same name into *Euphrates*, whose waters carry along with them many lumps of bitumen, which are conveyed thence to the Walls of *Babylon*. *Diodorus* says, the quantity of bitumen in those parts is so great, that it suffices the inhabitants not only for their buildings, but for fewel, being dried and burned like wood (3). *Hit* is called *Æliopolis* by *Isidore* of *Charax* (4), who mentions the springs of bitumen near it, and places it on the *Euphrates*, about two hundred and fifteen miles west of *Seleucia*, on the *Tigris*, which agrees better with *Herodotus* than the account of modern authors, who place *Hit* thirty one parasangs, or about one hundred twenty eight miles west of *Baghdâd*, (supposed to stand near, if not in the place of *Seleucia* and twenty one parasangs west of *Ambâr*, once a famous city on the *Euphrates* (5), not far north from *Felujah*, and eight to the north of *Kadesiah*, a town no less remarkable for the battle, wherein the *Arabs* gained the victory, which decided the fate of *Persia* (6).

These springs of bitumen are called *Oyûn Hit*, the *fountains of* Hit, and are much celebrated by the *Arabs* and *Persians*; the latter call it *Cheshmeh kir*, the *fountain of pitch*. This liquid bitumen they call *nafta*, and the *Turks*, to distinguish it from pitch, give it the name of *kara sakiz*, or *black mastic*. A *Persian* geographer says, that *nafta* issues out of the springs of the earth, as ambergreale issues out of those of the sea (7). All the modern travellers, except *Rauwolf*, who went to *Persia* and the *Indies* by the way of the *Euphrates*, before the discovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, mention this fountain of liquid bitumen as a strange thing. Some of them take notice of the river (8) mentioned by *Herodotus*, and assure us, that the people of the country have a tradition, that when the tower of *Babel* was building, they brought the bitumen from hence (9), which is confirmed by the *Arab* and *Persian* historians (10).

Hit, *Heit*, (11), *Eit* (12), *Ait* (13), or *Idt* (14), as it is variously written by travellers, is a great *Turkish* town (15), situate upon

(3) *Lib.* 2. p. 100. (4) *Inter Geog. Vet. Græc. Ed.* Hudsoni, *v.* II. (5) *Vid.* Golij *Not. ad Alfragan. p.* 124, 125. Geogr. Nubiens. p. 199. (6) D'Herbelot *Bibl. Orient. Art. Hit, Ambâr, & Cadessia.* (7) *Apud eundem, ibid. Art. Hit.* (8) Eldred. *See* Hackluit's *Collection of Voyages. vol.* I. (9) *Vid. le Voyage de Persees ann.* 1598 & 1599, *par un Gentilhomme de la suitte du Seignieur Sherley, a la* p. 110 *des Relations veritables & curieuses.* (10) *Vid.* D'Herbelot *ubi sup.* (11 Newberry. (12) Balbi. *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientale, cap.* 4. *Vid. eundem, apud de Brie, India Orientalis, vol* VII. (13) Cartwright & Fitch. (14) Rauwolf. (15) *Idem, in his travels, part* 2. *chap.* 6. p. 163.

the

was three hundred and thirteen fathoms in length, and one hundred and fifty one in breadth; that the walls of it were five thouſand five hundred and thirty three fathoms high, and thirty three broad; and the tower ten thouſand fathom, or twelve miles high [k]: which dimenſions bear no manner of proportion to each other. Even *Jerom* affirms, from the teſtimony of eye-witneſſes who examined the remains of the tower carefully, that it was four miles high [l]; but *Ado* raiſes the height to no leſs than five thouſand miles [m]; but theſe are ſhameful extravagancies. The only account we can depend upon, as to the dimenſions of this tower, ſuppoſing it to be the ſame tower with that which ſtood in the midſt of the temple of *Belus*, afterwards built round it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, muſt be taken from prophane authors. *Herodotus* tells us, it was a furlong in length, and as much in breadth [n] (K); and *Strabo* determines

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[k] EBN AMÎD & EUTYCH, ubi ſupra. [l] HIERON. lib. 5. Comment. in Eſaiam. [m] In Chronica. [n] Lib. 1. p. 33.

the right, or weſt ſide of the *Euphrates* (16); and has a caſtle, to the ſouth-weſt of which (17), and three miles from the town, in a valley, are many ſprings of this black ſubſtance (18), each of which makes a noiſe like a ſmith's forge, inceſſantly puffing and blowing out the matter ſo loud, that it may be heard a mile off; wherefore the *Moors* [*Arabs*] call it *Bâb al jehennam*, that is *hell-gate* (19). It ſwallows up all heavy things, and many camels from time to time fall into the pits, and are irrecoverably loſt (20). It iſſues from a certain lake, ſending forth a filthy ſmoke, and continually boiling over with the pitch, which ſpreads itſelf over a great field that is always full of it. It is free for every one to take; they uſed it to caulk or pitch their boats, laying it on two or three inches thick, which keeps out the water (21); with it alſo they pitch their houſes made of palm-tree branches: if it was not that the inundations of the *Euphrates* carry away the pitch, which covers all the ſands from the place where it riſes to the river, there would have been mountains of it long ſince (22). The very ground and ſtones thereabouts afford bitumen, and the fields abundance of ſalt-petre (23).

(K) The words of *Herodotus* are, Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. *In the midſt of the temple a ſolid tower is built, of a furlong in length,*

(16) Eldred, Balbi, *&c. ubi ſup.* (17) Newberry's *Travels. See* Purchas's *Pilgrims, vol.* II. p. 1412. (18) Eldred *ubi ſupra.* (19) Cartwright's, *or the Preacher's Travels*, p 105. Eldred *ubi ſup* Fitch's *Travels. See* Purchas *ubi ſupra*, p. 1-30. (20 Eldred & Newberry *ubi ſupra.* (21) Fitch & Balbi, *ubi ſup.* (22) Balbi, *ibid.* (23) *Voyage de Perſe, ubi ſupra.*

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determines the height to have been a furlong [o], that is the eighth part of a mile, or six hundred and sixty foot, which is itself prodigious; for thereby it appears to have exceeded the greatest of the *Egyptian* pyramids in height one hundred seventy nine foot, though it fell short of it at the basis by thirty three [p]. It consisted of eight square towers one above another, gradually decreasing in breadth; which, with the winding of the stairs from the top to the bottom on the outside, gave it the resemblance of a pyramid, as *Strabo* calls it [q]. This antique form, joined to the extraordinary height of the structure, easily induces us to believe it to be the same tower mentioned by *Moses*; *Nebuchadnezzar* finishing the design, which the sons of *Noah* were obliged, by the confusion of tongues, to leave unexecuted.

WHAT this most wonderful city was in its flourishing state, and the several changes of fortune which befel it till at length it was totally destroyed, the reader will find remarked in the course of this history. In the mean time, we would willingly gratify his curiosity with some account of the ruins of this celebrated antiquity, which are so defaced, that the people of the country are not certain of their situation; and this has occasioned travellers to differ concerning it. Most of them, led by a tradition of the inhabitants, have judged a place about eight or nine miles to the west, or north-west of *Baghdâd*, to be the tower of *Babel* (L). *Rauwolf* supposes, he found

[o] Lib. 16. p. 1073.

[p] See GREAVES Descr. of the Pyramids, p. 68, 69.

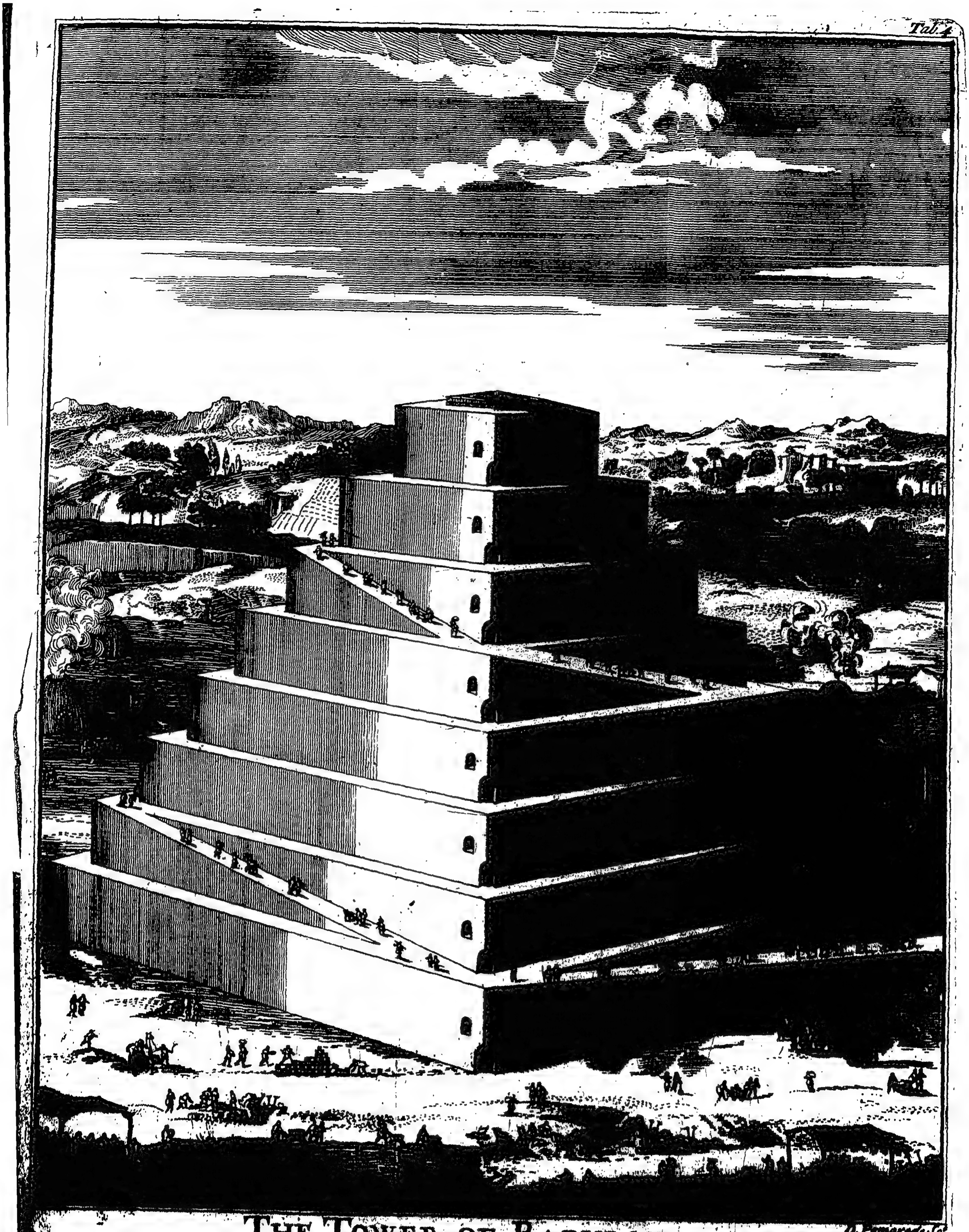
[q] Lib. 16.

and as much in breadth; and upon this tower another tower is erected, and another again upon that, and so on to the number of eight towers. It is true, the word μῆκος, which we here translate *length*, may also signify *height*; but some authors having thence supposed, as the construction seems to require, that the first tower was a furlong high, and concluding the other seven to be of equal height, have made the whole a mile high; to avoid which extravagant consequence, it seems more reasonable to understand *Herodotus* as we have rendered the passage, unless the furlong be taken for the height of all the eight towers.

(L) The name of this monument is variously written by travellers, *Carcuſiate Nemeru* (24), *Karkûf* (25), *Agarcuf* (26); all who mention it call it the tower of *Nimrod*; and we are told, that

(24) Balbi *Viaggio della Ind. Orient. cap.* 5. p. 22. (25) Teixeira *Viage de la India hasta Italia*, p. 130. (26) Tavernier *Voyage de Perse, l.* 2. *c.* 7.

the



THE TOWER OF BABYLON.

found the ruins of *Babylon* upon the *Euphrates*, near *Felujia* Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

the common people of the country believe it to be ſuch (27), and that it is at preſent called *the remains of the tower of* Babel (28). It is ſituate, according to ſome, ſeven or eight miles from *Baghdâd* (29), according to others nine miles (30) towards the weſt northweſt (31): it is conſpicuous at a vaſt diſtance (32), ſtanding by itſelf in a wide plain between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, with nothing great or high about it; which is the reaſon that, contrary to what is generally obſerved in other objects, it appears greater at a diſtance than when one draws near it (33. It is fallen to ruin on all ſides, and hath thereby made, as it were, a little ſhapeleſs mountain (34), which it reſembles more than a tower (35), only it is rather ſquare than round (36).

It is built of ſun-burnt bricks, each a foot ſquare and ſix inches thick (37); ſome ſay three quarters of a yard long and a quarter thick (38); others but ten inches ſquare and three thick (39). Authors differ as to the manner in which theſe bricks are ranged, and the materials made uſe of for ſetting and binding them together: they obſerve firſt that there is laid a bed conſiſting of canes, or reeds bruiſed to pieces, mixed with wheat-ſtraw, and ſpread an inch and half thick (40); ſome call them matts made of canes and palm-tree leaves (41); others ſay only ſtraw the thickneſs of three inches (42), which appear as yellow and freſh as if they were but newly laid (43), and are ſtill very durable (44). Upon this bed lie ſeven ranges of bricks; then another bed of reeds and ſix rows of bricks; then a third bed with five rows of bricks, decreaſing in that manner till you come to the top (45). Some ſay the ranges of bricks are interchangeably ſix and ſeven upon a bed (46); and others place a bed betwixt every courſe of bricks (47); but that is probably a miſtake, though between each courſe of bricks there is laid a little Straw (48), or rather they are ſet in bituminous mortar (49), conſiſting of pitch and earth, for which an inch may be allowed; which is at preſent the faſhion of building at *Baghdâd*, there being

(27) *Idem, ibid.* *The Preacher's Travels*, p. 99, 100. (28) *Ibid.* (29) Cæſar Frederic. *See* Hackluit, *vol.* II. p. 25, & 269. Fitch's *Travels*: *See* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, *vol.* II. p. 1730. Balbi *ubi ſup. cap.* 7. p. 26. (30) Teixeira *ubi ſup.* La Boullaye le Gouze *Voyage*, *chap.* 55. p. 312. (31) La Boullaye le Gouze, *ibid.* (32) Tavernier *ubi ſup.* (33) Balbi *ubi ſupra.* (34) Fitch & Balbi *ubi ſupra.* (35) La Boullaye *ubi ſup.* p. 314. (36) Tavern. *ubi ſup.* (37) La Boullaye *ubi ſup* (38) Cæſar Frederic, & Eldred, *apud* Hackluit *ubi ſup.* Cartwright *ubi ſup.* (39) Tavernier *ubi ſup.* (40) *Idem, ibid.* (41) Cartwright. (42) La Boullaye *ubi ſup.* (43) *Idem, ibid.* (44) Balbi *ubi ſupra.* (45) Tavernier *ubi ſupra.* (46) Boullaye *ubi ſup.* (47) Cartwright *ubi ſupra.* (48) Tavernier *ubi ſupra.* (49) Cartwright *ubi ſup.*

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lujia (M), about thirty six miles to the south-west of *Baghdâd*. And not far off a great lake of pitch (50), probably that of *Hit* before mentioned. There are fifty of these ranges of seven and six bricks, insomuch that the whole height may amount to one hundred and thirty eight feet (51): others say, 'tis reduced to one hundred and eight, or one hundred and twenty feet (52). This heap is in compass a quarter of a mile (53), or at most three hundred paces (54), not a mile, as one writes (55), the rains having washed it away on all sides. It has no entrance (56), being a solid mass, only at the foot of it one sees a *maghára* or lion's cave; and towards the middle there is an opening, which passes quite through the building about a foot and a half square, besides a great window towards the top, into which our author threw a grapple, in order to ascend it, but the bricks giving way had like to have killed him with their fall (57).

Travellers disagree in their sentiments of this tower: one says, it has been so well described by *Moses*, that the sight of the remains and ruins, would make one admire the veracity with which the writings of that great prophet are penned (58); but another declares, that, according to *Moses*'s description, there is no likelihood that this should be the tower of *Babel*; and therefore, rejecting the vulgar opinion of the country, he looks upon that of the *Arabs* to be more probable, who say, it was built by one of their princes for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war (59); and this seems to be the truth of the matter.

(M) *Rauwolf*, a *German* physician, who in the year 1574 passed down the *Euphrates* in his way to *Baghdâd*, being come to a village by him called *Elugo*, and by others, more properly, *Felugia*, which was the landing place for that city, writes thus; "The village of "*Elugo* is situated where formerly *Babylon* stood; but at present "there is not an house to be seen for the shelter of passengers. "The country is so dry and barren that it cannot be tilled; and so "bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent "city (which once was the most stately and famous in the world, "seated in the pleasant and fruitful country of *Shinaar*) did stand "there, if I had not known it by its situation and several delicate "antiquities; which still are standing in great desolation; first by "the old bridge over *Euphrates*, whereof there are some pieces and "arches still remaining a little above where we landed, built of "brick, and of wonderful firmness. It is admirable also how they "could build a bridge here, where the river is so deep, and at

(50) Eoullaye *ubi sup.* (51) *Idem, ibid.* (52) Tavernier *ubi sup.* (53) Cartwright *ubi sup.* (54) Boullaye & Tavernier *ubi supra.* (55) Balbi *ubi sup.* (56) Fitch *ubi sup.* (57) Boullaye *ubi sup.* (58) *Idem, ibid.* (59) Tavernier *ubi sup.*

"least

And *della Valle* was directed, by another tradition, to look for it about two days journey lower (N), near an antient city called

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" leaſt half a league broad; yet in all the way from *Bir* [near " *Aleppo*] where the river is much narrower, we ſaw no bridge. " Near the bridge are heaps of *Babyloniſh* pitch to pay veſſels " withal; and juſt before the village is the hill whereon the caſtle " did ſtand, in a plain, whereon may ſtill be ſeen ſome remains of " the fortification, which is quite demoliſhed and uninhabited. " Not far off, behind it, ſtood the tower of *Babel*, ſtill to be ſeen, " half a League in diameter; but ſo entirely ruined, ſo low, and " ſo full of venomous beaſts, that have made holes through it, " that one dare not approach within half a mile of it, except in " two months of the year, when thoſe animals do not ſtir out (60).

" In the way to *Baghdâd* the road at firſt was very rough and " full of large and ſtately buildings, arches, and turrets ſtanding " in the ſand, whereof many were decayed and lay in ruins; others " pretty entire, very ſtrong, and adorned with artificial work, well " deſerving a more exact inſpection. The ſteeple of *Daniel* is en- " tire, built of black ſtone, and ſtill inhabited. It hath ſome re- " ſemblance for height and building to that of the *Holy Croſs* " church, or St. *Maurice* in *Augsburg:* from it may be viewed all " the ruins of the old *Babylonian* tower, the caſtle hill, together " with the ſtately buildings and the whole ſituation of the old " town very exactly. We reſted, after twelve hours march, near " two aſcents one behind the other, extending themſelves like two " parallel walls with openings in ſome places, which I take to have " been the gates of the old town (61), and the rather, becauſe I " ſaw in ſome places, under the ſand, wherewith the two aſcents " were almoſt covered, the old wall plainly appear—— Our author ſaw ſeveral other antiquities afterwards; but night coming on, in which he groped his way to *Baghdâd*, he loſt them (62); and, in all probability, among the reſt, the tower of *Nimrod*, deſcribed in the preceding note, which lies in this road. A late author has given ſome account of theſe ruins, but is much out as to the ſituation of them, as he generally is in his geography (63).

(N) *Della Valle*, who was at *Baghdâd* in the year 1616, was above five days travelling between that city and the ruins of *Babel*, which he went to ſee, taking the way, by the river ſide through *Ruſwania*, a village in *Thevenot*'s time the landing-place for *Baghdâd* (64) inſtead of *Felugia*, which is not far off; though in his return, taking the ſhort cut through the plain, he arrived at *Baghdâd* in two days, from which city this ruin lies ſouth-weſtward,

(60) *See his Travels part* 2. *chap.* 7. p. 164. (61) *Ibid.* p 166. (62) *Ibid.* p. 167. (63) Mac Gregory, *in his Sepulchres of the antients*, p. 48. (64) *See* Thevenot's *Travels, part* 2. *book* 1. *chap.* 9. p. 40.

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called *Hella*, situate upon the same river. Here also must be placed or more to the south. "In the middle of a vast and level plain, "says that excellent traveller, about a quarter of a league from "*Euphrates*, which in that place runs westward, appears a heap "of ruined buildings like a huge mountain, the materials of which "are so confounded together that one knows not what to make "of it. Its figure is square, and rises in form of a tower or py- "ramid, with four fronts which answer to the four quarters of the "compass; but it seems longer from north to south than from east "to west, and is, as far as I could judge by my pacing it, a large "quarter of a league. Its situation and form corresponds with "that pyramid which *Strabo* calls the tower of *Belus*, and is in all "likelihood the tower of *Nimrod* in *Babylon*, or *Babel*, as that place "is still called. In that author's time, it had nothing remaining of "the stairs and other ornaments mentioned by *Herodotus*, the "greatest part of it having been ruined by *Xerxes*; and *Alexander*, "who designed to have restored it to its former lustre, was pre- "vented by death. There appear no marks of ruin, without "the compass of that huge mass, to convince one so great a city as "*Babylon* had ever stood there; all one discovers within fifty or "sixty paces of it, being only the remains here and there of some "foundations of buildings, and the country round about it so flat "and level, that one can hardly believe it should be chosen for the "situation of so great and noble a city as *Babylon*, or that there "were ever any remarkable buildings on it: but for my part I am "astonished, there appears so much as there does, considering, it is "at least four thousand years since that city was built, and that "*Diodorus Siculus* tells us, it was reduced almost to nothing in his "time. The height of this mountain of ruins is not in every part "equal, but exceeds the highest palace in *Naples*; it is a mishapen "mass, wherein there is no appearance of regularity; in some "places it rises in points, is craggy and inaccessible, in others it is "smoother and is of easier ascent; there are also tracts of torrents "from the top to the bottom caused by the rains, and both with- "inside and upon it one sees parts, some higher and some lower. "It is not to be discovered whether ever there were any steps to "ascend it, or any doors to enter into it; whence one may easily "judge, that the stairs ran winding about on the outside, and "that being the less solid parts, they were soonest demolished, "so that not the least sign of any appears at present.

"Within side one finds some grottos, but so ruined that one "can make nothing of them; and it is a doubt, with regard to "some of them, whether they were built at the same time with "that work, or made since by the peasants for shelter, which "last seems to me the most likely. The *Mohammedans* believe, "that these caverns were appointed by GOD as places of punish- "ment to *Harût* and *Marût*, two angels, who, they sup- "pose, were sent from heaven to judge the crimes of men, but did

"not

placed the ruins described by a late traveller (*) into these parts. We have inserted in the notes abstracts of the several accounts; but must acquaint the reader, that they do not any of them seem to us to be the remains of the original tower, but rather some later structures of the *Arabs*.

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" not execute their commissions as they ought It is evident from " these ruins, that the tower of *Nimrod* was built with great and " thick bricks, as I carefully observed, causing holes to be dug in " several place for the purpose; but they do not appear to have " been burnt, but dried *in the sun*, which is extreme hot in those " parts. In laying these bricks neither lime nor sand was employ- " ed, but only earth tempered and petrified; and in those parts " which made the floors, there had been mingled with that earth, " which served instead of lime, bruised reeds or hard straw, such as " large mats are made of, to strengthen the work. Afterwards " one perceives at certain distances in divers places, especially " where the strongest buttresses were to be, several other bricks of " the same size, but more solid and burnt in a kiln, and set in good " lime or bitumen; nevertheless, the greater number consists of " those which are only dried in the sun. I make no doubt, but this " ruin was the antient *Babel* and the tower of *Nimrod*; for besides " the evidence of its situation, it is acknowledged to be such by " the people of the country, being vulgarly called *Babil* by the " *Arabs* (65).

This is the account of that curious traveller, whose painter, by his directions, had drawn the plan and several prospects of the ruins, which we do not find were ever published in any edition of his works; but *Kircher*, in his *Turris Babel*, has given two of them. However, after all, this seems to be only such another modern structure, built by the *Arabs* for a watch-tower, as that already described.

(*) This gentleman (66) hath by his penetration, made something of this rude mass, and discovered a great resemblance between it and the tower of *Belus*, as described by *Herodotus*, though it does not answer in dimensions. He distinguishes between the first original design upon which it was antiently begun, and the second different design upon which it was continued; it being built partly after one design, and partly after another. The original design our author describes to be a high tower, exactly square, in form of a pyramid; the length of one of whose sides at the base being two hundred and forty three *Babylonish* foot, each of which is equal to a *London* foot and two inches, it must be in compass two hundred and twenty six geometrical paces and four foot, or a little more than the fifth part of an *English* mile. The perpendicular height was intended to be likewise two hundred and forty three foot, equal to the

(65) *Vid Viaggi di* Pietro della valle, *part* 2. *Lett.* 17. (66) Mac Gregory *in his Sepulchres of the antients*, p. 35, &c.

root of the ſquare, and the oblique height two hundred ſeventy one foot and a half. The whole being a maſs, or heap of brick and bitumen-work, incloſing a ſolid hill and rock. The execution of this firſt deſign (ſo far as it was executed) is in this manner: it is divided into nine parts, which are, as it were, ſo many ſquare towers, in form of parallelopipeds, or flat cubes, one raiſed above another pyramidically, each twenty ſeven foot in height, but gradually diminiſhing in breadth as many foot, ſo as to make a gallery, or walk, quite round on the top of the tower below, and by the ſides of the other above, thirteen foot and a half broad. The laſt and higheſt tower was to have been an exact cube twenty ſeven foot ſquare, and as many high.

This ſtructure is built with bricks of earth hardened with fire, each nine *Babyloniſh* inches ſquare, and three thick, laid in bitumen mixed with ſtraw, or reeds, to the thickneſs ſometimes of three quarters of an inch, and ſometimes of three inches, in the following order: firſt there is a bed of bitumen mixed with reeds three inches thick, then a row of ſo many bricks as make up the ſquare likewiſe three inches thick: next is another bed of bitumen mixed with ſtraw, three quarters of an inch thick, then a row of bricks as before; and ſo alternately a bed of bitumen and ſtraw, and a range of bricks ſeven times more, ſo as to make up in all from the baſe the height of three foot; then a new bed of bitumen mixed with reeds three inches thick being laid, the whole is repeated in the ſame order eight times more, ſo as to compleat twenty-ſeven foot, which is the height of the firſt tower. The next five towers are raiſed in the ſame manner; the ſtructure ſo far, being one hundred and ſixty two foot high, or two thirds of the whole, was built by *Nimrod*; but it was afterwards continued by *Ninus Belus* upon a ſecond and different deſign, which was that of a tower, exactly round, in form of a cone, or round pyramid, of the ſame dimenſions with the former, divided likewiſe into nine towers gradually diminiſhing in the abovementioned proportions, of which the laſt and higheſt would be a cylinder, or round tower, twenty ſeven foot in diameter, and as many in height. In purſuance of this ſecond deſign, two round towers were built on the ſixth ſquare tower; the ſecond of which round towers (the diameter of whoſe baſe is fifty four foot) or eight of the whole, has a temple practiſed, or contrived in its ſolidity along with the execution; which temple is likewiſe round, twenty ſeven foot diameter, and the ſame in height; with an entry, or door, made in the [weſt] ſide towards *Babylon* nine foot ſquare, and thirteen and a half long, and a round opening, or, as it were, a window in the top nine foot diameter; the floor both of the temple and entry being plain, the ſides perpendicular, and the roof arched; the arching being contrived in the uppermoſt third part of the height. This was built by *Ninus Belus*, who died before it was finiſhed, when the ſtructure was raiſed to the height of two hundred and ſixteen foot, or juſt eight ninth parts of the whole: and though it wanted only one ninth part, which was the laſt and ſmalleſt of all, the compleating of it was never

never afterwards thought on more by any of his ſucceſſors. So that it ended with a round flat of fifty four foot diameter, with the aforeſaid window of the temple in the middle, and ſtill continues ſo. And this tower, as well as the temple, has ſerved as a model ever ſince for all nations to imitate, eſpecially the temple, which has conſtantly been followed by thoſe of all religions, who have always built their temples round with an overture at the top, except the *Goths*, who introduced the figure of *Noah*'s ark in their churches. Though as to the overture, or window, it is a difficult queſtion among the architects, whether it was deſigned, or happened by the tower being left unfiniſhed, and wanting the laſt ninth part, which, according to the original deſign, was to terminate it; and if ſo, would have ſtopped or covered that overture. It is commonly ſaid to have been deſigned ſo, and *Moſes* ſeems to have been of that mind, when giving an account of what followed upon the confuſion of *Babel*, he ſays, the further building of the city was given over, but is ſilent as to that of the tower, becauſe perhaps he reckoned it had been compleated. Yet it is certain, from the knowledge of the deſign, that it never was compleated, and that the overture happened by chance, as before obſerved: beſides, there are ſome temples of the ſame times to be ſeen in and about the ruins of *Babylon*, particularly that of *Ninus Aſſur*, done by his wife *Semiramis*, where there is no ſuch thing; which makes it more probable that it was not deſigned: though the greateſt part of the *Babylonian* temples of thoſe times we ſee, have it, which renders the matter again ſomething doubtful.

Before *Ninus Belus* began the before-mentioned temple, he made a ſepulchre for his father *Nimrod* at the bottom of the tower, cut out of the rock, at the bottom of the little hill which is incloſed by the tower. This burying place is a double grot, conſiſting of two ante-grots one within another, and ſix ſepulchres, or ſmall grots, in each, two on each inner ſide (67); the ſepulchres being eight foot long, ſix foot broad, and as many high; and their doors, or entries, cut upon the ſame level, four foot long, three broad, and three foot high. Within the ſepulchres, on the right hand, is a levée, or ſeat, the whole length of the ſepulchre, three foot broad, and one and a half high, left uncut of the rock for laying the dead body on (68). This ſepulchre was made by hollowing a paſſage into the tower after it was built, as appears by the face of the opening, which is irregular, and the bricks and earth broken. This overture was made through the brick-work and earth of the one to ſerve as an avenue, or paſſage, leading to the entry of the other, made through the rock on the ſame ſide towards *Babylon* (69).

This antiquity is defaced ſomewhat on all the four ſides, eſpecially on the north and weſt, where the corners and edges of the parts are much decayed, and the body of the bricks worn away into a channel, or hollow, between the beds of bitumen, which with the reeds and ſtraw incorporated with them, continue firm and entire;

(67) *Ibid*, p. 18. (68) *Ibid.* p. 14, 15. (69) *Ibid.* p. 28.

neither

SECT. V.

Of the confusion of tongues.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

BEING in this section to give some account of the confusion of tongues, it may be expected, we should first say something about the origin of speech; one of the most distinguishing differences between us and the animal creation; the great bond which holds society together, and the common conduit whereby the improvements of knowledge are conveyed from one man, and one generation to another.

Of the original of speech.

If the authority of *Moses* be conclusive, it seems not to be denied, but that speech was the immedate gift of God to the first man: not that we suppose God really inspired him with any distinct, or primitive language; but that he made him sensible of the power with which he was endued, of forming articulate sounds (O), and the use he might make of them

neither time, weather, nor any other accident having been able to make an impression on them. The people of the country have dug caves in it to retire to, and those who conduct passengers from *Bahgdâd* to see it, break off pieces in one place to add to another, in order to make steps and hand-grips to render the going up and down it safe. So that the face of the antiquity is now very much changed from what it was, the lowermost ninth part [or tower] being entirely hid under ground by the earth and ruins: in short it is so disfigured, that one must be at a great deal of pains to find out the architecture of it; and travellers, for want of being properly qualified, not knowing what to make of it, have given imperfect and confused accounts of it (70). As to the situation of this ruin, which seems to be the same with that already described by *della Valle*, whom he mentions (71), he is very much out in it, since he places it twenty seven miles to the south-west of *Baghdâd*, and but twenty nine to the north-west from the castle of *Corna*, at the confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* (72), whereas *Corna* is at least one hundred and eighty miles distant from that city.

(O) We cannot conceive, that inarticulate sounds were ever made use of by any nation to communicate their thoughts; nor that there are any instances thereof to be found, notwithstanding what some travellers have related concerning several remote people. We are told, the *Samoyedes*, inhabiting the coasts of *Siberia*, and the icy sea, have nothing human about them, except their outward form; and that the uncertain sound they utter has no more the re-

(70) *Ibid.* p. 42, 43, 44. (71) *Ibid.* p. 35. (72) *Ibid.* p. 28.

semblance

them as ſigns of his ideas, and then left the arbitrary impoſition of them to *Adam* himſelf (P), as is intimated by GOD's bringing the beaſts and birds to him *to ſee what he would call them: and whatſoever* Adam *called every living creature, that was the name thereof*[r]. So that, excepting the firſt impulſe of the Almighty, informing *Adam* of his natural power, we are inclined to think, that ſpeech was attained by gradual invention of arbitrary ſounds, to denote firſt the moſt obvious things, and after the leſs obvious, as they came to be taken notice of. That it is poſſible *Adam* might attain the uſe of ſpeech by this method, we preſume none will deny; and if it be poſſible, we are ſure, it muſt be the moſt reaſonable and probable to all, but thoſe who are for multiplying of miracles needleſly.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

WE cannot therefore approve of the opinion of thoſe who imagine, that GOD himſelf formed the body of a language, and then infuſed it into *Adam* (Q). Beſides, the much greater

[r] Geneſ. ii. 19.

ſemblance of ſpeech than the chattering of apes (73): that the natives of *Greenland* uſe a ſound like beaſts, ſo uncouth, that no *Dane*, or *Dutchman* could ever yet imitate it (74); and that the ſpeech of the *Hottentots* comes nearer the gobling of turkies than a human voice, though perhaps it may be intelligible among themſelves (75). But it may be queſtioned, whether theſe authors were proper judges in the caſe, as not being acquainted with the languages of thoſe nations: and the rather, becauſe upon enquiry, we are credibly informed, that the language of theſe laſt, though commonly thought to be the moſt inarticulate of all others, is not a deſpicable one; and that thoſe of the *Dutch* ſettlement at the *Cape* of *Good Hope* underſtand, and ſpeak it tolerably well.

(P) *Mohammed* in his *Korân* ſuppoſes *Adam* came by the names of things no otherwiſe than by revelation. That book pretends, that the angels at the creation of man expreſſing ſome contempt of him, GOD taught *Adam* the names of things, and then demanded of the angels how thoſe things were called; which they confeſſing to be above their knowledge, GOD ordered *Adam* to name them to them, which he did; and the angels afterwards, at GOD's command, paid their homage to *Adam* as their ſuperior (76).

(Q) The words which are generally tranſlated, *man became a living ſoul* (77), the *Chaldee* paraphraſts render, *viz. the breath breathed into him by* GOD, *became in man a ſpeaking ſoul.* Moſt of

(73) Ides, p. 94. (74) Ten Rhyne, p. 844. (75) Nieuhoff, p. 188. (76) *Al Korân, c. 2. ver.* 30, *&c.* (77) *Geneſ. ii.* 7.

the

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greater part of the primitive tongue, whatever that was, and the names of many things and operations must have been imposed several ages after *Adam*'s creation, as mankind became acquainted with them, and arts and conveniencies of life were invented. The birds and beasts indeed it is natural to suppose *Adam* might immediately name, the kinds not being many; but we do not think, he went so far as to name every species of them, much less all the reptiles, trees, or plants, though some of the most familiar to him no doubt he did. The fish we presume no body will imagine were brought to him to be named; and if they had by miracle appeared before *Adam*, no doubt *Moses* would have mentioned it, the fish of the sea being the first part of the creation, the dominion of which was given by GOD to man [r].

IT has however been thought by great numbers, that the first language was of divine formation; and of this sentiment *Plato* himself seems to have been, who supposed, that the names of things originally had some natural connection or congruity with the things themselves, and that the first names must have been justly imposed, because they were imposed by the gods (R) [t]. And partly from this notion, in all pro-

[r] Genes. i. 26, 28. [t] PLATO in Cratylo. Vid. eund. in Protagora.

the *Jews* suppose the first tongue (which they all imagine was their own) was formed and created by God himself, and so communicated to *Adam* (78). Some of them think this was done by generally acquainting him with the roots and fundamental parts of the tongue only (79); others in a more special and paticular manner, by revealing to him the whole extent and propriety of the language, even the letters, points, and accents (80).

This notion, which some christians embraced, and particularly *Eunomius*; who, because GOD is introduced by *Moses* as speaking before the creation, held, that there was in words a certain eternal and immutable nature, was strenuously opposed by *Gregory* of *Nyssa*, who declared it a silly, ridiculous, and blasphemous opinion to imagine, the great GOD would condescend to turn grammarian, and set himself down subtilly to invent names for things (81).

(R) The words of this philosopher are; Ὀνόματος ὀρθότητα εἶναι ἱκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων φύσει πεφυκυῖαν (82). And after; ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα οἱ θεοὶ ἔθεσαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ἔχει (83).

(78) Sepher Cozri. (79) R. Is. Abravanel. (80) R. Juda Hallevi. Muscat. Ephodius, &c. (81) Greg. Nyssen. *contra Eunom. l.* 21. (82) *In Cratyl.* p. 383. *Ed. Serrani.* (83) *Ibid.* p. 425.

bability

bability, arose those superstitious pretences of the holiness of one tongue above the rest, as being formed by GOD.

As we cannot see any necessity for supposing the inspiration of a language, so neither can we imagine, that *Adam* could attain the use of speech so soon as is represented to us by *Moses*, without divine assistance. We might suppose indeed, that mankind might of themselves, by degrees, form a perfect language; for when men wanted signs to express their ideas, and convey them to the understanding of others, they could find none more fit for that purpose, or which required less difficulty to invent, or labour to form, than articulate sounds; but to frame a number of them sufficient even for the few occasions of the first men, must necessarily have taken up a considerable time; for which reason those who were unacquainted with the *Mosaical* writings, have imagined, that men were at first no better than mute animals, till at length convenience taught them the use of speech (S). Several of the antients were of opinion, that men, in the beginning of the world, expressed their thoughts by dumb signs, or gesticulation only,

(S) This notion *Horace* has expressed in the following lines:

Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum ac turpe pecus,——
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenere (84).

When animals crawl'd forth from parent earth,
A vile dumb herd they were———
'Till words were found, to utter what they thought,
And names were set on things.———

And *Lucretius* to the same purpose:

At varios linguæ sonitus natura subegit
Mittere, & utilitas expressit nomina rerum (85).

Kind nature pow'r of framing sounds affords
To man; and then convenience taught us words. *Creech.*

The latter also ridicules those who suppose speech the invention of one man (86).

(84) Horat. *Serm. l.* 1. *Sat.* 3. *ver.* 99, &c. (85) Lucret. *de rerum nat. l.* 5. *ver.* 1027, &c. (86) *Ibid. ver.* 1040, &c.

or

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or elſe by confuſed ſounds of no ſignification; and afterwards endeavoured at a language, by impoſing diſtinct names on things, which was not brought to any tolerable perfection but by a long courſe of time [u].

The firſt language conſiſted of few words

IF we conſider the primitive ſtate of *Adam*, and the few things he had occaſion to name, it cannot be conceived, that his language at firſt was very extenſive; for were we to expunge out of our lexicons all words introduced by the gradual invention of arts to ſerve the convenience of life, by accurate diſtinctions of the ſeveral ſpecies of creatures, and metaphyſical conceptions about the operations of the mind, we ſhould find the remainder contained in a very ſmall compaſs; ſo that it muſt neceſſarily be ſeveral ages before a language could be compleated to any degree, in compariſon to our modern tongues. *Scaliger*, agreeably to this notion, divides ſpeech into three ſorts or degrees, as formed either for neceſſity, uſe, or delight: the firſt is that imperfect ſpeech, or rather eſſay towards ſpeech, above-mentioned, ſerving as the means of neceſſary intercourſe between man and man. The ſecond was ſomewhat more refined and poliſhed, by being adapted and made fit for uſe and convenience, and by applying certain dimenſions, bounds, and lineaments to the firſt rude ſketch; whence aroſe a certain rule of ſpeaking. The third ſort was yet more polite, there being added to the former the ornament of elegance as its dreſs [w].

Whether more tongues than one before the flood.

WHETHER there was more than one language before the flood is a thing about which we are perfectly in the dark; though it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that there was but one, in which it is poſſible there might be ſome difference in dialect, but none conſiderable; for the few ages between the creation and the flood, and the long lives of the antediluvians, would effectually prevent any great alteration. However that be, it is probable only one language, and that the primitive, was preſerved by *Noah*, or at leaſt was ſpoken by his deſcendants till the confuſion of tongues at *Babel* (T).

[u] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 8. Vid. LACTANT. de vero cultu, l. 10. [w] SCALIGER in POETIC. l. 1. c. 1.

(T) Suppoſing there were more tongues than one before the flood, and that *Noah* and his three ſons could ſpeak them all, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that they taught but one common tongue to their children, who propagated the ſame among their deſcendants; ſo that, the reſt expiring with thoſe firſt patriarchs, there remained but one language amongſt mankind at the building of *Babel*.

IT

IT may be expected that we ſhould here enter into a formal enquiry concerning the primitive tongue, and endeavour to determine what particular language it was that the firſt progenitors of mankind ſpoke. But as this is an enquiry rather of curioſity than uſe, and we cannot be certain whether that language, whatever it was, be now in being [x]; the moſt we can do will be to ſhew the vanity of the pretenſions of thoſe languages which have laid claim to this honour, as a great number have done; each nation being fond of it, as an undeniable evidence of their own antiquity (U); though they generally argue in a circle, and urge their antiquity as a proof of the former.

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Enquiry concerning the primitive tongue

BESIDES thoſe kindred languages we commonly call the oriental tongues; the *Armenian*, the *Celtic*, the *Coptic*, the *Greek*, the *Teutonic*, and the *Chineſe* have aſpired to the preference in this reſpect. The *Armenian*, *Celtic*, and *Coptic*

Several languages claim this honour.

[x] Vid. GROT. in Geneſ. xi. 1. & CLUVER. GERM. Antiq. l. 1. c. 8. p. 59, 60.

(U) *Pſammitichus*, a king of *Egypt*, appears to have been of this opinion; for wanting to know who were the moſt antient people in the world, after ſeveral fruitleſs experiments he at laſt hit on the following expedient. He took two infants newly born, and gave them to a ſhepherd to be brought up, commanding him not to ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak a word in their hearing, but to nurſe them in a ſolitary cottage, by bringing them goats to ſuck, till they could take other food. *Pſammitichus*'s intention herein, was to find out what word the children would firſt utter when they began to articulate; imagining, as others have ſince done, that they would naturally ſpeak the primitive language, if not taught otherwiſe. At two years end, as the ſhepherd one day entered the cottage, he had no ſooner opened the door, than the children ran to him, and holding out their hands, cried *Beccos*. Of this the ſhepherd at firſt took no notice, but afterwards obſerving they frequently repeated this word at his coming in, he acquainted the king with it, and by his order brought the children into his preſence. *Pſammitichus* having himſelf heard them pronounce the ſame word, inquired whether any nation made uſe of it; and finding the *Phrygians* called *bread* by that name, he and his ſubjects allowed this to be a proof that the *Phrygians* were the more antient people. *Herodotus* remarks, that the *Greeks*, among other ridiculous things reported, that theſe children were brought up by women, whoſe tongues had been cut out by the king's order for that purpoſe (87). The *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes* (88) tells the ſame ſtory of another king of *Egypt*, named *Seſonchoſis*.

(87) Herodot. *Euterp. in initio. Vid.* Suidam, *in voce* Βικκιοίλλαι.
(88) *In Nubes, p.* 149, 150.

have

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have little evidence to produce besides the antiquity of their nations; though the former insist, that as the ark rested in their country, and *Noah* and his children must have continued there for some time, before the lower and marshy country of *Chaldæa* could be fit to receive them, it is therefore reasonable to suppose they left their language there. The *Greek* some writers have fancied to be the most antient, because of its great extent and copiousness [y]. The *Teutonic*, or that dialect of it which is spoken in lower *Germany* and *Brabant*, has found a strenuous patron[z], who has endeavoured to derive even the *Hebrew* itself from that tongue. And the pretensions of the *Chinese* have been supported[a] not only from the great antiquity of that nation, their early acquaintance with arts and sciences, and their having preserved themselves so many ages from any considerable mixture or intercourse with other nations; but also from the nature and singularity of the tongue itself, which consists of few words, all monosyllables, is most simple in its construction, having no variety of declensions, conjugations, or grammatical rules; and so modest, that it is said, they have no character to express those parts which we industriously conceal [b]: all which are conceived to be strong marks of its being the first language of mankind: besides the presumption, formerly mentioned, of *Noah*'s being the founder of the *Chinese* nation [c].

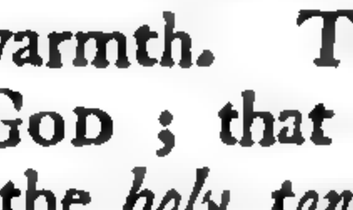
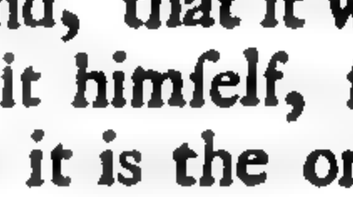
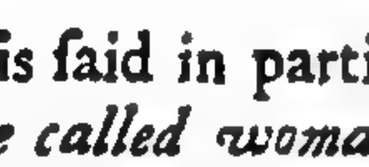
As to the oriental languages, though they have each of them their partisans, yet the generality of *Eastern* authors allow the preference to the *Syriac*, or that dialect of it which was spoken in *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldæa*, and *Assyria*, in which countries mankind made their first settlements after the flood, and where it is presumed the language of *Noah* and his sons remained. For which reason the more judicious *Arab* writers acknowledge *Yarab*, the son of *Kahtân* (or *Jerah*) the son of *Joktan*, to be the first whose speech deviated from the *Syriac* to the *Arabic*; and little regard the pretences of some of their countrymen, that their language was spoken by *Adam* before the fall, and then changed into the *Syriac*, but restored again upon his repentance; that notwithstanding in time it degenerated again into the same language, and would have been utterly lost, had it not been preserved by the elder *Jorham*, who escaped with *Noah* in the ark, and propagated it among his posterity [d].

[y] EUTYCH. Annal. p. 50. [z] GOROPIUS BECANUS, in Origin. Antverp. [a] Vid. WEBB's Essay towards the primitive language [b] SEMEDO Rel. de la Cina, parte I. c. 11. [c] See before, pag. 254, &c. [d] Vid. POCOCK. Orat. præf. in Carmen Tograi, & Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 38, 40.

THE

THE patrons of the *Syriac* tongue have, as another evidence of its right to the precedency, endeavoured to derive the names of perſons and places mentioned by *Moſes* from that language [c], and generally with better ſucceſs than ſome writers will allow (X): but this argument, though commonly looked upon as concluſive, yet proves nothing of itſelf, as will be hereafter obſerved. However, thus much we muſt in juſtice acknowledge, that if any of theſe tongues in particular may claim to be the original, or mother of the reſt, it ſeems to be the *Syriac*; which was probably ſpoken by all the patriarchs from *Noah* to *Abraham*, that being, after the confuſion, the tongue of the country where they were born and lived; though, it muſt be confeſſed, it will not thence follow, that it was in uſe there before the confuſion. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt 2597.

BUT the *Jews* are they who aſſert the antiquity of their tongue with the greateſt warmth. They pretend, that it was immediately framed by GOD; that he ſpake it himſelf, for Hebrew which reaſon it is called the *holy tongue*; that it is the only language underſtood by the angels, and wherein we can pray [c] Vid. THEODORET. quæſt. 51. in Geneſ. *The pretenſions of the tongue conſidered.*

(X) It is ſaid in particular that the *paronomaſia*, in this paſſage, *ſhe ſhall be called woman* [אישה *Iſhſhah*], *becauſe ſhe was taken* [מאיש *me-iſh*] *out of man* (89), is not preſerved in the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* tranſlations, which inſtead of *Iſh* and *Iſhſhah*, uſe the words בעל *Baal* and אחתא *Itta* or  *Gabro* and  *Atto*: whence ſome have concluded, that the tranſlators were not able to expreſs the alluſion in the *Syriac* tongue (90): but this is a miſtake, for the *Syrians* from the maſculine  regularly form the feminine  *Gbarto*; which word is to be found in their lexicons and grammars, though it be antiquated, and therefore not made uſe of by the tranſlators. It is likewiſe objected (91) with as little foundation, that *Adam* does not ſignify *man*, nor *Cain poſſeſſion*, in that tongue. We may obſerve hereafter, that ſome names in *Moſes* are more happily derived from the *Syriac* than the *Hebrew*.

(89) *Geneſ. ii.* 23. (90) *Vid.* Heidegg. Hiſt. *Patr. tom.* I. *Exercit.* 16 § 13. Nicholſon *Diſſert. philologic. de univ. totius orbis linguis*, p. 4. (91) Heidegg *ubi ſup.*

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and be heard with effect [f]. And several christian writers [g], abating these superstitious fancies of the *Jews*, have acknowledged and maintained, that the *Hebrew* tongue is the most antient in the world; the very same which was spoken by *Adam* and *Noah*, and preserved in the family of *Eber*, who were not concerned in the building of *Babel*, nor consequently shared in the punishment inflicted on those that were. But as we have already shewn this to be a groundless imagination, we shall proceed to consider their principal argument (and indeed the only one which deserves any consideration), drawn from the etymologies of the names in *Moses*; some of which that inspired writer himself derives from the *Hebrew*, and the rest are generally supposed to have been taken thence likewise.

AND here it cannot be denied, that several proper names of persons and places, before the confusion of tongues, may be very regularly derived from the *Hebrew*; and that there are some very pertinent reasons given, and allusions made by the sacred historian to evince their propriety, and the relation they have to the person, or place designed by them: and this is the most that can be allowed; for though all the names in general, mentioned by *Moses* before the division, may possibly be forced from some *Hebrew* root or other, yet much the greater part of them seem to be insignificant, at least to have no congruity with the subject; nor can it be expected they should, unless we either imagine all such names, as seem to relate to a future part of a person's life, were given by the spirit of prophecy; or else allow them to be imposed after the events, which occasioned them, happened, and so to be rather surnames than proper names; a concession which manifestly weakens the argument drawn from them.

THUS much being premised, it will be easy to shew, that this demonstrative argument, as it is called [l], will not bear examination. For, 1. It is not certain that the names used by *Moses* were the very original names themselves, and not translated by him from the primitive tongue into *Hebrew*, or at least somewhat altered, to accommodate what he wrote to the understandings of the *Jews*. And how inconsistent soever some may think this method with historical veracity,

[f] Vid. BUXTORF. de ling. Hebr. orig. [g] CHRYSOST. Homil. xxx. in Genes. xi. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. 17. c. 11. ORIGEN. in Numer. Hom. xi. HIERON. Comment. in Sophon. Vid. etiam SELDEN. de Synedriis vet. Hebræor. l. II. c. 9. BOCHART. Phaleg, l. 1. c. 15. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patriarch. tom. I. Exerc. 16. & alios pene innumeros. [l] ABRAVANEL.

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it has been frequently practiſed by prophane as well as ſacred hiſtorians, as has been undeniably proved [m]: and *Moſes* himſelf has given a plain inſtance of his approbation of ſuch changes, in altering his own name, which was of *Egyptian* original, to adapt it to a *Hebrew* etymology (H). 2. Suppoſing the names given by *Moſes* were the true original ones, it would not be ſtrange at all, if ſome of them might by accident aptly admit of a *Hebrew* derivation; ſuch caſual conformities ſometimes happening in words which are certainly known to be of different origins. 3. Several of thoſe names are more pertinently derived from ſome other of the oriental tongues than from the *Hebrew* (I): and not a few of the etymologies which *Moſes* himſelf gives us, are deduced without any regard at leaſt to the preſent rules of analogy (K). 4. A

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[m] Vid. PLATON. in Critia. GROT. in Geneſ. xi. 1. & de veritate rel. Chriſt lib. 1. HUET. in Demonſtr. Evang. prop. iv. c. 13. § 4. CLERIC. diſſert. de Lingua Heb.

(H) The original name is *Moüſe*, or (as it is in the *Coptic* verſion) *Moüſes*, with the *Greek* termination, and compoſed of two *Coptic*, or old *Egyptian* words, *moü*, *water*, and *ſe*, to *preſerve*. But *Moſes* finding the *Hebrew* verb משה *maſha*, *to draw out*, bore ſome reſemblance in ſound to his name, and in ſignification to the occaſion of it, writes it משה *Moſheh*; and introduces *Pharaoh*'s daughter giving this reaſon for her impoſing it, becauſe משיתיהו *maſhitihu*, *I drew him* out of the water (1).

(I) Thus *Abel*, or *Hebel*, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *vanity*, or *a vapour*, ſeems a name not very appoſite to *Adam*'s ſecond ſon, and therefore *Moſes* has given no reaſon for its impoſition. But if it be derived from the *Syriac* יהב איל *Yhab îl*, which anſwers to the *Latin* name *Deus dedit*, it is very proper; and accordingly in the margin of a manuſcript copy of *Abu'lfaragius*, we find the name of *Abel* interpreted in *Arabic* هبة الله by that of *Hebatallah*, *the gift of* GOD.

The name of *Babel* itſelf, which the *Hebrew* text tells us was ſo called becauſe GOD did there בלל *balal*, i. e. *confound* the language of all the earth (2), may likewiſe more naturally be derived from the *Syriac*, in which tongue *balbel* is *to confound*, and *boblo*, or *bobel*, *confuſion*.

(K) We ſhall inſtance in the names of *Noah* and *Abraham*. The former was ſo called, becauſe, ſaid his father, ינחמנו *yenahamenu*, *he ſhall comfort us*, &c. (3). But if his name were derived from the root נחם *niham*, *to comfort*, it ſhould have been *Nohem*, or *Menahem*, not *Noah*, which can regularly come from no other verb than נוח *nuah*, *to reſt*; and the *Septuagint* have

(1) *Exod. ii.* 10. (2) *Geneſ. xi.* 9. (3) *Geneſ. v.* 29.

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4. A few lucky *paronomasiæ*, or allusions, are no proof in this case, because they may happen by accident; and in fact, some of those mentioned by *Moses* may be expressed in other tongues as well as the *Hebrew* (L).

THIS argument has been farther enforced from the significancy of the names of several animals in the *Hebrew* tongue, which are thought to have been imposed by *Adam*, because of some peculiar qualities in the animal to which they were given, correspondent to their respective roots[n]: but since the same may be as justly asserted of most other languages as the *Hebrew*, it will conclude nothing. Besides, we are much deceived if we imagine (as has been yet generally supposed), that the verbs were really the original roots of the *Hebrew* tongue; on the contrary the greatest part of them, at least, were themselves at first derived from nouns, though they be now for grammatical convenience considered as the roots (M).

[n] Vid. BOCHART. Hierozoic. & HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 1. Exerc. 16. § 16.

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therefore, instead of *he shall comfort us*, rendered it διαναπαύσει *he shall cause to rest*, &c. which has induced some learned men (4) to think the antient and true reading was יְנִיחֵנוּ *yanihenu*. And *Philo Judæus* and St. *Jerom* translate the name *Noah*, *rest*.

The name of *Abraham* was changed from *Abram*, which signifies *high father*, by inserting only the letter *H*, because he was to be made אַב הֲמוֹן *Ab hamon*, *the father of a multitude* of nations (5): according to which etymon he should rather have been called *Abhamon*, or *Abham* (though we know some fancy the letter ה was inserted from the word רַב *rab*, *many*). But the names of these two persons, especially the latter, being too famous and well known in the east to admit any considerable change, *Moses* was therefore obliged to retain them, and give the best etymology he could from the *Hebrew* tongue. We might offer a more plausible one, of the name *Abraham* from the *Arabic*, wherein أبو رهام *Abu rohâm* signifies *the father of a multitude*, did we not consider, that it is one of those casual resemblances we have already mentioned, and most certainly false.

(L) As *Adam*, which name is an appellative, common to all the species, was so called from *adamah*, *the earth*, so the *Latins* called man *homo*, which the best etymologists derive from *humus*, *the ground* (6). Yet we cannot think any body ever dreamed from hence that the *Latin* was the primitive tongue.

(M) Many examples might be given of the verbs being manifestly derived from, and posterior to, the noun, in all the oriental

(4) Grotius *ad loc.* & Lud. Cappel *Critic. Sacr. l.* 4. *c.* 8.
(5) *Genes. xvii.* 5. (6) *Vid.* Vossii *Etymol. ling. Lat.*

tongues:

On the whole it muſt be acknowledged, that no concluſive argument for the antiquity of any language can be drawn from etymologies, which ought, on all occaſions, to be urged with great caution, being for the moſt part uncertain and precarious.

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SOME learned men however have endeavoured to derive all languages in general from the *Hebrew*, which they imagine to be the parent of all others [o]. That they ſhould ſucceed very well, in finding a great conformity between that and the other oriental tongues, is no wonder, ſince they are manifeſtly ſprung from one common original; though it be difficult, if not impoſſible, to diſtinguiſh the mother from the daughters. That they have alſo given tolerable ſatisfaction, in deducing from the ſame tongue ſeveral words, not only in the *Greek* and *Latin*, but in ſome other *European* languages, is not matter of much ſurpriſe, conſidering the great intercourſe ſeveral nations of our continent had with the *Phœnicians*, whoſe mother tongue was the *Hebrew*. But when theſe writers venture out of their depth, and pretend to deduce the more remote languages from the ſame fountain, they only ſhew their ignorance, and make themſelves ridiculous to all who have but a moderate ſkill in thoſe tongues; for a proof of which we could produce a multitude of examples from a celebrated and laborious work of that kind [p]. As to the peculiar excellencies found in the *Hebrew* tongue by ſome of its patrons, and which they imagine to be an additional proof of the juſtneſs of its pretenſions, we may ſay ſomething hereafter, when we come to give an account of this language.

Whether all other tongues may be derived from the Hebrew.

IF the *Hebrew* tongue therefore cannot make good its claim, we may, without taking the pains to refute what has been ſaid in favour of the other pretenders, conclude, that the primitive language was entirely loſt at *Babel*, at leaſt that no one can now tell where it was preſerved, which is much the ſame thing.

THE ſpeaking one common language (though it might be of advantage to mankind in other reſpects) yet, being the great obſtacle to that diviſion of them into diſtinct nations, which GOD had for moſt wiſe purpoſes reſolved on [q], he thought fit to break this bond which held them ſo ſtrictly to-

The confuſion of tongues.

[o] Vid. HEIDEGG. ibid. § 18.

[p] THOMASINI Gloſſar. Univerſal. Hebr.

[q] Geneſ. xi. 6.

tongues: ſo in *Engliſh*, *dog*, *duck*, &c. were certainly firſt impoſed as names, and afterwards uſed as verbs, to expreſs actions proper to thoſe creatures.

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gether, and confound their language, that they ſhould not underſtand one another's ſpeech; the natural conſequence of which was, that they were ſcattered abroad upon the face of all the earth [r]. This event is mentioned by prophane hiſtorians, who write, that mankind uſed one and the ſame language, till the overthrow of the tower of *Babylon*; at which time a multiplicity of tongues was introduced by the gods: whereupon wars enſued, and thoſe, whoſe ſpeech happened to be intelligible to each other, joined company, and ſeized ſuch countries as they chanced to light upon [s].

How effected.

As to the degree of this *Babyloniſh* confuſion, and the manner wherein it was effected, there is great diverſity of ſentiments. Several learned men, prepoſſeſſed with an opinion, that all the different idioms now in the world did at firſt ariſe from one original language, to which they may be reduced [t], and that the variety, which we find among them, is no more than muſt naturally have happened in ſo long a courſe of time, ſuppoſing a bare ſeparation of the builders of *Babel* [u], have been induced to believe, that there were no new languages formed at the confuſion, but that the moſt that was done was only to ſet thoſe builders at variance, by creating a miſunderſtanding among them (N). This ſome think to have been effected without any immediate influence on their lan-

[r] Ibid ver. 7, 8. [s] Abydenus apud Euſeb. de præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 14. Sibylla & Hestiæus, apud eund. ib c. 15. & apud Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. [t] Stiernhielmius præfat. in Evang. Ulfilæ. p. 4 [u] Vid. Heidegg. ubi ſup. Exerc. 21. § 21.

(N) To ſupport this opinion it is ſaid, that the *Hebrew* word שפה *ſhaphah*, *lip*, which we render *language* and *ſpeech* (7), rather ſignifies *agreement*, or *unanimity*, and is equivalent to פה אחד *Phe chhad*, i. e. *one mouth* (8), which is juſtly tranſlated *with one accord*. But this latter is an adverbial expreſſion, which the other is not: nor does it follow, that *one lip* muſt import the ſame thing as *one mouth*; the only paſſage that has been produced as an inſtance of its being uſed in that ſenſe (9), being far from proving any ſuch thing (10). Another text has been alledged which ſeems to favour this interpretation much more; it is where *David*, praying againſt his enemies, begs of God to *divide their tongues* (11), that is, *to ſet them at variance*. But this cannot be *Moſes*'s meaning here, becauſe he immediately explains what he means by *one lip*, by adding, *and of one ſpeech*, or more literally, *of the ſame words* (12).

(7) *Geneſ. xi.* 1, 6, 7. (8) *Joſh. ix.* 2. 1 *Kings xxii.* 13. (9) *Iſai xix.* 18. (10) *See Dr.* Wotton's *Diſc. on the confuſion of languages, p.* 9. (11) *Pſal. lv.* 9. (12) *Geneſ. xi.* 1.

guage

guage [u], which ſeems contrary to the words and obvious intent of the ſacred hiſtorian: others have imagined it brought about by a temporary confuſion of their ſpeech, or rather of their apprehenſions, cauſing them, while they continued together, though they ſpake the ſame language, yet to underſtand the words differently [w]. A third opinion is, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and perhaps ſome new words, which diſturbed and perverted the former manner of expreſſion: and this might occaſion different dialects, yet could not create new languages [x]. But none of theſe explications ſeems fully to anſwer the apparent deſign of *Moſes*, which was not only to inform us, how mankind were at firſt diſperſed and broken into ſo many different nations, but to account for the diverſity of their languages; a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible to do, without having recourſe to ſome extraordinary interpoſition of the divine power. For though time, intercourſe with foreign nations, commerce, the invention and improvement of arts and ſciences, and the difference of climates (O) cauſe very conſiderable alterations

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[u] CLERIC. Comment. in loc. Vid. Pere SIMON, Hiſt. Crit. du vieux. Teſt. l. 1. c. 14. [w] Judæi apud J. C. SCALIGER. Exercit. in Cardan. 259. § 1. [x] Is. CASAUB. Diatribe de ling. Heb. Vid. M. CASAUB. de quatuor ling. p. 17, & ſub initio.

(O) It has been thought by ſeveral, that the air or climate of ſome countries diſpoſes the inhabitants to a peculiar pronunciation, and renders them unapt for the uttering certain ſounds or letters: whence, as they imagine, it comes to paſs, that ſome languages are ſo full of gutturals, or of conſonants, while others have ſcarce any of the former, and comparatively few of the latter; that the *Ephraimites* could not pronounce the letter *Shin* (13); and that the *Chineſe* find ſo much difficulty in the letter *R*, and the *Arabs* in *P*, *&c.* But we are far from being ſatisfied, that this difference is cauſed by any quality of the climate; on the contrary, it is much more reaſonable to believe, that ſuch varieties in tongues and dialects, are perfectly caſual, no one language comprehending all the ſeveral ſounds, ſome making greater uſe of one ſound, and ſome of another; and that a man accuſtomed from his infancy, for that reaſon and no other, to a peculiar pronunciation, muſt needs find it hard to imitate even the eaſieſt and ſeemingly moſt natural ſound, that is not agreeable thereto. Thus the *Hurons* in *America*, who have no labials at all in their language, and therefore when they ſpeak have no occaſion ever to ſhut their lips (14), would not ſoon

(13) *Judges xii.* 6. (14) Reland. *Diſſert. de ling. Americanis*, p. 219.

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tions in languages, yet the utmost effect we can imagine them to have will not come up to the question [y]. We cannot conceive a language can thereby be so much disfigured, that all the general marks and characteristics should disappear. It is not easy to apprehend how all the words of a language should be entirely changed for others; nor is there any one instance to be given of any such total change: but it is next to impossible to conceive, that so great a diversity as we find in the frame and constitution of languages, wherein the grand and essential differences between them consist, rather than in the words which compose them, (as may be observed in the accounts we shall hereafter give of the several languages, of which we have any knowledge) could ever have been occasioned by the causes assigned above. The present diversity of tongues in the world is prodigious [z]; and considering the time that has elapsed since the building of *Babel*, and the alterations made in some known languages in the course of one, two, or three thousand years, (which alterations we constantly find greater or less, in proportion to the intercourse the nation has had with foreigners) and considering that there are many tongues, which when compared with others have not the least affinity, so that a man must be the greatest visionary in the world to imagine them the offspring of the same parent, it seems to us that the variety of idioms now spoken can be no way possibly accounted for, without either approving the preadamite system, or allowing a formation of new languages at *Babel* [a]. A very learned man, who warmly espouses the notion of deducing all languages from one, is yet so sensible that exceptions must be made, that he himself excludes the languages of *America* and of the *Indian* islands out of the number; adding, that some have thence rashly imagined, that the men who speak those tongues are of a distinct species, and not the descendants of *Adam* [b]; which concession is enough to overthrow the hypothesis he would maintain.

[y] See Dr. WOTTON's Disc. concerning the conf. of languages, p. 57. Dr. BRETT's Essay on the conf. of lang. p 62, &c. [z] Vid. CALVIN. in Genes. xi. 1, 2. [a] Vid. Dr. WOTTON, ubi sup. p. 36. Dr. BRETT, ubi sup. & DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 8. [b] STIERNHIELM. ubi sup.

be brought to pronounce any one letter of that organ: yet experience shews us how readily and perfectly a child, whose organs are free and not stiffened by long habitude to a peculiar utterance, learns to form strange sounds, which a grown person is not perhaps able to do with the utmost pains and application.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER argument againſt the formation of new languages at *Babel*, which has been thought to be of ſome weight, is, that if ſuch a diviſion of tongues be underſtood, no good reaſon can be given why thoſe colonies, which ſpoke languages that were near a-kin, were not removed to the greateſt diſtances, and thoſe whoſe languages were entirely different, placed next one onother[c]. To this it may eaſily be anſwered, that there is no neceſſity of ſuppoſing every family had a diſtinct language, or that the ſeveral dialects of the mother tongues were formed at the confuſion. The diſperſion might at firſt be effected without ſuch an abſolute ſeparation of families derived from the ſame ſtock: mankind was not then ſo numerous, but that it would be ſufficient to cut off the communication, between the three great branches and their prime families, by the introduction of new tongues, which alone we contend was the work of GOD; for dialects we allow might, and neceſſarily would, be formed by time. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

UPON the whole, we think we may reaſonably conclude, with a very learned perſon, whoſe ſentiments on this head we entirely approve, that upon the confuſion of *Babel* there were new languages framed; which languages have been the roots and originals, from which the ſeveral dialects that are, or have been, or will be, ſpoken as long as this earth ſhall laſt (P), have ariſen, and to which they may with eaſe be reduced [d].

IN what manner theſe new languages were formed is a queſtion hard to be determined; it ſeems by the *Moſaical* account, which is ſo ſolemn, and repreſents GOD as coming down in perſon to view the work of theſe builders[e], that it was the immediate act of GOD; and ſome have thence concluded, that he effected it by inducing an oblivion of their former tongue, and inſtantaneouſly infuſing others into their minds, according to their ſeveral nations[f]. The *Jews* imagine this was done by the miniſtry of angels, ſeventy of whom deſcended with GOD, and were each of them ſet over a nation to which they taught a peculiar language; but *Iſrael* fell to the lot of his own inheritance, *the* LORD's *portion being his*

[c] RELAND apud WOTTON, ubi ſup. p. 61. See alſo STILLINGFLEET. Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 5. § 3. [d] WOTTON, ubi ſup. p 29. [e] Geneſ, xi. 5, &c. [f] PERERIUS in Geneſ. lib. 16. diſp. 9.

(P) Perhaps we ſhould except thoſe languages, which, it is ſaid, have been invented and made by mutual agreement, ſuch as the *Chineſe*, and that of the *Yncas* of *Peru*; of which more in a proper place.

people

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people[g], and therefore, they say, they retained the primitive tongue[h]. Others have supposed, that GOD did no more than cause them to forget their first language, leaving them to form new ones as they could[i]; but this must have taken up some time, and could not answer the immediate occasions of mankind. As it would be to little purpose to enquire so curiously into this matter, as some have done[k], the best we can do is to conclude, that it was effected instantly, in a way and manner of which we can give no account[l].

The number of languages formed at Babel; *and the consequence of the confusion.*

IT would be of as little use to collect the several opinions, in relation to the number of languages formed at *Babel:* we may as well allow the number of seventy, just mentioned, as any other. We only know from *Moses*, that the *Canaanitish* or *Hebrew*, the *Syriac*, and *Egyptian* languages were formed so soon as the time of *Jacob*[m]. It is most probable, that the languages of the chief families were fundamentally different from each other, and that the sub-languages, or dialects within each branch, for the sake of immediate intercourse, had a mutual affinity, some more, some less, according as they settled near, or farther from each other. And this was sufficient to bring about the designs of GOD, to divide mankind into distinct societies, kingdoms, and commonwealths; and thereby to occasion the making of wholsome laws, the keeping of strict discipline, the encouragement of labour and industry, of liberal arts, and all social virtues, and the suppression of such vices as weaken government, and introduce a corruption of morals. All which opened a new scene of providence, with a surprising variety of wisdom, in the government of the world[n].

SECT. VI.

Of the dispersion of mankind, and the planting of nations, in the two first general migrations.

Of the dispersion.

COMING now to speak of the dispersion of mankind, which was the consequence of that confusion of tongues we considered in the last section, we beg leave to premise

[g] Deut. xxxii. 9. HAKKAB. p. 93, &c.

[h] ELIEZER Pirke, c. 24. SHALSHEL.

[i] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. Tom. I. Exerc. 21. § 19.

[k] Vid. BUXTORF. Dissert. de Ling. Hebr. confusione & plurium lingu. origine.

[l] MERCER. in loc.

[m] Vid. Genes. xxxi. 47. xlii. 23.

[n] See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 332.

something

something as to the time, order, and other circumstances of that event.

THE primitive fathers distinguish between the division of the earth, and the dispersion of mankind, and made them two different transactions. They suppose, that *Noah*, to whom the earth was well known before the flood, as proprietor of the whole world, divided it among his three sons (A), before any of their posterity removed to *Shinaar* (B), from whence they were afterwards dispersed to take possession of their respective shares [a]. This *Noachical* division, as groundless as it is, was so firmly believed, that one author condemns the contrary opinion as heretical [b]. *Salianus* [c], according to this distinction of the fathers, makes the dispersion happen about the middle of *Peleg*'s life, though he places the division in his first year.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

OTHER writers have supposed a double dispersion, one at the birth of *Peleg*, and the other of the builders of *Babel* [d]; and an historian of some antiquity seems to have imagined, that mankind increased so very fast, that they had peopled

Not different from the division in the days of Peleg.

[a] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. t. I Exerc. 22. § 9. [b] PHILASTRIUS Brixiens. Hæres. 11. 8. [c] Annal. Eccles. [d] SPANHEIM. Hist. Eccles. col. 291, 292.

(A) The opinion of *Epiphanius* (1) on this occasion is very singular; he maintained, that they cast lots for their shares in the city of *Rhinocorura* or *Rhinocolura*, in the confines of *Egypt* and *Palestine*. He seems to have been led into this notion by the *Septuagint* translation, where the words נחל מצרים *nahal Mizraim* (2), which signify *the torrent of* Egypt, are rendered *Rhinocolura*, expressing (as *Jerom* observes) *not so much the words of scripture as the sense of the words*. Whence he concluded *Rhinocolura* was in *Hebrew* called *Nahal*, which he interprets a *Lot*; as if that city had taken its name from *Noah*'s dividing the earth by lot among his sons at that place. But he is mistaken in the signification of that word, as a learned man has shewn (3).

(B) What gave occasion chiefly to this notion, was also a wrong understanding of the *Hebrew* text (4), which the *Septuagint*, instead of *lest we be dispersed*, have rendered *before we be dispersed*; from whence the fathers imagined, that *Noah* not only gave orders to the families sprung from him to separate, but actually gave to each of them a certain portion of the earth; and that before they obeyed his commands, they undertook to build the tower of *Babel*, as a monument of their having once dwelt together.

(1) *In Ancorat. c.* 114. *Hæres* 66. § 83. Syncell. *p.* 45. *b.* (2) *Isaiah xxvii.* 12. (3) Heidegg. *Hist. Patr. t.* I. *Exerc.* 22. § 10. (4) *Genes. xi.* 4.

several

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

several countries and islands, and built several towns before they laid the foundation of *Babel*; absurdly bringing them together again at that place, on purpose to be dispersed a second time, according to the *Noachical* partition [e]. But the more received opinion [f], and the most agreeable to scripture, is, that the division of the earth in the days of *Peleg*, and the dispersion of mankind at *Babel*, were one and the same transaction.

The time of the dispersion fixed.

THOSE who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, are driven to great straits to fix the time of this event. Some, in order to reconcile the sacred history with the prophane, or led by some fancies of their own, hold a dispersion or plantation of countries, even before the birth of *Peleg*. Sir *John Marsham* is of this number; he, to reconcile the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* chronologies, will have *Menes* to have been the same with *Ham*, who, in the earliest times after the deluge, travelled, as he supposes, into *Egypt*, settled there with his children, and was the first king of that country [g]. Others, on the contrary, place the dispersion at *Babel* towards the end of *Peleg*'s life; for being unable, by any fair calculation, to find people enough to furnish colonies for a plantation of nations at his birth, which according to the *Hebrew* falls in the year of the flood 101, they are obliged to maintain, that his name was given him prophetically long before the dispersion began, in order to make it fall in such a part of his life as would allow time for propagating a sufficient number of mankind for the purpose. The *Jews* place it in the last year of his life [h], wherein they are followed by St. *Jerom* and several of the christian chronologers. Others fix it at various periods towards the middle of his age [i]; *Petau* about his 52d year, or 153 years after the flood; *Cumberland* about his 79th year, or the 180th after the flood [k]; *Salianus* and *Kircher* [l] in the year of the flood 275; and *Usher* in one passage seems to place it after the birth of *Rëû* [m], which fell out in the 30th year of *Peleg*'s age, or 131st of the flood, without mentioning the precise time; though elsewhere he is of opinion it ought to be referred to the time of *Peleg*'s birth [n]. Thus those who follow the *Hebrew* account, seem to be agreed only in

[e] SULPIC. SEVER. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. Vid. HORNIUM in eundem. [f] Vid. USSER. PETAV. COCCEIUM. NATAL. ALEX. &c. [g] MARSH. Canon. Chron. Secul. 1. p. 23. [h] R. DAVID GANZ. ad ann. 1996. SEDER OLAM RABBA in ipso initio. SHALSHEL. HAKKAB. p. 7. [i] CORNEL. A LAPIDE, TORNIELLUS, ABU'LFARAG. p. 11. [k] Orig. gent. Ant. p. 150. [l] See his Turris Babel, cap. 8. p. 20. [m] Ad ann. mund. 1757, & 1787. [n] Chronol. Sacr. part 1. cap. 5. p. 26.

not

not connecting the diſperſion of *Babel* with the birth of *Peleg*; which yet the ſcripture requires to be placed at that juncture [o]. For if by *the days of Peleg* are to be underſtood the whole life of the man, or the middle, or the latter end of it, then *Peleg* will have nothing peculiar to deſerve the name; becauſe in that ſenſe the diviſion happened *in the days of* all his progenitors, and even of *Noah* himſelf: therefore it muſt have been peculiar to *Peleg* alone, of all the family of *Eber* or *Shem*, to be born juſt at the very time of the diviſion, or diſperſion of *Babel*; from whence, with very good reaſon, he had that name given him by his father [p].

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

PERIZONIUS, who finds himſelf obliged, by the authority both of ſcripture and reaſon, to place the *Babyloniſh* diſperſion at the time of *Peleg*'s birth, to ſolve the difficulty, endeavours to prove, that neither the ſcripture ſuppoſes any great number of people in being at that juncture, nor did the nature of the tranſaction require it; the firſt plantations being made with only a few, and thoſe ſmall families, which removed no farther than the countries in the neighbourhood of *Shinaar* [q]. But after all, though he thinks the *Hebrew* copy ought to be followed, yet he acknowledges, that the interval between the flood and the age of *Abraham* ſeems to be too ſhort, according to that chronology [r]; and that is the only interval wherein it differs from the *Samaritan* after the flood.

IN a word, the diſperſion is the *Scylla* and *Charybdis* of thoſe who adhere to the *Hebrew* chronology: according to which, if any regard be had to prophane hiſtory, that event muſt be carried higher than the birth of *Peleg*; and if a proper number of people be required for planting nations, it muſt be brought down a good way below his birth, if not to the time of his death; which happened within ſixty years of the time wherein the *Samaritan* chronology places his birth (the true epocha of the diſperſion): a plain demonſtration of the defect of the one, and of the truth of the other computation.

Of the number of mankind at the diſperſion.

HAVING ſettled the time of the diſperſion at *Babel*, let us next enquire into the number of mankind then in the world. Some authors, imagining that a greater part of the earth was planted in this firſt diſperſion, than we are obliged, either by ſcripture or reaſon, to believe, have endeavoured to ſwell

[o] Vid. JOSEPH. ANTIQ. l. 1. c. 7. AUGUST. de Civit. Dei lib. 16. cap. 2. MERCERUM & MUSCULUM in Geneſ. POSTELL. de orig. c. 20. BEROALD. PERKINS, BROUGHTON, PERER. & USSER. Chronol. Sacr.. ubi ſup. [p] Vid. PERIZON. Orig. Babylon. cap. 14. p. 314 [q] Vid. Eund. ibid. p. 309, 310. [r] Ibid. p. 316.

their

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

their calculations as much as ever they can: and several, as if the whole earth was to be peopled at once; whilst others would reduce the number of mankind to a smaller sum than the occasion seems to have required: but a medium is to be observed between these two extremes.

IN this enquiry no computation can be made from the number of persons, mentioned in scripture, as concerned in this first dispersion, which are but fifty three, excluding *Noah* and his three sons; and if we have recourse to the number of generations, we shall meet with less satisfaction still from that quarter, for they were but three at most; *Eber*, the father of *Peleg*, (who could not be a leader in the dispersion, because it happened at his birth) being but the third from *Shem*: there are likewise only three generations mentioned in the line of *Ham*, and but two in that of *Japhet*: so that if we were to confine our calculation to that standard, it would fall vastly short. But as there were certainly many more generations procreated between the flood and the dispersion, the time that intervened ought therefore to be considered, as well as the longevity of those who lived in the first ages after the flood.

THE chronologers (who have drawn this enquiry into their own province) have suited their calculations according to their different hypotheses. Some, relying too much on the prophane historians, have taken such a method as might account for the early beginning of monarchies, and the great armies set on foot by *Ctesias* and his followers in the time of *Ninus*, whom many take to be *Nimrod*, or at least his son. But the *Hebrew* chronology lays them under a difficulty which they cannot get over, by contracting the space between the flood and the birth of *Peleg* to 101 years; for if the calculation produces at that period such a number of men as they judge necessary, the world will be over-stocked with inhabitants, by the natural increase of the first planters, in a very few ages after; and if it be proportioned to the number of mankind in the succeeding ages, the number procreated at the dispersion must be excessive small: wherefore most of them, as has been observed, agree, contrary to the plain sense of scripture, to remove that event towards the middle or end of that patriarch's life, according as it suited their purpose.

IT is an easy thing, when a man is determined upon the number, to find out a way to help himself to it. *Petau* has made a computation, which in 285 years after the flood, (or within seven years of the birth of *Abraham*, according to his computation) fills the world with above 155 times the number of inhabitants, which are supposed to be at present existing in it; and yet he cannot make them rise at the birth of *Peleg*

to many above 32,768 souls[r]. Dr. *Cumberland*, who hath also strained the calculation to an extravagant height, can yet bring little more than 30,000 men upon the stage in the year of the flood 101; though 40 years after he increases them to above 300,000; and in 40 years more to 3,000,000[t]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

HOWEVER, others have been much more moderate: Mr. *Mede* allows there could not be above 7000 men, besides women and children, in the year of the flood 101[u]; a late writer, who strenuously defends the *Hebrew* chronology, and has taken a great deal of pains, in his calculations of *Noah*'s issue by his three sons, cannot raise above 1416 males of 20 years old, at the birth of *Peleg*[w]; and Mr. *Whiston*, whose principles seem more to be depended on than any of the others, produces by his computation about 2389, and no more, at that time[x]; the largest of which numbers must be allowed to be much too small for the purpose: an evident demonstration of the inconsistency of the *Hebrew* chronology with the circumstances of this first plantation of the earth (C).

BUT

[r] Vid. PETAVII doctrin. temp. lib. 9. c. 14. [t] CUMBERL. Orig. gent. antiq. p. 150. [u] See MEDE's works, book 1. disc. 49. [w] See BEDFORD's Script. Chronol. p. 205, &c. [x] WHISTON's short view of the Chronol. of the Old Testament, p. 65, &c.

(C) For the readers satisfaction we shall insert tables of the gradual increase of mankind after the flood, according to the calculations of three of the abovementioned authors; with the principles on which they are framed.

I. The

I. *The Calculation of Father* PETAU (5)

Years of the Flood.	Number of Sons born.
8 - - - - - - - - - -	8
31 - - - - - - - - - -	64
54 - - - - - - - - - -	512
77 - - - - - - - - - -	4,096
100 - - - - - - - - - -	32,768
123 - - - - - - - - - -	262,144
146 - - - - - - - - - -	2,097,152
169 - - - - - - - - - -	16,777,216
192 - - - - - - - - - -	134,217,728
215 - - - - - - - - - -	1,073,741,824
238 - - - - - - - - - -	8,589,934,592
261 - - - - - - - - - -	68,719,476,736
284 - - - - - - - - - -	549,755,813,888
Total ——	628,292,358,728
The double —	1,256,584,717,456

This table ſhews the number of the male deſcendants of one only of *Noah*'s ſons, in ſo many years after the flood, and is formed on the ſuppoſition that they began to generate at the age of 17, and conſequently between that and 24 might each have eight ſons; ſo that the eight ſons, which a ſon of *Noah* might have had by the eighth year of the flood, might by the 24th year of the flood have each eight ſons more, thus adding continually 23 to the number of the years of the flood, and multiplying the next preceding number of ſons by 8, you have the number of ſons born in each interval. By this ſcheme one at leaſt of the other two ſons of *Noah* is to ſupply wives for the males. And becauſe the parents were long lived, and ſaw many generations of their own offſpring, whereby an exceeding great number of perſons multiplied, and were found alive together out of one ſtock, therefore the whole may be allowed to be caſt up into one ſum; and if another ſon of *Noah* be taken in to propagate males, the third being reſerved to furniſh wives for both, we ſhall have double the number which was found by the firſt calculation. This ſuppoſition was made to account for the number of mankind in the times of *Ninus* and *Abraham*. The method ſeems plauſible at firſt ſight; but the exceſs of its production is a plain argument againſt it.

(5) *Doctrin. tempor. l.* 9. *c.* 14.

II. *Biſhop* CUMBERLAND's *Calculation.*

Years after the Flood.	*Couples born in the* 1*ſt* Vicennium *after the Flood; and the couples which deſcended from them.*
20	30
60	300
100	3,000
140	30,000
180	300,000
220	3,000,000
260	30,000,000
300	300,000,000
340	3,000,000,000
	The Sum — 3,333,333,330

It muſt be obſerved, that this computation exhibits not quite a tenth part of the inhabitants, which are ſuppoſed to have been in the world in the 340th year of the flood, which is that of *Peleg*'s death, being only the iſſue of the three ſons of *Noah*, for the firſt of the 17 *vicennia*, or ſpaces of 20 years, into which that period of time is diviſible (6); and is grounded on the gradual ſhortening of mens lives recorded in ſcripture, and a ſuppoſition, that the male iſſue of thoſe three brothers began to generate ſoon after they were 20 years old; the biſhop maintaining againſt *Voſſius*, that they were no longer in thoſe early ages before they came to puberty, than men now are (7). But experience ſeems to be in favour of *Voſſius* in this point; for the more robuſt and long-lived creatures are longeſt rearing; and we perceive that generally among brutes, the time of generation is proportioned to the length of their lives; and the births of all the patriarchs before, and a good while after, the flood, being much later in the fathers lives than the time in which men now-a-days begin to generate, is ſome argument, that they did not propagate quite ſo early as they do now.

This calculation was made, like the former, to account for the founding of certain kingdoms, which according to the *Hebrew* chronology began very early after the flood. Ten times the ſum in this table, gives the number of inhabitants upon earth at the birth of *Abraham* (8), *viz.* 33,333,333,300, which is a ſum eight times greater than its inhabitants are at preſent computed at.

(6) *See his Orig. gent. antiq. p.* 142, 154. (7) *Ibid. p.* 147.
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(5) *Doctrin. tempor. l.* 9 *c.* 14.

3. II. *Biſhop*

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This calculation was made, like the former, to account for the founding of certain kingdoms, which according to the *Hebrew* chronology began very early after the flood. Ten times the ſum in this table, gives the number of inhabitants upon earth at the birth of *Abraham* (8), *viz.* 33,333,333,300, which is a ſum eight times greater than its inhabitants are at preſent computed at.

(6) *See his Orig. gent. antiq. p.* 142, 154. (7) *Ibid. p.* 147.
(8) *Ibid. p.* 154.

III. *Mr.* WHISTON's *Calculation* (9).

Number of mankind.	*Years after the flood.*	*Years of doubling.*	*Series.*
16	4	4	1
32	9	5	2
64	15	6	3
128	23	8	4
256	35	12	5
512	50	15	6
1024	70	20	7
2048	95	25	8
4096	125	30	9
8192	160	35	10
16,384	200	40	11
32,768	245	45	12
65,536	295	50	13
131,072	350	55	14
262,144	410	60	15
524,288	475	65	16
1,048,576	545	70	17
2,097,152	620	75	18
4,194,304	700	80	19
8,388,608	800	100	20
16,777,216	1,000	200	21
33,554,432	1,300	300	22
67,108,864	1,700	400	23
134,217,728	2,100	400	24
268,435,456	2,500	400	25
536,870,912	2,900	400	26
1,073,741,824	3,300	400	27
2,147,483,648	3,700	400	28
4,294,967,296	4,100	400	29

This calculation of Mr. *Whiston*'s is leſs hypothetical than either of the former. It is now generally owned, that the number of ſouls upon the face of the whole earth, at preſent, does not exceed four thouſand millions, though our author imagines it may come nearer to that ſum than many ſuppoſe (10). It is alſo now generally owned, and this from good obſervations, that mankind do double them-

(9) *See his ſhort View of the Chronol. of the old Teſt. p.* 65.
(10) *See Dr.* Nicholl's *Conference, part* 1. *p.* 75. 76.

ſelves,

ſelves, at the longeſt, in four hundred years (11); which therefore is to be ſuppoſed the proportion, ever ſince the preſent period of human life was fixed in the days of *David*. Mr. *Whiſton* thinks it alſo evident, that from the deluge till the days of *David* the lives of men were ſix, if not ſeven times as long as they have been ſince, (though much more and leſs than that proportion at the earlieſt and lateſt times of that interval) whence he concludes, that the period of the doubling of mankind from the deluge till the days of *David*, in a mean, muſt have been, at the leaſt, ſix or ſeven times ſhorter than that which has ſince obtained, by reaſon of their antient longer lives in that proportion; though ſtill this period of doubling muſt have been much ſhorter and longer in the earlieſt and lateſt times of the ſaid interval. Upon theſe grounds he has compoſed the preceding table, taking a ſeries of numbers beginning at eight, (for ſo many ſouls ſurvived the deluge) and doubling themſelves in ſixty years at a mean, from the flood till *David*, *i. e.* for about 1300 years (according to the *Hebrew* account) and thence forward to our own times in four hundred years, *i. e.* for about two thouſand ſeven hundred years (12).

On this table Mr. *Whiſton* makes an obſervation, of which we are concerned to take ſome notice. He ſays, "We thereby ſee, that "the number of years, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, will "very naturally account for the preſent number of ſouls upon the "face of the earth, and afford as many in every age preceding as "any authentic accounts of antient times do require. But if, in-"ſtead of one thouſand three hundred years, in the firſt interval, "we take, with the *Septuagint*, above one thouſand nine hundred, "this addition of above ſix hundred years, at a time when mankind, "at a mean, doubled in ſixty years, will produce above a thouſand "times as many as this table, or the earth for certain does contain "at preſent. So that if that longer chronology were allowed, the "earth in all probability muſt have had many more inhabitants in "the days of *David*, than it has in our days, contrary to the cer-"tain obſervations of the increaſe of mankind. And the like is to "be ſaid in due proportion of the *Samaritan*, or any other chrono-"logy, which lengthens the ſpace ſince the deluge" (13).

However, Mr. *Whiſton* having, ſince he wrote this, rejected the *Hebrew* chronology, and declared in favour of the *Samaritan*, it is to be preſumed he has changed his opinion in this reſpect alſo, and found a way to get over the objection, though he has taken no notice of it as it might have been expected, in a later work, where he has made a calculation of the number of inhabitants before the flood (14). We ſhall therefore ourſelves endeavour to ſolve the difficulty, which we imagine may be done, by obſerving only, that the ſpace of ſixty years, which he takes for the mean period of man-

(11) *See before, p. 222. in not.* (12) Whiſton's *Chronol. of the old Teſt. p.* 65. (13) *Ibid. p.* 68. (14) *See his Theory of the Earth, p.* 249; *and this work in the place above quoted.*

kind's doubling, from the flood to *David*, is much too short, and the least that can be allowed, even for the first 500 or 600 years after the flood, according to his own principles; the age of *Shem* himself being little more than seven times, and that of *Peleg*, the fourth in descent from him, but three times as long as the present standard; whereas he reckons mens lives to be six or seven times as long, quite down to the time of *David*. So that we cannot but think, that for the last 800 years, at least, of that interval, from the time of *Abraham* to *David*, the increase of mankind by the table, is above twice as great as it ought to be; allowance being made for which miscomputation, we doubt not but the years added by the *Samaritan Pentateuch* will be thought *requisite*, instead of excessive.

That the reader may judge whether our objection to so much of Mr. *Whiston*'s calculation be well grounded or not, we shall annex his own table of the ages of all the persons which are mentioned in, or can be collected from scripture, from the flood to the death of *David* (15).

Gen. xi.	10, 11.	*Shem*	600
	12, 13.	*Arphaxad*	438
	14, 15.	*Salah*	433
	16, 17.	*Heber*	464
	18, 19.	*Phaleg*	239
	20, 21.	*Reu*	239
	22, 23.	*Serug*	230
	24, 25.	*Nabor*	148
	32.	*Terah*	205
Chap. xxv.	7.	*Abraham*	175
xxiii.	1.	*Sarah*	127
xxxv.	28.	*Isaac*	180
xxv.	17.	*Ismael*	137
xlvii.	28.	*Jacob*	147
l.	26.	*Joseph*	110
Exod. vi.	16.	*Levi*	137
	18.	*Kohath*	133
		Hesron about	133
Job. i. 1—4. with xlii.	16	*Job* about	180
Exod. vi.	20.	*Amram*	137
		Serug about	137
		Izhar about	137
		Pallu about	137
		Jochebed about	137
Num. xxxiii.	39.	*Miriam* about	130
Deut. xxxiv.	7.	*Aaron*	123
		Moses	120
		Corah about	125
		Dathan about	125
		Abiram about	125

(15) Whiston's *Chronol. of the old Test. p.* 10, *and Theory of the Earth, p.* 274.

Josh.

BUT if we follow the *Samaritan* computation, which allows us 300 years more in the interval between the flood and the birth of *Peleg* than the *Hebrew*, theſe difficulties, which are otherwiſe inſuperable, vaniſh at once, and we may venture to take even the loweſt calculation. According to that of the gentleman we laſt mentioned, the number of mankind in the year of the flood 401, will be above 240,000; which we think may reaſonably be allowed ſufficient to begin the diſperſion, and furniſh fifty three leaders with people enough to form as many colonies. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

IT is to be conſidered alſo, that each of theſe colonies increaſed in proportion as they removed farther from the centre of their migrations, before they arrived at the countries in which they finally ſettled; for the earth was not planted at once, but by degrees; ſo that there is the leſs occaſion for ſtraining to inlarge the number of mankind at the time of the diſperſion, as ſome have done.

As to the order, or method, wherein theſe firſt plantations of the earth were made, ſome have imagined there was little *Of the order of the firſt plantations.*

Joſh. xxiv. 29.	*Joſhua*	110
	Rahab about	135
	Booz about	125
	Obed about	110
1 *Sam.* iv. 15.	*Eli*	98
	Jeſſe about	95
2 *Sam.* xix. 32.	*Barzillai* above	80
(16) *Chap.* v. 4.	*David*	70

Mr. *Whiſton* obſerves from this table, that the gradual decreaſe of the length of men's lives did not ſtop, nor was the age of man reduced to the preſent ſtandard of ſeventy, or eighty years till the days of king *David*; and that the 90th plaſm, where the lives of the *Iſraelites* ſeem to be ſtated, if it was compoſed by *Moſes*, as the title informs us, had regard only to the ſhortening the lives of the murmurers in the wilderneſs (17), *by a divine judgment* (when all thoſe were to periſh in the ſpace of forty years, who were grown men at the *Exodus*), without any reſpect to the common period of human life at that time. *Barzillai*, in the days of *David*, is the firſt mentioned in ſcripture who was reckoned ſo old, as not likely to live long at eighty years of age (18); and *David* himſelf is the firſt who is ſaid to have died, and that *in a good old age, and full of days* (19);

(16) *See* Uſſer. *Chronol. Sacr. c.* 8 *and* 12, *& Annal. A. M.* 2552. (17) *Numb. xiv.* 29, 35. (18) 2 *Sam. xix.* 35. (19) 1 *Chron.* xxix. 28.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

or none, but that each colony settled where they did by mere chance [y], every one seizing on such countries as he casually light upon [z]. Yet if we attentively consider the account given of this transaction by the sacred historian, we shall find nothing more foreign to his intention, than a precipitate and confused dissipation: for first we are told, with regard to the sons of *Japhet*, the eldest branch of *Noah*'s posterity, that *by these were the isles of the* Gentiles *divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations* [a]; in like manner *Moses* concludes the account he gives us of the sons of *Ham*, the youngest branch of *Noah*'s posterity, with these words: *These are the sons of* Ham, *after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, in their nations* [b]; and that of the descendants of *Shem* ends thus: *These are the sons of* Shem, *after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations* [c]. From which texts may well be inferred, (as the learned *Mede* [d] has observed) that this great division of the earth we are speaking of was performed orderly, and was not a confused and irregular dispersion, wherein every one went whither he listed, and seated himself where he liked best [e].

WE see a two-fold order in these first plantations. First, they were ranged *according to their nations*, and then every nation was ranked *after their families*; so that every nation dwelt, and had his lot by himself, and in every nation the families also dwelt, and had their lots by themselves; for the true import of the before-cited texts seems to be, that the land, or peculiar lot of each family, did lie within the general lot of each nation.

Of the first plantation of the earth.

THOSE who have undertaken to give an account of these first settlements of the children of *Noah*, having founded their conjectures chiefly on the similitude of names, a guide too deceitful to be trusted so far as it has been by some, who on emergencies have ransacked the whole world for names of people, countries, rivers, mountains, and cities, which

[y] HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. t. 1. Exerc. 22. §. 11. [z] HESTIÆUS Milesius apud Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 15. [a] Genes. x. 5. [b] Ibid. ver. 20. [c] Ibid. ver. 31. [d] See his works, Book 1. Disc. 49 and 50: [e] WELLS's Geog. of the old Test. vol. 1. p. 93.

so soon as seventy years, which are the particular numbers mentioned in that psalm, and the standard of human life in all succeeding ages (20).

(20) Whiston's *Chron of the old Test. p.* 9 *and* 11.

had

had but the leaſt affinity with thoſe of the planters they were at a loſs to fix; others have therefore taken the precaution to lay down ſome rules [f] for the more ſure proceeding in this enquiry, and which we may reduce to two; 1. To ſuffer ourſelves to be directed chiefly by ſcripture, not neglecting however the light which may be had from prophane authors. 2. To ſeek for the original plantations within a reaſonable compaſs of the earth, and in an orderly diſpoſition; looking for the families where we find the nation, and for the nation where we find the families: and theſe rules, we think, may be admitted; but another, *viz.* that thoſe nations whoſe families are named by *Moſes*, are chiefly to be ſought for in the neighbourhood of *Judæa*, we conceive liable to too many exceptions to deſerve the name of a rule; for it was plainly the deſign of that hiſtorian to give us an account of the original of all nations in the world, as far as he had knowledge of them, and not only of ſuch as had to deal with the *Jews*, or were their neighbours.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

BUT after all, this is one of thoſe enquiries about which we ought not to be over ſollicitous, for the originals of very few nations can be traced ſo high as the diſperſion of *Babel*, much the greater part being ſubject to the utmoſt uncertainty. Since the firſt migrations of mankind, countries have often changed their names, and people their countries, without being obſerved by hiſtorians (D). We may form conjectures, and pleaſe ourſelves with the plauſibleneſs of our ſchemes, but who can be ſure that the principles on which they are built have any foundation? moſt of the arguments, in enquiries of this nature, reſult from the identity, or ſimilitude of the names of people and countries; but, for ought we know, the nations we take to be very antient, are modern in reſpect of the times next after the flood; and the names we ſuppoſe to have been retained by cities from antiquity, are of late original as well as themſelves: perhaps alſo many of the names of people and countries mentioned in ſcripture were peculiar to the *Jews*, ſince we find them no where elſe. And it muſt be obſerved, that that nation, by having loſt the

[f] See MEDE's works, and WELS's Geogr. of the old Teſt. ubi ſup.

(D) Quotidie aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, oriuntur (21).

(21) Senec. *de conſol. ad Albin.*

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remembrance of the greatest part of their antiquities, are become as bad guides in matters of this nature as the *Greeks*, who began too late to keep records for us to expect any great assistance from them.

WE shall from these considerations be the shorter in our account of this matter, which we shall begin, as the migrations of the colonies did, from *Shinaar*; about which we find the branch of *Shem* placed, inclosed by that of *Japhet* on the north, and *Ham* on the south. And it is observable, that, generally speaking, the nations and families in each of these great divisions took their stations according to seniority, the eldest remaining nearest the centre, and the youngest removing outermost.

The countries planted by the descendants of Shem.

SHEM may be supposed for the few years, *viz.* eleven, which according to the *Samaritan* chronology, he lived after the dispersion of mankind, to have dwelt in *Shinaar*: his descendants seem to have settled from *Media* westward to the sea-coast of *Aram*, or *Syria*. The number of chiefs of his line concerned in the dispersion were seven, *Elam*, *Ashur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram*, the sons of *Shem*; *Salah*, the son of *Arphaxad*; and *Eber*, the son of *Salah*.

Eloam.

1. ELAM settled in the country of *Elam*, lying to the south-east of *Shinaar*; in the time of *Daniel Susiana*, or *Khuzestân*, seems to have been part of it [g], and before the captivity it does not appear that the *Jews* called *Persia* by any other name. *Elymæ*, and *Elymaïs* are often mentioned by the antients: *Ptolemy*, though he makes *Elymaïs* a province of *Media*, yet he places the *Elymæi* (for which the maps corruptly read *Eldemæi*) in *Susiana* near the sea-coast [h]. *Stephanus* [i] takes it to be a part of *Assyria*, but *Pliny* [j], and *Josephus* [k], more properly, of *Persia*, whose inhabitants, this latter tells us, sprang from the *Elamites* [l]; and this seems to have been the most easterly bounds of the posterity of *Shem*; for adjoining on the east was *Media*, supposed to be possessed by *Madai*, the third son of *Japhet*.

Ashur.

2. As *Ashur* was the second son of *Shem*, so we find his country lying next to *Elam*'s on the west, or north-west, called likewise after him *Ashur*, and by the *Greeks Assyria*, at present *Curdestân* or the country of the *Curds*. *Pezron* supposes he was driven out of *Shinaar* by *Nimrod*, *Ham*'s grandson [m], which indeed seems to be the case, though it

[g] Dan. viii. 2. [h] Vid. Tab. 5. Asiæ, & BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 2. c. 2. [i] De urb. voce Ἐλύμαι. [j] Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 25, &c. Vid. STRAB. l. 16. [k] Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. [l] Ibid. l. 1. c. 7. See before, p. 278. [m] Antiquité des tems retablie, p. 148.

may

may be objected, that if he had not ſettled there originally, he would not have found room in that part, which muſt have been poſſeſſed by ſome other family. However that be, it was *Aſſur*[n], and not *Nimrod*, who went out of *Shinaar* into *Aſſyria*, and built *Nineveh* and other cities, as *Perizonius* has clearly proved that text is to be underſtood [o], and circumſtances require. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt 2597.

3. ARPHAXAD is placed by ſome in *Arrapachitis*, a province of *Aſſyria* towards the north part of that country; but others ſettle him with his family in *Chaldæa*, where indeed we find his deſcendants till the time of *Abraham*. And could it be proved, that the *Chaſdim*, or *Chaldeans*, derive their name as well as deſcent from that patriarch, as *Joſephus* affirms [p], there would be no doubt of this laſt being the true opinion. Some, who make but one and the ſame perſon of *Arphaxad* and *Cainan*, who is inſerted between him and *Salah* in the *Septuagint* verſion, ſuppoſe him to be the founder of the monarchy of *China* [q]. Arphaxad.

WHERE *Salah*, the ſon of *Arphaxad*, ſettled, is very uncertain; ſome ſuppoſe it to have been in *Suſiana*, or *Khuzeſtân*, in *Perſia*, becauſe they find a town there formerly called *Sala*; but *Morocco*, *Spain*, *Phrygia*, *Armenia*, and *Hyrcania* may claim this patriarch for their planter upon the ſame ground; having had each of them a town of the ſame name; and in *Colchis* we find a nation called *Salæ* [r], which ſeems to have the beſt pretenſions to him of all, ſince he ought to be conſidered rather as the founder of a nation than of a town. But as affinity of names weighs very little with us, except backed by ſome other proof, we ſhall not remove him out of *Chaldæa*, where we ſuppoſe room enough for all his deſcendants in the right line till *Abraham*; for which reaſon we ſettle *Eber* alſo in the ſame country. Salah. Eber.

4. WE can ſee no more reaſon than Sir *Walter Raleigh* [s], why *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth ſon, ſhould ſtraggle ſo far from his friends as *Lydia*, where *Joſephus* fixes him: beſides there is a ſtrong objection againſt this opinion, the *Lydians* having been firſt called *Mæones*, as all the antients agree, and *Lydians* from *Lydus*, the ſon of *Atys* [t], except we ſuppoſe the *Greeks* were deceived, and that, the name of *Mæones* ceaſing, they reſumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often Lud.

[n] Geneſ. x. 11. [o] Orig. Babylon. cap. 4. [p] Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. See before, p. 280. [q] Vid. BOLDUC. de Eccleſ. ante leg. lib. 2. cap. 2. [r] Vid. PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 6. c. 4. [s] Book 1. cap. 8. § 15. [t] HEROD. lib. 1. STRABO, lib. 13. PLINIUS, lib. 5. cap. 29.

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has happened. But even in that case we ought perhaps to consider *Lydia* as possessed by the *Ludim*, or posterity of *Lud*, on a second, or third remove, and to look for his first settlement nearer his brothers; but here the very similitude of names, which are generally upon these occasions ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, seems to fail us.

Aram.

5. MESOPOTAMIA and *Syria* comprehending the countries westward of *Assyria* as far as the *Mediterranian* sea, seem wholly (if we except *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*) to have fallen to the share of *Aram*, *Shem*'s fifth and youngest son, whose name is given both to the whole and the several regions thereof in scripture.

WITHIN, or bordering on, this country of *Aram*, it is likely the four sons of *Aram* settled. It is generally agreed,

Uz. that *Uz* the eldest built *Damascus*, and gave name to the country about that city [u], which seems to be different from the land of *Uz*, where *Job* dwelt, lying towards *Edom*. 2. *Bo-*

Hul. *chart* supposes *Hul* to have settled in *Cholobetene*, a part of the greater *Armenia*, where he finds several places whose names

Gether. begin with *Chol* or *Col* [w]. 3. *Gether*, according to *Josephus*, was prince of the *Bactrians* [x], but *Bactria* lay out of *Shem*'s lot, as well as too far for the first plantation; and if we allow him a seat about the river *Centrites*, between *Armenia* and the *Carduchi*, it is not that we think there is the least affinity in the two names to induce us to it, as *Bochart* does. 4.

Mash. *Mash*, or *Meshek*, *Aram*'s fourth son, is supposed to fix in *Armenia* about the mountain *Masius*, the same with that commonly held to be *Ararat*, and called by the *Armenians Masîs*. The people who dwelt near this mountain are by *Stephanus* named *Masieni*. *Bochart* [y] refutes the notion of *Josephus* [z], who derives the *Mesanæans* near the mouth of the *Tigris* from them, not considering that they took their name from their situation between the rivers. However, the *Armenians* themselves do not lay claim to any of *Shem*'s line as their progenitor, but say, they are descended from *Togarmah* of *Japhet*'s posterity, as will be seen by and by.

The nations descended from Ham.

HAM probably removed from *Shinaar*. Supposing him to be the *Cronus* of *Sanchoniatho* [a], he reigned in *Phœnicia*. According to others, who make him to be the same with *Menes*, he must have settled in *Egypt* [b], which indeed in

[u] BOCHART, Geog. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 8. JOSEPH. lib. 1. cap. 7. [w] Phaleg. lib. 2. cap. 9. [x] JOSEPH. ubi supr. [y] Ubi supr. [z] Ubi supr. [a] CUMBERL on Sanchon. p. 111. [b] MARSHAM Chron. Canon. p. 18, 23.

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ſcripture is often called the land of *Ham*; and ſome from the ſimilitude of *Ammon*, and other words of the like ſound, would infer, that he at leaſt dwelt there for ſome time; but nothing can be concluded from ſuch weak evidence. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

1. CUSH, his eldeſt ſon, according to *Joſephus* and the antients, was the father of the *Ethiopians*, who he ſays, were in his time called *Cuſhæans*, not only by themſelves, but all *Aſia* over [c]. But it is not likely, that if *Mizraïm* and *Canaan* ſettled themſelves in the lands betwixt him and *Shinaar*, that his ſon *Nimrod* would be found erecting a monarchy ſo early in that country. It is more probable, that he ſeated himſelf in the ſouth-eaſtern part of *Babylonia*, and in the adjoining part of *Suſiana*, ſtill called *Khuzeſtân*, or the country of *Chuz*; from whence his poſterity in the ſucceeding generations might have paſſed into other countries. That a part of *Arabia* near the red ſea was named *Cuſh*, appears from ſcripture. *Cuſhan* and *Midian* are joined together as the ſame, or neighbouring people, dwelling in tents [d]; and in another place [e] the *Arabs* are made to border on the *Cuſhites*, which therefore cannot be the *Ethiopians*; to which may be added other ſcriptural proofs [f]; in a word, by *Cuſh* in ſcripture is always to be underſtood *Arabia*. As for thoſe texts which are alledged to prove *Cuſh* is ſometimes taken for *Ethiopia*, they may alſo be expounded of *Arabia* [g]. *Cuſh*, according to the *Arab* and *Perſian* traditions, which name him *Cutha*, was king of the territory of *Babel*, and reſided in *Erâk* [h], where there were two cities of his name [i]; from whence, among other reaſons, Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that *Cuſh* reigned in *Babylonia*, and that his deſcendants removed into *Arabia* [k], though it is hard to fix the quarters of any of them; which has given occaſion to thoſe who ſuppoſe *Cuſh* to be *Ethiopia*, to ſpread them all along the coaſt of *Africa* to the end of *Mauritania* [l]. Cuſh.

THOSE who place them in *Arabia* are divided about their ſituations. To follow therefore the rules we have laid down, we will ſuppoſe, 1. That *Seba* ſeated himſelf ſomewhere in the ſouth of *Chaldæa*, or the *Arabian Erâk*: becauſe, 2. His ſecond brother *Havilah*'s country lay thereabouts, watered by the *Piſon*, as we have formerly obſerved. 3. *Sabtah*'s Seba. Havilah. Sabtah.

[c] Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 7. [d] Habak. iii. 7. [e] 2 Chron. xxi. 16 [f] Ezek. xxix. 10. 2 Kings xix. 9. 2 Chron. 14. 9. [g] Iſaiah xviii. 1. Zeph. iii. 10. 2 Chron. xii. 3. Jerem. xiii. 23, [h] ALTABARI in cap. de morte Saræ, apud Hyde de Relig. Vet. Perſ. p. 40. [i] HYDE, ibid. p. 80, &c. [k] Idem ibid. p. 39, 40. [l] Vid. BOCHART Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 3.

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scripture

ſcripture is often called the land of *Ham*; and ſome from the ſimilitude of *Ammon*, and other words of the like ſound, would infer, that he at leaſt dwelt there for ſome time; but nothing can be concluded from ſuch weak evidence. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

1. CUSH, his eldeſt ſon, according to *Joſephus* and the antients, was the father of the *Ethiopians*, who he ſays, were in his time called *Cuſhæans*, not only by themſelves, but all *Aſia* over [c]. But it is not likely, that if *Mizraïm* and *Canaan* ſettled themſelves in the lands betwixt him and *Shinaar*, that his ſon *Nimrod* would be found erecting a monarchy ſo early in that country. It is more probable, that he ſeated himſelf in the ſouth-eaſtern part of *Babylonia*, and in the adjoining part of *Suſiana*, ſtill called *Khuzeſtân*, or the country of *Chuz*; from whence his poſterity in the ſucceeding generations might have paſſed into other countries. That a part of *Arabia* near the red ſea was named *Cuſh*, appears from ſcripture. *Cuſhan* and *Midian* are joined together as the ſame, or neighbouring people, dwelling in tents [d]; and in another place [e] the *Arabs* are made to border on the *Cuſhites*, which therefore cannot be the *Ethiopians*; to which may be added other ſcriptural proofs [f]; in a word, by *Cuſh* in ſcripture is always to be underſtood *Arabia*. As for thoſe texts which are alledged to prove *Cuſh* is ſometimes taken for *Ethiopia*, they may alſo be expounded of *Arabia* [g]. *Cuſh*, according to the *Arab* and *Perſian* traditions, which name him *Cutha*, was king of the territory of *Babel*, and reſided in *Erâk* [h], where there were two cities of his name [i]; from whence, among other reaſons, Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that *Cuſh* reigned in *Babylonia*, and that his deſcendants removed into *Arabia* [k], though it is hard to fix the quarters of any of them; which has given occaſion to thoſe who ſuppoſe *Cuſh* to be *Ethiopia*, to ſpread them all along the coaſt of *Africa* to the end of *Mauritania* [l]. Cuſh.

THOSE who place them in *Arabia* are divided about their ſituations. To follow therefore the rules we have laid down, we will ſuppoſe, 1. That *Seba* ſeated himſelf ſomewhere in the ſouth of *Chaldæa*, or the *Arabian Erâk*: becauſe, 2. His ſecond brother *Havilah*'s country lay thereabouts, watered by the *Piſon*, as we have formerly obſerved. 3. *Sabtah*'s Seba. Havilah. Sabtah.

[c] Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 7. [d] Habak. iii. 7. [e] 2 Chron. xxi. 16 [f] Ezek. xxix. 10. 2 Kings xix. 9. 2 Chron. 14. 9. [g] Iſaiah xviii. 1. Zeph. iii. 10. 2 Chron. xii. 3. Jerem. xiii. 23, [h] ALTABARI in cap. de morte Saræ, apud Hyde de Relig. Vet. Perſ. p. 40. [i] HYDE, ibid. p. 80, &c. [k] Idem ibid. p. 39, 40. [l] Vid. BOCHART Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 3.

ſeat

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

Raamah. Sheba *and* Dedan.

seat perhaps lay more to the south, where we find a city called *Saphtha* by *Ptolemy*, not far from the *Persian* gulph, and another named *Sabatha*, lower down in *Arabia Felix*, which comes much nearer *Sabtah*. 4. *Raamah* or *Rhegma* may find a place more southward still, about a city called *Rhegama* by *Ptolemy*, on the same gulph. Some moderns mention a city not far from it called *Daden* [m], which Dr. *Wells* does not doubt was the residence of his son *Dedan* [n]. Though others will have *Raamah* and both his sons, *Sheba* as well as *Dedan*, to people the parts adjacent to the *Red* sea [o]. They conclude *Dedan* to have been near *Edom*, because *Ezekiel* joins them together [p]; as *Raamah* must have been near *Sheba*, being mentioned as joint-traders to *Tyre* in spices by the same prophet [q]; and elsewhere [r] *Sheba* and *Seba* are joined as neighbours, though distinguished as different kingdoms: they seem to have possessed a larger part of *Arabia*, for *Pliny* observes, that the *Sabæan* nations inhabited from sea to sea, that is, from the *Arabian* to the *Persian* gulph. A late writer supposes *Sheba* lived on the borders of the land of *Midian*, and gave name to the country whose queen in after-ages went to visit *Solomon* [s]. But the *Arabs* say, the country of *Sheba* lies a great way more to the south in *Yaman*, or, as we call it, *Arabia Felix*, near the *Indian* sea; the chief city of which was formerly *Saba*, now called *Mareb* [t], and founded, according to their tradition, by a descendant of *Joktan*, or *Kahtan*. And it must be confessed, this seems to be the country of *Sheba* mentioned in scripture, for the frankincense grows thereabouts. 5. *Sabtecha* has puzzled all the geographers to assign his quarters. *Bochart* [u] not finding a place in *Arabia* which bore any resemblance to the name, passes over to *Carmania* in *Persia*, and presses the city *Samydace* into the service, observing that the *M* and *B* are often changed the one for the other by the *Arabs* and their neighbours. On the other hand, Dr. *Wells* [v] imagines, that the *Saracens* are the descendants of *Sabtecha*, which nation being stiled at first by the *Grecks Sabtaceni*, that name was afterwards softened into *Saraceni*; and the rather, he thinks, because alluding to the *Arabic* verb *sarâka*, to *steal*, it served for a nick-name.

Sabtecha.

[m] ORTELIUS, ODOARDUS BARBOZA, nella descrit. di Ormuz. [n] Geog. of the old Test. vol. 1. p. 197. [o] SHUCKFORD's Connect. of the Sacred and Profane Hist. Vol. 1. p. 173. [p] Ezek. xxv. 13. [q] Ibid. xxvii. 22. [r] Psalm, lxxii. 10. [s] SHUCKFORD ubi supr. [t] Geog. Nub. p. 26 and 52. POCOCK. Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 57. D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. Art. *Saba*. [u] Geog. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4. [v] Geog. of the old Test. Vol. I. p. 198.

Though

Though indeed the word *Saraceni* is no other than *Sharkiin*, which in *Arabic* ſignifies *Eaſterlings*; as the *African Arabs* weſt of *Egypt*, are called *Mograbins* or *Weſterlings*. For our parts, being afraid to meddle in a point of ſo much uncertainty, we think it the ſafeſt way to paſs this perſon by, and proceed. 6. To his brother *Nimrod*, who it is agreed kept poſſeſſion of *Shinaar* and erected a kingdom there, making *Babel* the ſeat of his empire [w].

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597. Nimrod.

2. MIZRAÏM ſtands in the place of the ſecond ſon of *Ham*; for there is a great diſpute, whether this is the name of a ſingle perſon or of a people, as having a dual termination, though the verb in the text, where he is ſaid to beget *Ludim*, is in the ſingular number, which favours the former opinion. However that be, it is plain, that the names of *Ludim* and all the reſt of his deſcendants are plural, by what we read of the *Caphtorim*, namely, that *they came forth out of Caphtor* [x]. Nor do we ſee any harm in that opinion, which ſuppoſes them branches of a large body of people denoted by the name *Mizraïm*, which divided between them the country called after their name by the *Hebrews* and other eaſtern people [y]. Mizraïm.

As to the nations deſcended from *Mizraïm*: 1. The *Ludim* are judged to be the people above *Egypt* called by the *Greeks Ethiopians*, and at preſent *Abyſſins*. *Bochart* endeavours to prove it by no leſs than ten arguments [z]. We rarely find them called otherwiſe in ſcripture than *Lud*, either from the name of their founder, or their country. In one paſſage of ſcripture *Lud* are called *a mixt people* [a]; in others [b], they are ſaid to be very *ſkilful in drawing the bow*, which the *Ethiopians* were famous for; and in two of the above-mentioned paſſages [c], *Lud* is joined with *Cuſh* and *Phut*, as are the *Lubims* elſewhere with the *Egyptians* [d]; from whence it may be inferred, they were all neighbouring people. Ludim.

2. The *Anamim* are thought by *Bochart* to be the *Ammonians*, or inhabitants of that part of *Lybia* where ſtood the temple of *Jupiter Ammon* [e], deſcended, according to *Herodotus*, partly from the *Egyptians*, and partly from the *Ethiopians*. Anamim.

3. The *Lehabim* are ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Lubim*, who, with the *Sukkiims* and *Cuſhites*, came out of *Mizraïm*, or *Egypt*, with *Shiſhak*, to invade *Judæa* [f]: theſe therefore may not improbably be judged to be the *Libyans* of *Cyrenaica*, or Lehabim.

[w] See p. 268. [x] Deut. ii. 23. [y] JOSEPHUS Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. [z] Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 26. [a] Ezek. xxx. 5. [b] Iſaiah lxvi. 19. Jerem. xlvi. 9. [c] Ezek. xxx. 5. Jerem. xlvi. 9. [d] 2 Chron. xii. 3. [e] Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 30. [f] 2 Chron. xii. 3.

proper

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

proper *Libya*, near *Egypt*. 4. The *Naphtuhim* are thought to have settled in *Marmarica*, adjoining to *Cyrenaica*[g]. It is observed, that the *Egyptians* called all the skirts of a country, and promontories washed by the sea, *Nephthys*; and *Bochart* places the *Naphtuhim* rather on the coast of the *Mediterranean* than on that of the *red sea*, because the *Troglodites* and *Ichthyophagi*, who are the inhabitants of the latter, are in the scripture called *Ziyim* and *Sukkiim*[h]. Some place the *Naphtuhim* about *Noph*, or *Memphis*, in *Egypt*[i]. 5. *Pathrusim* are evidently the inhabitants of *Pathros*, which some wrongly take for *Pelusium*; others, more justly, for *Thebais*, or the upper *Egypt*, which is distinguished from the lower *Egypt*, in prophane history as well as sacred[k]. *Ezekiel*[l] mentions it by itself; and *Isaiah*[m] distinguishes it from *Egypt*; but from *Jeremiah* the country of *Pathros* appears either to be a part of that kingdom, or adjoining to it, being mentioned with *Migdol*, *Tahpanhes*, and *Noph*[n], which are known to be cities, or districts of *Egypt*. 6. The *Casluhim* are supposed to have settled somewhere towards the entrance of *Egypt*, about mount *Cassius*, in that part of the lower *Egypt* called *Cassiotis* by *Ptolemy* and others, which places it is thought retain some likeness of the name; but without relying on that argument, they appear to have been planted near the *Caphtorim*, because the *Philistim*, as it seems, were descended from both these people[o], and consequently in *Egypt*. *Bochart*, misled by following the *Jewish* notion about *Caphtor*, fancies them to be the inhabitants of *Colchis*[p], at present called *Mingrelia*. As for the *Philistim*, who in the *Mosaic* account of the dispersion are derived from the *Casluhim*[q], we shall consider their original settlement in *Egypt* before they removed into *Canaan*, when we come to their particular history. 7. *Caphtorim*, the last of the offspring of *Mizraïm*, are, as *Bochart*[r] observes, by all the fathers said to be the *Cappadocians*, and *Caphtor Cappadocia*; as the *Septuagint* have also rendered it[s]. In this, doubtless, they follow the *Jews*, who explain those names the same way, as do the three *Chaldee* paraphrasts. But by *Cappadocia* in these writings, is not to be understood *Cappadocia* in *Asia minor*, as *Bochart*, and perhaps the rest,

Naphtuhim.

Pathrusim.

Casluhim.

Philistim.

Caphtorim.

[g] Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 29. [h] Ibid. [i] Isaiah xix. 13. [k] Vid. Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 37. [l] Chap. xxix. v. 14. [m] Chap. xi. v. 11. [n] Chap. xliv. v. 1. [o] Compare Gen. x. 14. with Deut. ii. 23. Jerem. xlvii. 4. and Amos ix. 7. [p] Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 31 [q] Gen. x. 14. [r] Lib. 4. cap. 33. [s] Deut. ii. 23.

judged,

judged, but ſome place in *Egypt*, generally ſuppoſed by the *Rabbins* to be *Demyat* [t], or *Damietta*, commonly confounded with *Peluſium*. One would be inclined to think the *Caphtorim* derived from *Coptus*, a noted city of the ſame country, (which by many is ſuppoſed to have taken its name from thence) if it was not that *Caphtor* appears to have been an iſland [u], and more probably ſituate either in the lake of *Tennîs*, or *Tanis*, which extends from *Damietta* to *Tina*, the true *Peluſium*, or in the *Arabic* gulf, rather than *Crete*, as will be obſerved hereafter. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

3. AUTHORS are not agreed about the country, where *Phut*, the third ſon of *Ham*, planted himſelf. *Bochart* endeavours to prove that *Mizraïm* and he divided *Africa* between them [w]: what is moſt to the purpoſe is taken from St. *Jerom*, who affirms *Phut* to be *Libya*, and that in his time there was a river in *Mauritania* with the adjacent region, named from him *Phut* [x]. But to this it may be objected, that *Ezekiel* [y] mentions *Phut* with *Cuſh* and *Perſia* as auxiliaries to the northern enemies of the *Jews*, and in the army of *Gog*; and we find *Cuſh*, *Lud*, and *Phut*, among the nations, who, according to *Jeremiah*'s prophecy, were to over-run *Egypt* [z], as *Nebuchadnezzar* afterwards did; which looks as if *Phut*'s quarters lay ſomewhere between *Cuſh* and *Babylon*. However, in points ſo uncertain, we will not preſume to determine any thing. Phut.

4. WE are not ſo much to ſeek for the parts planted by *Canaan* and his poſterity, viz. *Sidon*, *Heth*, the *Jebuſites* *Amorites*, *Girgaſhites*, *Hivites*, *Arkites*, *Sinites*, *Arvadites*, *Zemarites*, and *Hamathites*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more particularly when we come to treat of *Phœnicia*, in the land of *Canaan*, where they undoubtedly ſettled. Canaan.

The countries planted by the deſcendants of Japhet.

THE ſcripture leaves us as much in the dark, as to the country where *Japhet* ſettled, as it does with regard to the particular reſidence of his brothers. All we can collect upon this occaſion is, that he retired from *Shinaar* with his deſcendants, and ſettled among them to the north of the countries planted by the children of *Shem*. Some imagine him, from the affinity of names, to be the *Japetus* of the *Greeks* [a]; but there is no likelihood of his having ever been known to them, or that their traditions reach ſo high as this ſon of *Noah* by many ages.

[t] RABBI SAADIAS & MAIMONIDES, apud Lightfoot. oper. tom. 2. p. 398 [u] Jerem. xlvii. 4. [w] Phaleg. l. 4. cap. 33. [x] HIERONYM. in tradit Hebr. [y] Chap. xxxviii 5. [z] Chap. xlvi. 9. [a] BOCHART Phaleg. l. 3. c. 1.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

Gomer.

1. GOMER the eldest son of *Japhet*, according to *Josephus*, was the father of the *Gomerites*, called by the *Greeks Galatians* [b], who were the *Gauls* of *Asia minor*, inhabiting part of *Phrygia*. Of this opinion is *Bochart* [c]; and if it be right, those who derive the *Cimmerians*, or *Cimbri*, from *Gomer*, have some grounds for it, the *Cimmerians* seeming to be the same people with the *Gauls*, or *Celts*, under a different name; and it is observable, that the *Welsh*, who are descended from the *Gauls*, still call themselves *Kumero*, or *Cymro*, and *Cumeri*. Be that as it will, the *Chaldee* paraphrasts must be out in placing *Gomer* in *Africa*, since it is plain from *Ezekiel* [d] that his country lay northward of *Judea*; and that it lay also to the west, or north-west of *Madai*, or *Media*, may also be gathered from that prophet's making the house of *Togarmah* (one of *Gomer*'s sons, and consequently, according to our rules, settled in his father's lot or borders) trading to *Tyre* in *Syria*; which could not well be in case they had been situated beyond *Media*, through which it is not likely they would have been suffered to pass. We may therefore let *Gomer* rest where the learned *Bochart* settles him, *viz.* in *Phrygia* [e], without straining to make that word to be the *Greek* translation of his name.

Ashkenaz.

THE plantations of *Gomer*'s sons may, not without some ground, be presumed to be thereabouts. 1. *Ashkenaz*, as it seems, should be seated near *Armenia* [f], in the eastern part of *Asia minor*; for the scripture, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to destroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ashkenaz*: but if regard be had to the footsteps found of the name, the country which he planted seems to have been in the north-west part of that continent; for in *Bithynia* there was the *Arcanian* lake, and a river called *Ascanius*, with a bay of the same name; and there was also antiently a city named *Ascania* in lesser *Phrygia*, or *Troas*, with isles on the coast called the *Ascanian* islands: and it is observed, that besides *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the siege of *Troy*. And to prove that the *Ashkenaz* mentioned by *Jeremiah* were the people of these parts, it is shewn out of *Xenophon* [g], that *Hystaspes* having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Hellespont*, brought thence many of the horse and other soldiers which *Cyrus* carried with him to the siege of *Babylon*. In a word, the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Axinus*, as it was first called by the *Greeks*, is supposed to be a corruption

[b] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [c] Phaleg. l. 3. c. 10. [d] Chap. 48. 6. [e] In loco superius citat. [f] Jeremiah li. 27. [g] Cyropæd. l. 7.

for

for *the ſea of Aſhkenaz* [h]. 2. Becauſe *Riphath* probably ſettled near his brother *Aſhkenaz*, we may admit the teſtimony of *Joſephus*, not always to be depended on, who ſays the *Paphlagonians* were originally called *Riphathæans* from *Riphath* [i]. *Bochart* finds the river *Rhebas*, *Rhebæus*, or *Rhebanus* near *Paphlagonia* [k]; *Stephanus* mentions not only the river but alſo a region of the ſame name, whoſe inhabitans were called *Rhebæi*, and *Pliny* places here a people called *Riphæi*, which comes nearer the name of *Riphath*. 3. *Togarmah* the laſt ſon of *Gomer* was probably ſeated to the eaſt of *Riphath*; ſome think to the north of *Armenia*, among the *Iberians*, others in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*; which opinions are not out of the way, ſince theſe countries lie contiguous to thoſe of the reſt of *Gomer*'s family, and are ſituate conformable [k] to that expreſſion of the prophet, Gomer *and all his bands*, *the houſe of* Togarmah *of the north quarters and all his bands* [l]; which ſeems to be ſpoken of their ſituation with reſpect to *Judæa*. *Turcomannia*, where many have placed this colony, ſeems too remote, becauſe they are ſaid to have traded to the fairs of *Tyre* [m]; and what confirms their ſettling, they brought hither, *viz.* horſes, horſemen, and mules, in, or about, *Cappadocia*; for that country produced excellent horſes and mules, which laſt are ſuppoſed to have come firſt from thence, and was famous for good horſemen, as is atteſted by ſeveral of the antient profane hiſtorians [n]: Beſides, in the borders of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, we find a people called *Trocmi* [o], *Trogmi*, or *Trocmeni*, as *Stephanus* calls them. In the council of *Chalcedon* they are called *Trocmades*, or *Trogmades*, which names have an affinity with *Togarmah*, or as the *Greeks* uſually write it, *Thorgama*.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597. Riphath. Togarmah.

BUT after all, the *Armenians* give themſelves out to be deſcended from *Togarmah* (whom they make the ſon of *Tiras* the ſon of *Gomer*) by his ſon *Haikh*, from whom they and their country from all antiquity have born the name of *Haikh*. They ſay alſo, that the name of *Armenia*, made uſe of by other nations, is derived from *Aram*, the ſeventh in deſcent from *Haikh*, who much enlarged the bounds of his kingdom on all ſides [p]: the *Armenians* had alſo numerous breeds of excellent horſes, which they paid to *Cyrus* inſtead of tribute [q]; and many of thoſe creatures, as a learned author [r] aſſures us,

[h] BOCHART Phaleg. l. 3. c. 9. [i] JOSEPHUS Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [k] BOCHART ubi ſupr. c. 10. [k] Idem, ibid. [l] Ezek. xxxviii. 6. [m] Ibid. xxvii. 14. [n] Vid. BOCHART ubi ſupr. [o] PTOL. STRAB. l. 12. CICERO de divinat. l. 2, &c. [p] MOSES CHORENENS. Hiſt. Armen. l. 1. c. 4. [q] XENOPH. [r] SCHRODER Diſſert. de ling. Armen. p. 30.

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[b] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [c] Phaleg. l. 3. c. 10. [d] Chap. 48. 6. [e] In loco superius citat. [f] Jeremiah li. 27. [g] Cyropæd. l. 7.

for

for *the ſea of Aſhkenaz* [h]. 2. Becauſe *Riphath* probably ſettled near his brother *Aſhkenaz*, we may admit the teſtimony of *Joſephus*, not always to be depended on, who ſays the *Paphlagonians* were originally called *Riphathæans* from *Riphath* [i]. *Bochart* finds the river *Rhebas*, *Rhebæus*, or *Rhebanus* near *Paphlagonia*; *Stephanus* mentions not only the river but alſo a region of the ſame name, whoſe inhabitans were called *Rhebæi*, and *Pliny* places here a people called *Riphæi*, which comes nearer the name of *Riphath*. 3. *Togarmah* the laſt ſon of *Gomer* was probably ſeated to the eaſt of *Riphath*; ſome think to the north of *Armenia*, among the *Iberians*, others in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*; which opinions are not out of the way, ſince theſe countries lie contiguous to thoſe of the reſt of *Gomer*'s family, and are ſituate conformable [k] to that expreſſion of the prophet, Gomer *and all his bands*, *the houſe of* Togarmah *of the north quarters and all his bands* [l]; which ſeems to be ſpoken of their ſituation with reſpect to *Judæa*. *Turcomannia*, where many have placed this colony, ſeems too remote, becauſe they are ſaid to have traded to the fairs of *Tyre* [m]; and what confirms their ſettling, they brought hither, *viz.* horſes, horſemen, and mules, in, or about, *Cappadocia*; for that country produced excellent horſes and mules, which laſt are ſuppoſed to have come firſt from thence, and was famous for good horſemen, as is atteſted by ſeveral of the antient profane hiſtorians [n]: Beſides, in the borders of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, we find a people called *Trocmi* [o], *Trogmi*, or *Trocmeni*, as *Stephanus* calls them. In the council of *Chalcedon* they are called *Trocmades*, or *Tregmades*, which names have an affinity with *Togarmah*, or as the *Greeks* uſually write it, *Thorgama*.

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Riphath.
Togarmah.

BUT after all, the *Armenians* give themſelves out to be deſcended from *Togarmah* (whom they make the ſon of *Tiras* the ſon of *Gomer*) by his ſon *Haikh*, from whom they and their country from all antiquity have born the name of *Haikh*. They ſay alſo, that the name of *Armenia*, made uſe of by other nations, is derived from *Aram*, the ſeventh in deſcent from *Haikh*, who much enlarged the bounds of his kingdom on all ſides [p]: the *Armenians* had alſo numerous breeds of excellent horſes, which they paid to *Cyrus* inſtead of tribute [q]; and many of thoſe creatures, as a learned author [r] aſſures us,

[h] BOCHART Phaleg. l. 3. c. 9. [i] JOSEPHUS Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. BOCHART ubi ſupr. c. 10. [k] Idem, ibid. [l] Ezek. xxxviii. 6. [m] Ibid. xxvii. 14. [n] Vid. BOCHART ubi ſupr. [o] PTOL. STRAB. l. 12. CICERO de divin. l. 2. &c. [p] MOSES CHORENENSIS Hiſt. Armen. l. 1. c. 4. XENOPH. [q] HERODOT. [r] SCHRODER Diſſert. de ling. Armen. p. 30.

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from the teſtimony of credible natives, are ſtill bred there for the uſe of the kings of *Perſia*, and for preſents to them from the governor. Upon theſe conſiderations we muſt leave *Armenia* to the deſcendants of *Togarmah*, or *Thûrgûmai*, as they call him.

Magog.

2. We come now to *Magog*, the ſecond ſon of *Japhet*, with regard to whoſe ſettlement the learned have many different and confuſed opinions; *Joſephus*, *Jerom*, and moſt of the fathers held them to be the *Scythians* about mount *Caucaſus*, which name *Bochart* ſuppoſes was made by the *Greeks* out of *Gog haſan*, ſignifying *Gog*'s *fort* in *Chaldee*, a dialect of which he imagines to have been the language of the *Colchi* and *Armenians* [r]; but perhaps it is rather a wrong pronunciation of *Cuh Kaf*, which in *Perſian* ſignifies the *mountain of Kaf*, as the *Arabs* alſo call it: that his plantation adjoined upon thoſe of *Meſhech* and *Tubal* appears from *Ezekiel*'s [s] making *Gog*, king of *Mageg*, to reign over the other two. And it is thought, we ſhould come nearer ſtill to a diſcovery of his quarters, if thoſe words, *The chief prince*, or (as it is in our marginal tranſlation) *the prince of the chief of* Meſhech *and* Tubal [t], be rendered, according to the *Septuagint*, *the prince of* Roſh, Meſhech, *and* Tubal, becauſe in the *Iſthmus*, or neck of land between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, there formerly dwelt two ſorts of people; the one called *Rhoſſi*, on the river *Cyrus*, as *Joſeph ben Gorion* has it, or rather on the *Ros*, *Ras*, or *Aras*, called by the *Greeks Araxes*; the other called *Moſchici*, inhabiting a long chain of mountains, ſtretching, acording to *Ptolemy*, along the north-weſt part of *Armenia*, and ſeparating it from *Colchis* and *Iberia*. From which two people, migrating or driven over *Caucaſus*, it is ſuppoſed, the *Ruſſians* and *Muſcovites* are deſcended.

Bochart alſo thinks the name of *Magog* is preſerved in a country of theſe parts called *Gogarene* [u], according to *Strabo* and *Stephanus*; for *Gog* and *Magog* ſeem to be the ſame name, the *m* not being a radical letter. But we cannot ſtrain the matter ſo far as to ſuppoſe the name of *Georgia*, a well known country in this quarter, derived thence; much leſs that the *Palus Mæotis*, and *Comagene* in *Syria*, draw their names from *Magog* [w], through ſuch a diſtorted courſe of changes, as to repeat them would put one quite out of conceit with etymologies.

[r] Bochart. Phaleg. l. 3. c. 13. [s] Chap. xxxviii. 2. [t] Ibid. [u] Bochart ubi ſupra. [w] Geog. of the old Teſtament, Vol. 1. p. 164.

The

THE *Arabs*, who have borrowed the beſt part of their religion from the *Jews*, are acquainted with *Gog* and *Magog*, whom they call *Yajuj* and *Majuj*, and make them to inhabit the mountain of *Kaf*, or *Caucaſus*, but remove them at a great diſtance to the farther end of *Tartary* towards the north, or north-eaſt [x]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

WE are inclined to think the parts above-mentioned, between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, are moſt likely to be thoſe in which *Magog* ſettled; however we can by no means omit this occaſion of taking notice of an error, which many of the modern writers have fallen into, who place *Mogog* in *Syria*. *Bochart*'s great judgment would not ſuffer him wholly to come into it, however he ſuppoſes *Magog* himſelf gave his name to a town there [y]. Dr. *Wells* more cautiouſly ſuggeſts, that the name was long after taken from the *Scythians*, when they made an excurſion into *Syria* and took the city, as *Bethſan* in *Judeæ* was alſo called after them *Scythopolis* [z]. But Mr. *Shuckford* fixes *Magog* himſelf there, with *Gomer*, *Tubal*, *Togarmah*, and *Meſhech* about him [a]. What gave riſe to this opinion is, a paſſage in *Pliny*, where he obſerves that *Bambyce*, otherwiſe *Hierapolis*, is called by the *Syrians Magog* [b]; but this proves to be a palpable miſtake of the tranſcriber, who has written *Magog* inſtead of *Mabog*, as has been obſerved by Dr. *Hyde*, who wonders no body had corrected that error in *Pliny* [c]. *Aſſemani* has taken notice of it ſince [d]; yet it ſtill remains uncorrected in *Hardouins*'s laſt pompous edition of that author.

3. IT is generally agreed, that *Madai* planted *Media*, and the *Medes* are always called by this name in ſcripture [e]. To this a learned author [f], who makes *Macedonia* the ſettlement of *Madai*, objects, 1. That the *Madai*, or *Medes* are not mentioned in ſcripture till the later ages; but it may be anſwered, that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain they made uſe of it as ſoon as they had occaſion. 2. That this ſituation removes *Madai* too far from the reſt of his brethren, and takes him out of their general lot, which was the iſles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Shem*. But ac- Madai

[x] See D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Jagiouge & Magiouge, p. 470. & Geog. Nubiens. p. 247, 267. [y] Phaleg l. 1. c. 2. & l. 3. c. 13. [z] Geogr. of the old Teſt. ubi ſupr. [a] Connect. of the ſacred and profane hiſt. V. I. p. 152 [b] Hiſt. Natur. l. 5 c. 23. [c] In Notis ad Peritſol. Itiner. p 42. [d] Bibliotheca Orientat. Vol II. Differt. de Monophyſ. ad voc. Mabug. [e] Dan v. 28. Ibid. vi. 8. 12, 15. Ibid. viii. 20. Eſth. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Ibid. x. 2. [f] See MEDE's Works.

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cording to our hypothesis, their plantations hitherto have been contiguous, for the western *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros*, or *Aras*; to which, as we have observed above, the dominion of *Magog* extended; and perhaps those words, *by these were the isles of the* Gentiles *divided* [g], relate only to *Javan* and his sons, and not to *Gomer* and his sons, or to a future plantation; the passages in scripture where these last are mentioned requiring a sense which places them on the continent. 3. Several authorities are produced by this writer to shew there were a people in *Macedonia* called *Medi*, or *Mædi*, and a tract called the *Medic* region in the borders of *Pæonia*; but even supposing them some later colony of *Madai*, which is the most that can be allowed, we cannot see how it tends to prove, that *Macedonia* is compounded of *Madai* and *Cetim*, or *Kittim*, any more than that *Æmathia*, the antient name of *Macedonia*, comes from *Madai*, upon the bare authority of a forced etymology.

Javan. 4. JAVAN may probably be supposed to have settled first near his brothers in the south-west part of the lesser *Asia*, about *Ionia*, which contains the radical letters of his name.

HIS four children may find places correspondent with their names in the same parts. 1. The *Æoles*, who inhabited *Æolia* to the north of *Ionia*, are by *Josephus* made to de-

Elisha. scend from *Elisha*, *Javan*'s eldest son; but there is a greater appearance of his name in *Hellas*, the antient name of *Greece*; the isles of which seem to be those called the isles of *Elisha* by *Ezekiel*, and most probably supplied *Tyre* with the purple and blue [h], wherewith, as *Bochart* proves at large, the coast of *Peloponnesus* and the adjacent islands abounded [i]. *Peloponnesus*, which may be well comprehended among the isles, as being almost one, contained moreover a city and province, by the name of *Elis*; and in *Attica* there was the city

Tarshish. *Eleusis*, and the river *Elissus*, or *Ilissus*. 2. *Tarshish*, according to *Josephus*, gave name not only to *Tarsus* but to all *Cilicia*, of which it was the capital [k]: it seems also to have been the *Tarshish* to which *Jonas* thought *to flee from the presence of the Lord* [l], as well as that also mentioned so often by the prophets, on account of its trading with *Tyre* [m]. 3. To

Kittim. the west of *Tarshish* it is supposed *Kittim* first planted. *Homer* mentions a people in those parts called *Cetii* [n] (from the river *Cetius*), which is the word by which the *Septuagint* have

[g] Gen x. 5. [h] Chap. viii. 7. [i] Phaleg. l. 3. c. 4. [k] Antiq. l. 1 c. 7. [l] Jonas i. 3. [m] Isaiah xxiii. 1, 14. Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25. Ibid. xxxviii. 13. [n] Odyss. 11. v. 520. V. Strab. l. 13.

rendered

rendered *Kittim*. In *Ptolemy* we find two provinces in the weſtern parts of *Cilicia*, one maritime called *Cetis*, the other towards the mountains called *Citis*. *Joſephus* will have the iſland of *Cyprus* to be the ſeat of the *Kittim*, and the town called *Citium* which belongs to it, to have taken its name from them [o]; but in the apocrypha *Macedonia* is plainly denoted by the land of *Chettiim*, *Alexander* being mentioned as coming from thence [p], and *Perſeus*, king of *Macedonia*, is called king of the *Citims* [q]. Nor do we ſee any thing amiſs in ſuppoſing that country to be the original plantation of the *Kittim*, at leaſt in the intention of *Moſes*, ſince it comes under the general denomination of *the iſles* which were to be the portion of *Japhet*, at leaſt of the poſterity of *Javan*; and their brother *Eliſha* has been already placed in that neighbourhood. 4. It is not ſo eaſy to find a place for *Dodanim*, the youngeſt of the ſons, or rather of the deſcendants of *Javan*, except we admit the change of the *D* into *R*, (which letters in the *Hebrew* are ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed) and call him *Rodanim*, as the *Septuagint* have done, in order to ſettle the iſland of *Rhodes* upon him; which, for ought we know, is not a worſe ſhift than to extract the name of *Doris*, and the *Dorians*, in *Peloponneſus*, from *Dodanim*.

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Dodanim.

As to, 5. *Tubal*, and, 6. *Meſhech*, we have already ſhewn, under the article of *Magog*, that their lots lay contiguous to his, as may be gathered from the two places of *Ezekiel* there mentioned [r]; and that is enough, without diſtorting names of countries in order to provide them ſettlements in ſpite of all the rules of etymology. And, 7. That we may ſhorten this account, which the uncertainty of our evidence has made tedious, we ſhall in the laſt place allow *Tiras*, according to *Joſephus* [s] and the general opinion, to have led his colony into *Thrace*.

Tubal *and* Meſhech.

Tiras.

THUS we have given an account of the nations concerned in the firſt diſperſion of mankind, by which it does not appear that they migrated eaſtward beyond *Media*, northward beyond the mountains of *Caucaſus*, ſouthward beyond *Ethiopia*, or *Habaſhia*, or weſtward beyond a part of *Lybia* and *Greece*, including *Macedonia*; though it is moſt probable, the more diſtant parts were not planted immediately by theſe firſt colonies, but by their poſterity afterwards.

IT is not our deſign here to enter into a long detail of future migrations, in order to ſhew by what degrees, and in what manner, the ſeveral parts of the world came to be inhabited,

No tracing the original of moſt nations.

[o] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [p] 1 MAC. i. 1. [q] Ibid. viii. 5.
[r] Chap. xxvii. 13. chap. xxxviii. 2, 3. [s] Ubi ſup.

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as some with more labour than success have attempted to do; but shall reserve what may be gathered from antient writers in relation thereto, when we enquire into the original of each particular country.

The countries possessed by the descendants of Joktan *in a second migration.*

HOWEVER, we are obliged to say something with reference to the descendants of *Joktan*; who, if they were not concerned in the first dispersion, seem to have began their migration sometime within *Peleg*'s life; with regard to which patriarch we shall only observe here, that it is not probable the *Pelasgians* of *Greece* and *Italy* derive their original from him, as some imagine [t]; but it rather appears from scripture, that both he and his posterity remained in *Chaldæa*, within the lot of their great ancestor *Arphaxad*, till *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, left *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, to remove into the land of *Canaan*.

MOSES assigns the habitation of *Joktan*'s sons to have been *from* Mesha, *as thou goest unto* Sephar, *a mount of the east* [u]. The want of knowing the situation of these places hath run authors into strange mistakes. Some suppose *Mesha* to be mount *Masius*, or *Ararat* in *Armenia*, (but it seems rather to be a city) and look for mount *Sephar* beyond *Media*, towards *India*. *Jerom*, after *Josephus*, would have both *Mesha* and *Sephar* to be in the *East-Indies*. In short, the antients have generally peopled all the eastern parts of *Asia* beyond *Media*, with these sons of *Joktan*; which is so inconsistent, that *Bochart* might well wonder so many of the moderns have been led by them [x]; and yet some have done worse, and peopled *America* immediately by *Joktan*, from whom *Arias Montanus* imagined the province of *Jucatan* took its name; and the same author judges mount *Sephar* to be the *Andes*, mountains of *Peru*.

IN all probability the places in question are to be looked for in *Arabia*; but we cannot agree in opinion with *Bochart* [y], that *Mesha* is *Muza*, (supposed to be *Mokha*, a noted port in the *Arabian* gulf) and *Sephar* the city *Sapphar* [z], any more than with the *Arab* paraphrasts, that they are *Mecca* and *Medinah*. We should choose out of these two conjectures to form a third, and suppose *Mesha* and *Sephar* to be *Mecca* and *Sapphar*, or rather (if the *Mosaical* description would agree with it) *Dhafar*, a port in the middle of that coast of *Arabia*, washed by the *Indian* sea, which would take in all the country lying beyond that of *Cush*, and which the *Arabs* allow to have been possessed by the posterity of *Yarab*, the son of

[t] See CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 268. [u] Gen. x. 30.
[x] Phaleg. l. 2. c. 15. [y] Ibid. l. 2. c. 30. [z] Vid. PTOL. Tab. 6. Asiæ.

Kahtân

Kahtân, or *Joktan* [z]. We do not indeed find *Yarab* among the ſons of *Joktan* mentioned by *Moſes*; but it is no difficult matter to ſet him there by a change of the *h*, in *Jerah*, (the fourth ſon) into *b*.

We meet with no good ſigns of the ſettlement of *Almodad* and *Sheleph*, the two firſt ſons of *Joktan*; but the name of the third, *Hazarmaveth*, or, as it is better written in the vulgar, *Haſarmoth*, is plainly found in *Hadhramaut*, a province of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*; both having the ſame radicals, and ſignifying *the court*, or *country*, *of death*. 4. *Bochart* diſcovers the name of *Jerah* in the iſland *Hieracon* (or of hawks) in the *Arabian* gulf, and a town ſo called within land on the river *Lar*, near the *Omanitæ*; and, 5. That of *Hadoram* in the *Drimati* of *Pliny*, towards the *Perſian* gulf [b]. 6. *Uzal* is the name given to *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, by the *Jews* who dwelt there [c]; and it appears from *Pliny* to be the ſame city [d]; its port was *Occla*, or *Ocilis*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, which alſo bears ſome reſemblance to the name. 7. *Diklah* ſignifying in the *Chaldean*, or *Syriac*, a *palm-tree*, or *a country ſtored with palms*, may have choice of ſeats in *Arabia*. 8. It is with reluctance that we muſt croſs the ſea with *Obal* from *Arabia* to the *Avalitic* port [e], in the *Avalitic*, or *Abalitic* bay, on the coaſt of *Africa*, juſt without the ſtraits of *Bab-al-mandad* [f], for want of a place in *Arabia* bearing ſome likeneſs to his name to ſettle him in. It is true, there is a town called *Obollah*, towards *Baſrah*, which might ſerve the turn, if that part had not been already diſpoſed of by us to the family of *Ham*. Some may think the uncertainty of its antiquity might be another objection againſt *Obollah*; but that would be perhaps to call all that we have already done about the migrations in queſtion. 9. We might be obliged to look for a ſeat on the ſame coaſt for *Abimael*, if *Theophraſtus* [g] did not luckily furniſh us with the name of a place, in the aromatic quarters of *Arabia*, called *Mali*. It is true, other authors ſeem to write *Minæi* inſtead of it; and *Ptolemy* mentions the *Minæi*, and *Manitæ*, but no *Mali*: but the authority of *Theophraſtus* muſt go againſt them all, ſince it makes for our purpoſe. This is a rule which has the ſanction of moſt authors who

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Hazarmaveth.

Jerah.

Hadoram.

Uzal.

Diklah

Obal.

Abimael.

[a] Mohammed ebn Yacub Shirazi apud GABR. SIONIT. de urb. Orient. c. 1. Vid. D'HERBELOT. Bibl Orient Art. Saba. [b] BOCHART Phaleg. l. 2. c. 19 & 20. [c] ZACUT. in Juchaſin. [d] Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 12. c. 19. l. 6. c. 28. l. 12. c. 14. [e] PTOLEMÆUS. [f] Vid. BOCHART ubi ſup. c. 23. [g] Hiſt. Plant. l. 9. c. 4. apud BOCHART. l. 2. c. 24.

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Sheba.

have wrote on this ſubject. 10. *Sheba* will not have the ſame difficulty with the reſt of his brethren to find a place in *Arabia*. *Pliny* ſays, the *Sabæan* nations extended themſelves from one ſea to the other; that is, from the *Arabian* to the *Perſian* gulf. Indeed there wants no proof of a people of this name poſſeſſing a large ſhare of the ſouth parts of *Arabia*, moſt authors mentioning them as very numerous, and their country excellent [h], but they ſeem to differ in the name of their chief city; for ſome call it *Saba* [i], others *Mariaba*, or *Maraba* [k]. However, that cauſes no difficulty in the matter, ſince we learn from the *Arab* authors, that they are both names of the ſame place, and that it was the antient regal ſeat, which was afterwards tranſlated to *Sanaa*. They alſo tell us, that *Balkis*, who viſited *Solomon*, reigned there; and CHRIST ſeems to allude to this country, when he calls her the *queen of the ſouth*; for *yamin* with the *Jews*, as well as *yaman* with the *Arabs*, ſignifies the *ſouth*; and *Saba*, or *Mareb*, is in that part of *Arabia* called *Yaman* [l].

Ophir.

11. We are at a loſs again about providing a ſettlement for *Ophir*; *Arabia* furniſhes no place which reſembles the name, except *Copar* [m], a place on the *Arabian* gulf, near the northern limits of the *Cinædocolpitæ*, and *Ogyris*, an iſland in the ſame ſea [n]. *Bochart* endeavours to ſqueeze *Ophir* in among the *Caſſanitæ*, or *Gaſſandæ* [o], probably the tribe of *Ghaſſân*, conſulting the ſimilitude of ſenſe in words, when that of ſound fails: and he chooſes rather to be put to his ſhifts, than to run into the common abſurdity of planting *Ophir* in *India*, where the place which bears his name (ſo famous in ſcripture for gold) is ſuppoſed to be ſituate. We ſhall ſpeak more particularly, with reference to this land, when we come to the reign of *Solomon*; and ſhall only obſerve here, that the gold of this place ſeeming in one paſſage of ſcripture to be called the gold of *Parvaim* [p], hath occaſioned two conjectures: the firſt, that *Ophir* is the iſland of *Taprobana* [q]; the ſecond, that it is *Peru* [r], in *America*. The reader may eaſily ſee the latter name comes neareſt that of *Ophir*, but to ſhew what an *ignis fatuus* the ſimilitude of names is, *Peru*, as ſir *Walter Raleigh* aſſures us, is not the true name of the country, but

[h] AGATHARCHIDES, STRABO, DIOD. SICUL. [i] AGATHARCHIDES, PHILOSTORG. l. 3. THEOPHRAST. STEPHANUS. [k] ERATOSTHENES apud Strab. l. 16. ARTEMIDORUS, PLINIUS, l. 12. c. 14. [l] Geog. Nub. p. 26 & 52. ABULFEDA Deſcr. Arab. [m] PTOL. [n] PLIN. l. 6. c. 28. [o] Phaleg. l. 2. c. 27. [p] 2 Chron. iii. 6. [q] BOCHART Geog. ſacr. l. 2. c. 27. [r] ARIAS MONTANUS Antiquit. Judaic. Phaleg. 5. l. 1. c. 9.

was

was given to it by the *Spaniards*, on their miſtaking the anſwer of the natives to a queſtion they did not underſtand. 12. *Havilah* is, by *Bochart*, ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the land of *Khaulan*[r], towards *Yaman*, mentioned by *Al Edriſi*[s]: but as there ſeem to be two places (as well as two perſons) in ſcripture called by that name; one near the *Perſian* gulph, poſſeſſed by *Havilah* the ſon of *Cuſh* already taken totice of, and another in the borders of the *Amalekites*, towards the *Land of Promiſe*, the reader, if he pleaſes, may fix this twelfth ſon of *Joktan* in this laſt country, and place his brother *Jobab*, who is the 13th and laſt, with him for company; unleſs he rather chooſes to quarter him upon the *Jobarites*, near the *Sachalites*, in the ſouth-eaſt part of *Arabia*, upon a preſumption that they ſhould be written *Jobabites*[u]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt 2597. Havilah. Jobab.

SECT. VII.

Of the origin of civil government, and the eſtabliſhment of the firſt kingdoms.

WE have formerly obſerved, that the firſt form of government was certainly patriarchal[a]. For though the father had no natural right to govern his children when out of their minority; and though that honour, reſpect, and ſupport which they indiſpenſibly owe to their parents all their life-time, and in all eſtates, give the father no power in making laws, and enacting penalties on his children: nor any dominion over their properties or actions; yet it is obvious to conceive, how eaſy it was in the firſt ages of the world, and ſtill is, in places where the thinneſs of people gives families leave to ſeparate and plant themſelves in yet vacant habitations, for the father of the family to become the prince of it. He had been a ruler from the beginning of the infancy of his children; and ſince without ſome government it would be hard for them to live together, it was likelieſt it ſhould, by the expreſs, or tacit, conſent of the children, when they were grown up, be in the father; where it ſeemed, without any change, barely to continue; when indeed nothing more was required to it, than the permitting the father to exerciſe alone in his family that executive power of the law of nature, which every freeman naturally hath, and by that permiſſion reſigning up to him a monarchical power while they remained *The firſt government patriarchal.*

[r] Geogr. ſacr. l, 2 c. 28, [s] Geogr. Nubiens, p. 49.
[u] BOCHART Geog. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 29. [a] Before. p. 221.

in

in it. Thus it was almoſt natural for the children to make way for the father's authority: they had been accuſtomed in their childhood to follow his directions, and to refer their little differences to him; and when they were men, who fitter to rule them? Their little properties, and leſs covetouſneſs, ſeldom afforded greater controverſies; and when they ſhould ariſe, where could they have a fitter umpire than he, by whoſe care they had every one been ſuſtained and brought up, and who had a tenderneſs for them all? The government they were under continued ſtill to be more their protection than reſtraint; and they could no where find a greater ſecurity to their peace, liberties, and fortunes, than in the rule of a father.

Changed into the monarchical.

THUS fathers of families, by an inſenſible change, might become politic monarchs of them too, and as they chanced to live long, and leave able and worthy heirs, for ſeveral ſucceſſions or otherwiſe, lay the foundations of hereditary or elective kingdoms, under various conſtitutions and manners, according as chance, contrivance, or occaſions happened to mould them [b].

The policy of the Noachidæ.

NOAH therefore being the common parent of the new world, while he lived we may imagine all his deſcendants conſidered themſelves to be in a ſtate of dependance on him; and as he was the ſupreme governor of the whole race of mankind then in being, ſo his ſons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, were in all probability chief governors of their reſpective branches in particular, as their ſons again were heads or rulers of their reſpective families under their fathers. Each ſon of *Shem*, for inſtance, as head of his own family, not only decided all differences among them, but probably gave laws to them, though his authority extended no farther; for in diſputes between their families, their powers being all equal, they were obliged to have recourſe to the deciſion of their common father *Shem*, whoſe authority alſo was limited to his proper deſcendants; ſo that in any difference between him and his brothers, *Ham* and *Japhet*, the appeal muſt have been to the judgment of their father *Noah*, as the only common ſuperior.

ON *Noah*'s death the unity of government was diſſolved, and mankind became divided into three grand parties, which no longer acknowledged one common head, but had each its own independent ruler in one of his three ſons. Upon their deaths the bonds of union were again looſed, and mankind became a ſecond time divided in their political ſtate; ſo that

[b] LOCKE of Government, Treatiſe 2. c. 6, &c.

by degrees mankind became ranged under a great number of independent chiefs; which ſeems to have been the ſtate of the world for ſome time after the diſperſion.

BUT as families increaſed, and gradually extended their plantations, forming villages and towns, left their different intereſts and inclinations might trouble the public tranquility, it became neceſſary to truſt the government of each ſociety in the hands of one, or at leaſt a ſmall number of perſons, who might reunite all the chiefs under one and the ſame authority, and execute ſuch laws and regulations as were thought conducive to the well-being of the community. The idea they ſtill retained of the patriarchal government, and the happy experience they had of it, naturally directed them to the choice of a ſingle perſon rather than many, and of ſuch as was moſt conſpicuous for paternal care and tenderneſs. Ambition and intrigue had, it is to be thought, little part in this election, which was rather decided in favour of the moſt worthy by his known probity and moderation [c]. *The eſtabliſhment of kingdoms.*

IN this firſt beginning of political ſocieties, almoſt every town had its own king, who more attentive to preſerve his dominions than to extend them, reſtrained his ambition within the bounds of his native country [d], till diſputes with neighbours, which were ſometimes inevitable, jealouſy of a more powerful prince, an enterprizing genius and martial inclination, the deſire of aggrandizing ones ſelf and ſhewing ones abilities, occaſioned thoſe wars which often ended in the abſolute ſubjection of the vanquiſhed; whoſe poſſeſſions fell into the power of the conqueror, and by enlarging his dominions, both enabled and encouraged him to puſh on his fortune by new enterprizes; and thus ſeveral cities and territories, united under one monarch, formed kingdoms of larger, or leſſer, extent, as the prince happened to have ambition and ſucceſs.

THESE firſt conquerors uſed their victory in different manners, according to their various tempers and intereſts. Some, looking on themſelves as abſolute maſters of the conquered, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, ſtripped them of every thing elſe, and reduced them into the ſtate of ſlavery, obliging them to the meaneſt offices and the moſt laborious employments; which introduced the diſtinction between freemen and ſlaves, which has ſince been in the world.

OTHERS brought in the cuſtom of entirely tranſporting the vanquiſhed people with their families into new countries,

[c] JUSTIN l. 1. c. 1. [d] Idem, ibid.

where

where they were to ſettle and cultivate the lands which were aſſigned them.

OTHERS, yet more moderate, contented themſelves with obliging the conquered to purchaſe their liberty by a ranſom, and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges on payment of an annual tribute, ſometimes even leaving their kings on their throne, on their acknowledging the ſuperiority of their conqueror, by certain marks of homage and ſubmiſſion.

THE wiſeſt and moſt politic gained the affections of their new ſubjects by admitting them to an equality with their old ones, and granting them the ſame liberties and privileges; by that means making them one people, and uniting their intereſts [e].

Nimrod the firſt uſurper on the rights of others.

IF the *Phœnician* hiſtory be to be credited, and their *Cronus* be allowed to be *Ham*, the deſire of rule began to make havock in the world, even during the life-time of *Noah*, who was driven out of his ſettlements, and at laſt ſlain by his rebellious ſon [f]. But the firſt act of violence and uſurpation we find recorded in ſcripture was that of *Nimrod*, who, as it ſeems, diſpoſſeſſed *Aſhur* the ſon of *Shem*, who had at firſt ſettled in *Shinaar*, and obliged him to remove into *Aſſyria*. The acquiſitions he made on this occaſion muſt be allowed to be unjuſt, though he might have a legal right to govern thoſe who probably choſe him for their chief, on account of his perſonal merit. However, it is to be preſumed, that this revolution, which we ſuppoſe to have happened about thirty years after the diſperſion, extended only to ſome few of the new-planted nations. In the reſt, and eſpecially thoſe which lay outermoſt, we cannot but perſuade ourſelves, that a ſimplicity of manners continued ſeveral ages, and that wars did not ariſe in the world till the colonies, which were at firſt ſeparated, by the increaſe of their numbers began to preſs upon one another, and grow uneaſy for want of room; which inconvenience muſt have affected thoſe moſt who were ſettled neareſt the centre: and accordingly the firſt warlike motions we have any credible account of, were made by the kings of *Shinaar* and *Elam* [g].

Great empires not ſoon formed.

IT is very difficult to ſettle the riſe of the firſt empires, but it is ſcarcely poſſible they ſhould begin ſo early as hiſtorians have repreſented them. That the firſt kings were kings of ſingle cities, not of many, much leſs of large countries, is evident from what we find in hiſtory relating to the early ſtate of nations. How long was *Greece* divided into little ſtates? how

[e] ROLLIN Hiſt. ancienne, &c. p. 3, &c. [f] See before, p. 300, &c. [g] Gen. xiv. 1.

many

many ages did they continue jarring and contending for the maſtery? By what ſlow degrees did *Rome* enlarge its territories and riſe up to empire? and how many centuries paſſed before it ſubdued the neighbouring cities which ſurrounded it? The *Iſraelites* found *Canaan* in the ſame condition that *Italy* was, in the time of *Romulus*, and, notwithſtanding the great ſucceſs of *Joſhua*, were above four hundred years in reducing the petty monarchies under their dominion.

THE uniting therefore of many ſmaller ſtates into one body by force, being apparently a work of time, thoſe authors who place the riſe of ſeveral great monarchies within two or three ages next after the flood, muſt be greatly deceived, either by following authors who have attributed too great antiquity to ſuch events, or by adhering to a ſyſtem of chronology which is too ſhort; and of the two evils this laſt is the worſt. How unfit the *Hebrew* computation is for adjuſting the times of prophane hiſtory, will partly be ſeen in that of *Egypt* which we are now going to enter upon: we ſhall only add here, that the firſt appearance we find of a potent and extenſive monarchy is in that of *Elam*, whoſe king *Chedorlaomer*, in the time of *Abraham*, over-run *Canaan* and the neighbouring countries as far as the borders of *Egypt* [h], ſome hundreds of years before we hear any thing of an *Aſſyrian* monarchy; which could not have had a beginning any number of years before *Menahem*, when its kings firſt began to paſs the *Euphrates* at the inſtigation of that prince [i].

Of the original of arts and ſciences.

THOUGH *Noah* and his ſons had doubtleſs ſome knowledge of the inventions of the antediluvians, and probably acquainted their deſcendants with ſuch of them as were moſt obvious and uſeful in common life, yet it is not to be imagined, that any of the more curious arts, or ſpeculative ſciences, were improved in any degree, ſuppoſing them to have been known or invented, till ſome conſiderable time after the diſperſion. On the contrary, one conſequence of that event ſeems to have been, that ſeveral inventions known to their anceſtors were loſt, and mankind gradually degenerated into ignorance and barbarity, till eaſe and plenty had given them leiſure again to poliſh their manners, and apply themſelves to thoſe arts, which are ſeldom brought to perfection under other circumſtances. For on their ſettling in any country they found it employment ſufficient to cultivate the land (which yet for want of ſeparate property and ſecurity in their poſſeſſions, in thoſe early times, they improved no farther than barely to ſupply preſent neceſſities), and to provide themſelves habitations and neceſſaries for their mutual comfort and ſubſiſtance [k]. Beſides this,

[h] Gen. xiv. 5, &c.

[i] 2 Kings xv. 19.

[k] Vid. THUCYD. *l.* 1. ſub initio.

they

they were often obliged to remove from one place to another, where they could more conveniently reside; and it was a great while before they came to embody themselves together in towns and cities, and from thence to spread into provinces, and to settle the bounds and extent of their territories [l]. Two, or three ages at least, must have been spent in this manner; and it is not very likely, they should amuse themselves with celestial observations in particular, when they had so many more pressing affairs to mind. So that the astronomical observations of the *Babylonians*, of which *Callisthenes* sent an account to his master *Aristotle* [m], if they reached so far backwards as we are told, *viz.* 1903 years, are a further proof of the insufficiency of the *Hebrew* chronology, according to which those observations must have began little more than 100 years after the flood.

—and of commerce.

COMMERCE was in all probability carried on with greater ease before the flood, when there was, as it seems, but one and the same language in the world; yet it was not so necessary then as it is become since, not only because mens wants have been encreased by the ill effects of the deluge on the earth and its productions [n], but because they dwelt more together, and might supply their occasions by bartering with their nearest neighbours, without being obliged to extend their dealings much farther; and that they had no ships to carry on a traffic to remote parts seems evident; for if navigation had been then found out, some others might have saved themselves from the flood as well as *Noah* and his family. But after that destruction, and the dispersion of mankind, as it became more difficult to trade with nations who spoke different languages, so their necessities were encreased by this division; the colonies, who planted new countries not only perceiving their own wants by the conveniences they had left behind them, but finding something useful in their settlements, which were before unknown to them or their founders. This engaged them to fetch what they wanted from the parts where they had formerly dwelt, and in exchange to carry what they had discovered thither; which seems to have given the first rise to foreign trade, the gradual advances whereof we may occasionally mention hereafter. The invention of shipping was certainly the greatest step to its improvement, which made the sea, before the greatest obstacle to commerce, of the greatest advantage to it [o].

[l] STILLINGFL. Orig. Sacr. book 1. c. 2. § 16. [m] Vid. SIMPLIC de cælo, l. 2. [n] See before, p. 220, &c. [o] Vid. HUET. Hist. du commerce & de la navig. des anciens, c. 2. & 3.

CHAP. III.

The History of Egypt *to the time of* Alexander *the Great.*

SECT. I.

A description of Egypt.

EGYPT, called by its antient inhabitants *Chemia* [a], and by the *Copts* at present *Chemi*, was so named, as is supposed, from *Ham* the son of *Noah*, being more than once stiled, in the book of *Psalms*, *the land of* Ham. But the name by which it is generally denoted in scripture, is the land of *Mizraïm*, from whence the *Arabians* and other oriental nation, still call it *Mesr*, which the *Greeks* write *Mesre* and *Mestræa*. We have already observed, that *Mizraïm* is a word of a dual termination [b], and is therefore by some thought to have been used in that number, because of the two-fold division of *Egypt* hereafter mentioned, and thence given to its first planter, the son of *Ham* [c]: the singular *Masor* signifies a *fortress*, and, according to some, is also used in scripture as a proper name of that country [d]; though others, and our version in particular, translate the word as an appellative: *Bochart* is of opinion, *Egypt* received this name from the natural strength of its situation [e]. *Its names.*

THIS country is best known to us by its *Greek* name *Ægypt*, the original of which is variously accounted for by authors. Some say, it was so called from one of its kings named *Ægyptus* [f]; but the contrary seems to have been the case, not only the country, but its famous river *Nile* also, being antiently called by the same name. Others say, it signifies no more than the *land of the* Copts, the word *Aia* being *Greek* for a *country*, and *Ægoptos* easily softened into *Ægyp-*

[a] PLUT. de Isid. & Osir. p. 364. [b] Before, p. 365. [c] Vid. PERIZON. orig. Ægypt p. 6. [d] 2 Kings xix. 24. Isai xix. 6. Micah vii. 12. [e] Phaleg. l. 4. c. 24. [f] DIODOR. SIC. Eu-SEB, &c.

tus [g] : yet this derivation ſeems as ill grounded as the former; the city of *Coptus*, whence the remains of the antient *Egyptians* are ſtill called *Copts*, being ſituate far up in the higher *Egypt*, and in all likelihood utterly unknown to the *Greeks* till long after the name was in uſe among them. The moſt probable opinion therefore, to omit ſome other conjectures ſtill more groundleſs, is, that this region was ſo called from the blackneſs of its ſoil, and the dark colour both of its river and inhabitants, atteſted by all relations. For ſuch a blackiſh colour is called by the *Greeks ægyptios*, from *gyps* and *ægyps*, a *vultur*, a bird of that hue; and by the *Latins*, *ſubvulturius*. And for the ſame reaſon other names of the ſame import have been given to this country by the *Greeks*, ſuch as *Aeria* and *Melambolus*: the river itſelf was called *Melo*, or *Melas*; by the *Hebrews Shihor*, and by the *Ethiopians*, *Siris* [h]; all which names ſignify *black*: and *Plutarch* ſeems to intimate, the inhabitants therefore called their country *Chemia*, becauſe its ſoil was very black, like the ſight of the eye [i].

Situation and extent. Egypt is ſituate between the 28th and 34th degrees of longitude, eaſt from *London*; and the 24th and 33d degrees of north latitude. Its length from north to ſouth about 600 miles, and the breadth of its coaſt on the *Mediterranean*, from eaſt to weſt near 300 miles; but above the diviſion of the *Nile* it grows much narrower, ſo that in ſome places the two chains of mountains, which riſe on each ſide of that river, leave a plain between them of leſs than a day's journey to croſs [k]. It is bounded on the ſouth by the kingdom of *Sennar*, which is tributary to the king of *Ethiopia*, and the cataracts of the *Nile*; on the north by the *Mediterranean* ſea; on the eaſt by the *Arabian* gulph, or *red* ſea, and the *Iſthmus* of *Suez*; on the weſt by a region of *Libya* called *Marmarica*.

The old geographers differ as to the antient bounds of this country; ſome have thought, that the *Delta* only, or that part encompaſſed by the arms of the *Nile*, was properly to be called *Egypt* [l]; others make it reach weſtward to the greater *Catabathmus* [m], or valley, which divides it from *Cyrenaica*; but this would give it too great an extent, and include *Marmarica* and *Ammonis*, which are by every body elſe agreed to be no part of *Egypt*. The true limits on that ſide therefore, ſeem rather to be taken from *Plinthine*, a town beyond the

[g] See Well's Geog. of the old Teſt. Vol. II. p, 5. [h] Vid. Perizon. ubi ſup. p. 13. [i] Ubi ſup. [k] Vid. Lucas, Voyages, Tom. II. p. 193. Gol. in Alfrag. p. 100. [l] Ionei apud Herodot. l. 2. c. 15. [m] Strabo. l. 17.

lake

lake *Mareotis*, and to extend eaſtward as far as the lake *Serbonis* [n], or more exactly to *Oſtracine* on the *Mediterranean* ſea, and *Heropolis* at the head of the *Arabian* gulph. The ſouthern bounds were *Syene*, a city ſituate almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, and *Elephantine* and *Philæ*, two others which lie ſomething farther [o].

As the antients differ likewiſe in ſettling the limits of *Aſia* and *Africa*, ſome, who make the *Nile* the boundary of thoſe two parts of the world [p], place ſo much of *Egypt* as lies eaſt of that river in *Aſia*; but others place it entirely in that part, by removing the limits of *Aſia* ſo far as *Alexandria* [q], or the *Catabathmus* [r]. But we think the common opinion the moſt natural, which divides *Aſia* from *Africa* by the *Arabian* gulph and the *Iſthmus* of *Suez*. However, we hope the former authorities will excuſe our including the *Egyptians* among the *Aſiatic* nations, whoſe hiſtories we give in this book; which we have done merely for convenience.

ANTIENT *Egypt* is divided by ſome into two parts, the upper and the lower *Egypt*; by others into three, the upper *Egypt*, properly ſo called, or *Thebaïs*; the middle *Egypt*, or *Heptanomis*; and the lower *Egypt*, the beſt part of which was the *Delta*. *Its diviſion.*

THEBAIS, which was ſo named by the *Greeks* from its principal city *Thebes*, is in the ſcripture called *Patros*, and at preſent *al Saïd*. It is the moſt ſoutherly part of *Egypt* next to *Ethiopia*, and is near as big as all the reſt, including the country on both ſides the *Nile* down to the *Heptanomis*; its laſt city, according to the antients, being *Lycopolis* on the weſtern, and *Antæopolis* on the eaſtern ſide of the river; which agrees pretty exactly with the preſent extent of *al Saïd*, the moſt northern city of which is *Manfalût* [s]. Thebaïs.

THERE were formerly in this part of *Egypt* a very great number of large and magnificent cities, with temples dedicated to ſeveral deities, and the tombs of their antient princes; and it is ſaid, there are not only ſeveral obeliſks and coloſſes ſtill remaining there, more beautiful than thoſe to be ſeen in the lower *Egypt*, but alſo ſome pyramids higher than thoſe near *al Kâhira* (commonly called *Cairo*) with other ſtupendous works; ſome of which we may take notice of hereafter.

[n] Vid. HEROD. ubi ſup. [o] Vid. CELLAR. Geogr. Ant. l. 4. c. 1. [p] STRABO. l. 11. DIONYS. Perieg. v. 18. PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. 3. c 1. [q] HIRTIUS de bello Alex. c. 14. [r] SALLUST. de bello Jugurth. c. 17. POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 8. [s] LUCAS, Voy. T. IX. p. 209.

Its metropolis *Thebes*, called afterwards *Dioſpolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, was ſituate on the *Nile*, and deſervedly reckoned one of the fineſt cities in the world. Its hundred gates are mentioned by *Homer*, whence it had the ſurname of *Hecatompylos* (A). It was ſo incredibly populous, that it is ſaid it could ſend out of each gate at one and the ſame time 200 chariots[t], and 10,000 fighting men, if the numbers are true. Its length in *Strabo*'s time was 80 furlongs[u], or ten miles: but this was nothing in compariſon of its antient extent before it was ruined by *Cambyſes*; which, we are told, was no leſs than 420 ſtadia, or 48 $\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{5}$ miles[w] (B). The riches of this city were ſo very great, that after it had been plundered by the *Perſians*, what was found on burning the remains of the pillage, amounted to above 300 talents of gold, and 2,300 talents of ſilver[x]. Who was the firſt founder of this city is uncertain; ſome ſay, it was built by *Oſiris*, who gave it firſt the name of his mother[y]; but others make it the work of a ſecond *Buſiris*[z]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that formerly the name of *Thebes* was given to all *Egypt*[a], which makes what is ſaid above of its great power more credible.

The other antient cities of great note in *Thebaïs*, were the leſſer *Dioſpolis*, *This*, *Abydus*, *Tentyris*, *Hermonthis*, *Latopolis*, *Syene*, *Coptos*, and ſeveral others, all which are now either quite ruined, or become ſmall towns and villages. The laſt deſerves particular mention, not only as being a very antient city, but for having been the chief reſidence of the native *Egyptians* for many ages, ſince their country has been

[t] Homer. Il. 10. v. 387. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 43. Pomp. Mela. l. 1 c. 9. [u] Strab. l. 17. p. 1170. [w] Eustath. ad Dionys. &c. [x] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [y] Idem ibid. p. 18. [z] Ibid. p. 42. [a] Herod. l. 11. Aristot. Meteor. 1.

(A) Others ſay this is not the number of the gates of the city itſelf; but the temples within it having many large porches, the city had thence the name, expreſſing a definite for an indefinite number (1).

(B) Yet it contained but 1700 *aruras* (a meaſure of 100 cubits ſquare); for which reaſon it is ſuppoſed its length much exceeded its breadth, being probably built chiefly on the banks of the *Nile* (2).

(1) Diodor. Sic. *ubi ſup. p.* 43. (2) *Vid.* Voſſium *in Melam. p.* 871.

ſubject

ſubject to a foreign power, and whence they received their preſent name of *Copts*.

HEPTANOMIS, or the middle *Egypt*, was ſo called from the ſeven *nomes*, or præfectures, into which it was divided, though *Strabo* ſays it contained ſixteen [b]; which difference may have been occaſioned by the adding of new nomes to thoſe it originally comprized, as were in particular thoſe of *Oaſis*, of which name there were two cities, not properly in *Egypt*, but on the borders of *Lybia*. The *Heptanomis* comprehended all the country on each ſide of the *Nile* from *Thebaïs* to the point of the *Delta*, where that river divides itſelf into thoſe branches by which it enters the ſea. Some of the antients make this tract a part of the *Thebaïs*; and ſome of the eaſtern geographers alſo give the ſame extent to *al Saïd* [c]. Heptanomis.

THIS part of *Egypt* was alſo in old times very full of large and noble cities, the principal of which was *Memphis*, built by *Menes* their firſt king, and for many ages the capital of the whole kingdom. Here alſo were the lake of *Mœris*, the labyrinths, and the pyramids ſo celebrated by antiquity, of which we ſhall give ſome deſcription hereafter.

THE lower *Egypt*, reaching from *Heptanomis* to the *Mediterranean* ſea, contained not only that part which is encompaſſed by the arms of the *Nile*, and from its triangular figure named *Delta*, but alſo *Marcotis*, and *Alexandria* with its dependencies, to the weſt; and *Caſiotis*, and *Auguſtamnica*, with ſome other territories towards *Arabia*, to the eaſt. Lower Egypt.

SOME have imagined the *Delta*, or the greater part of it, to have been an acceſſion of land to *Egypt*, and that the plains between the mountains beyond *Memphis* were formerly a bay of the ſea, which was at length filled up by the ſoil brought down by the *Nile* [d]. But this opinion ſeems very groundleſs, conſidering the little alteration which has been in this part of *Egypt* for above 2000 years paſt, and the time allowed for this effect by *Herodotus*, which is no leſs than 20,000 years, a much longer ſpace than the world has laſted. Some *Arabs* divide the *Delta* into two parts, *al Rif* and *al Babriya*. The former, being the weſtern part, is ſuppoſed by *Bochart* to be the *Rahab* of the ſcriptures [e], and was ſo called becauſe of its form reſembling a pear, which the *Egyptians* call *rib* or *ribi* [f]. *Al Babriya* is the eaſtern part of the *Delta* according to ſeveral [g], though a late traveller more truly places *al Babriya*, or as he

[b] STRABO. l. 16. [c] Vid. GOLII not. ad Alfrag. p. 100.
[d] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 30. HEROD. l. 2. c. 5. [e] Pſal. lxxxvii. 4. & l. xxxix. 10. Iſai. li. 9. [f] BOCHART Geogr. Sacr. l. 4. c. 24.
[g] KIRCHER. Oedip. Ægypt. T. I. p. 8. LUCAS, Voy. T. II. p. 195.

writes it *Beheiré*, beyond the weſtern branch of the *Nile* [h]. The chief cities of the lower *Egypt* were *Tanis*, *Sais*, and *Xoïs*, famous for being the ſeats of ſeveral races of princes; and in later times *Alexandria* which was the metropolis of the whole kingdom, while in the poſſeſſion of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

Its diviſions into nomes.

BESIDES this large diviſion, *Egypt* was alſo diſtributed into ſeveral governments, or præfectures, called by the *Egyptians Tabir*, and by the *Greeks Nomes*; whence that paſſage of ſcripture [i], which our verſion renders, *I will ſet the* Egyptians *againſt the* Egyptians, *and they ſhall fight kingdom againſt kingdom*, the *Septuagint* have rightly tranſlated, *nome againſt nome*. The number of theſe are uncertain, being, according to the pleaſure of the prince, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs; for which reaſon antient authors differ in their accounts of them: but they were about thirty ſix, and generally named from the chief city of each nome. This diviſion is attributed to *Seſoſtris* [k].

IT is not our purpoſe here to enter into a particular detail of the cities of *Egypt*, or any geographical diſquiſitions as to their antient and modern ſtates, names, and ſituations; but we ſhall in the courſe of this work occaſionally make ſuch obſervations in relation thereto, as we ſhall judge curious or neceſſary.

Climate.

THE climate of *Egypt* muſt needs be very warm, from its near ſituation to the tropic. Though the air is generally dry, yet there fall great dews after the ſwelling of the *Nile*, which continue for ſeveral months; in the lower *Egypt* it often rains in the winter, notwithſtanding what ſome of the antients ſay to the contrary [l]; and even ſnow has been obſerved to fall at *Alexandria*, contrary to the expreſs aſſertion of *Seneca* [m]. In the upper *Egypt* indeed, towards the catadupes, or cataracts of *Nile*, it rains very ſeldom [n]. The firſt ſummer (for they reckon two in *Egypt*), which is in *March*, *April*, and *May*, is the moſt inconvenient and ſickly ſeaſon, becauſe of the unequal weather, exceſſive heats, and hot winds which reign at that time, and cauſe ſeveral diſtempers: but in return, in their ſecond ſummer, in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, and in their autumn and winter, one breaths a much cooler air, the weather is more conſtant, and it is then moſt delightful living in this country. Though the cold is ſeldom felt there,

[h] Eſſai d'une carte d'Egypte par SICARD. [i] Iſaiah xix. 2.
[k] DIOD. SIC. l. 2. p. 50. [l] PLATO in Tim. POMP. MELA.
[m] Nat. quæſt. l. 4. [n] Vid. GREAVES's Deſcrip. of the Pyramids, p. 74, &c. RAY's Collect. of Travels, T. II. p. 92.

except

except only for about ſeven days, which the *Arabs* call *Berd al ajûz the old woman's cold*, from the 7th to the 14th of *February*, yet thoſe who are tolerably rich wear furs, becauſe of the uncertainty of the ſeaſon [o].

THE fertility of *Egypt*, and the excellence of its productions and fruits are greatly celebrated by antient writers, and by *Moſes* himſelf [p], who muſt needs have been well acquainted with this country. It abounds in grain of all ſorts, but particularly rice; inſomuch that, as it was formerly the granary of *Rome*, while ſubject to the *Roman* empire, it is now the principal country which ſupplies *Conſtantinople*. *Fertility.*

THE moſt plentiful parts of *Egypt* are the *Delta*, and that province which is now called *al Feyyûm*, ſuppoſed to be the antient *Heracleotic* nome [q]; the capital of which, bearing the ſame name, is thought to have been either *Heracleopolis*, *Nilopolis*, or *Arſinoe*, and is ſaid by the natives to have been built by *Joſeph*, to whom they own themſelves obliged for the improvements of this territory; which, being much the loweſt part of *Egypt*, was before nothing but a ſtanding pool, till that patriarch, by cutting canals, and particularly the great one which reaches from the *Nile* to the lake *Mœris*, drained it of the water, and clearing it of the ruſhes and marſhy weeds, rendered it fit for tillage. It is now the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated land in the whole kingdom, containing above 360 villages, and yields linen, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; and it fails not bearing, even in thoſe years, when the *Nile*'s not riſing to its uſual height occaſions a ſcarcity in the other parts of *Egypt* [r].

HAVING ſpoken of the plenty of *Egypt*, it would be an unpardonable omiſſion not to ſay ſomething of the river *Nile*, to which this country is indebted for all its fertility and happineſs. The ſources, or ſprings, of this river were ſo abſolutely unknown to the antients, that they thought it even impoſſible to diſcover them: they are now well known to be in *Ethiopia*, though modern travellers differ in their accounts of them, as will be ſeen when we come to deſcribe them in a more proper place. The *Nile* enters *Egypt* almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, violently pouring itſelf, as it paſſes, down no leſs than ſeven cataracts, or falls, from a very conſiderable height, between ragged rocks and precipices, with ſo great a noiſe that it may be heard ſeveral miles off. The people of thoſe parts uſed formerly to entertain ſtrangers with *Of the river* Nile.

[o] Ibid. & LUCAS, Voy. T. II. p. 239.
[p] Geneſ. xiii. 10.
[q] Vid. STRABON. l. 17.
[r] GOLII not. ad Alfrag. p. 157, &c. KIRCHER Oedip. Vol. I. p. 8. LUCAS, ubi ſup. p 205.

a ſurprizing ſpectacle, which ſome modern travellers ſay is ſtill continued: two of them get into a ſmall boat, one to guide it, and the other to keep it clear of water; after having born the violence of the agitated waves for ſome time, they dexterouſly ſteer their boat through the narrow channels, thereby avoiding the rocks, and letting themſelves be carried down by the falling river, direct their little veſſel with their hands, and ruſhing headlong, to the great terror of the ſpectators, who think them utterly loſt and ſwallowed up, they appear again on the water, far from the place from which they fell, as if they had been ſhot out of an engine[r]. The *Nile*, having paſſed through the upper and middle *Egypt*, a little below the antient *Memphis* divided itſelf into two large arms, which afterwards forming ſeven channels, emptied themſelves into the ſea by as many mouths. Theſe ſeven mouths of the *Nile*, much ſpoken of by the antient writers, were, to begin from the weſt, the *Canopic*, the *Heracleotic*, the *Bolbitic*, the *Sebennytic*, the *Phatnic*, or *Pathmetic*, the *Mendeſian*, the *Taniticˌ*, or *Saïtic*, and the *Peluſian*; which had their names from ſo many cities ſtanding on their ſeveral branches. Beſides theſe, there were the two *Pſeudoſtomata*, or *falſe mouths*, as they called them, of *Pineptimi* and *Diolcos*, which were too ſmall to carry larger veſſels. But the greater part of theſe mouths have been ſince ſtopped up, and others formed, ſo that there are now reckoned to be above thirty channels which carry the waters of the *Nile* into the ſea, eſpecially at the time of its overflowing, the greater part of them becoming dry when the waters retire[t]; the two chief, and indeed only conſiderable arms of that river at preſent, being that of *Roſetta*, or *Raſhid*, to the weſt, and that of *Damietta*, or *Dimyát*, to the eaſt.

Its annual overflowing.

THE annual inundation of the *Nile*, on which the fertility of *Egypt* depends, is one of the greateſt wonders of that country. The antient writers tell us, that it begins to riſe in *Egypt* about the ſummer ſolſtice, and continues ſo to do till after the autumnal equinox, for about the ſpace of one hundred days, and then it gradually decreaſes for as many days, till it retires within its banks, and overflows no more till the next year. If the river did not riſe to the height of ſixteen cubits, or fifteen at leaſt, the country was not covered with water, and a dearth enſued[u]: this account comes very near to thoſe given by modern travellers. Though the river begins to ſwell in *May*, yet no public notice is taken of it till the

[r] Senec. Nat. queſt. l. 4. c. 2. [t] Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 313.
[u] Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. Vid. Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

28th

28th or 29th of *June*, by which time it is uſually riſen to the height of ſix, or eight pikes (a *Turkiſh* meaſure of about twenty ſix inches); and then the public criers proclaim it through the capital and other cities, and continue in the ſame manner to publiſh how much the river increaſes every day, till it riſes to ſixteen pikes, and then they cut down the dam of the *Khalîj*, or great canal at *Bulâk*, which paſſes through the midſt of *al Kahira*, and let in the water on their lands, by an artifice we ſhall mention by and by. If the river want but an inch of this height, they will not cut the dam, becauſe in ſuch caſe no tribute is due to the prince for the lands which ſhould be watered by them, the produce being then ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the tillers. And therefore at preſent, if the *Baſha*, or governor, of *Egypt* cut this dam before the river riſe to that determinate height, he is anſwerable for the conſequence, and muſt pay the *Turkiſh* emperor his tribute, whether the year be plentiful or no. If the water increaſe to the height of twenty three or twenty four pikes, it is judged moſt favourable; but if it exceed that, it does a great deal of miſchief, not only by overthrowing houſes, and drowning cattle, but alſo by engendering a great number of inſects which deſtroy the fruits of the earth [w].

THE *Khalij* above-mentioned is always opened with great ſolemnity in the preſence of the *Baſha*, accompanied by all his great officers, and attended by an innumerable multitude of people, this being one of the greateſt feſtivals in *Egypt* [x]; and in former times, we are told, the *Egyptians* uſed annually at this ceremony to ſacrifice a girl, or, as others ſay, a boy and a girl, to the *Nile*, as a tribute paid to that river for all the benefits they received from it. And this inhuman cuſtom continued, it is ſaid, till the *Turks* made themſelves maſters of *Egypt* (C); the firſt governor under whom reſolved to aboliſh it, and by his prudent remonſtrances prevailed on the *Egyptians* to omit it: but the river unfortunately did not riſe that year to the accuſtomed height. The year following it

[w] LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 327, &c. Vid. THEVENOT, Voy. part 1. c. 22, 45, 46, &c. [x] Vid. eoſd. ubi ſup.

(C) It ſeems very ſtrange, that ſuch a practice ſhould be ſuffered, not only during the time *Egypt* was ſubject to the chriſtian emperors of *Conſtantinople*, but while the *Arabs* were maſters of it. *Amaſis*, one of the antient *Egyptian* kings, is ſaid to have aboliſhed the human ſacrifices offered to *Juno*, as will be obſerved hereafter; and it might be reaſonably ſuppoſed, he would alſo have put a ſtop to thoſe offered to the *Nile*. Perhaps we may ſet this matter in a clearer light, when we come to the *Arabian* and *Turkiſh* hiſtory.

was worſe, ſo that the people, apprehending a famine, began to murmur: whereupon the governor led all the inhabitants of the city, *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Chriſtians*, to a mountain on the eaſt of *al Kâhira*, and after a pathetic exhortation, he obliged all that were preſent to offer up their prayers to God for the obtaining his mercy; in which exerciſe they paſſed all the reſt of that day and the following night. The next morning before day, ſome women came, with great joy, to acquaint the governor, that the *Nile* had riſen in the night no leſs than twelve pikes; whereupon nothing was heard but the praiſes of God and acclamations of the people. Coming down from the mountain, they erected an altar at the mouth of the canal ten foot high, whereon they threw a great quantity of flowers, and a branch of olive, which laſt, as they ſay, took root there, as a more agreeable offering to God than the former innocent victim; and they continue ſtill to erect ſuch an altar every year, and when they break down the dam, and the water enters the *Khalij*, it carries down the altar and flowers with it. The year when this event happened, the *Nile* roſe two pikes higher than it uſed to do, and there was very great plenty; ſince which time a final ſtop being put to the above-mentioned ſuperſtitious practice, whenever the waters fail of their accuſtomed height, they have recourſe to prayers on the ſame mountain [y].

Of the Nilometers.

That they may the better judge of the daily increaſe of the water, and the conſequent plenty or ſcarcity of the enſuing year, the gradual riſe of the river is very exactly meaſured either by wells ſunk, or pillars erected and divided for that purpoſe. There was one of the former, we are told, on the bank of the *Nile*, in the upper *Egypt* near *Syene* [z]; and one of the latter was ſet up in *Memphis* [a]. A very antient column, which ſerved for the ſame uſe, is alſo yet to be ſeen in the caſtle of old *Kâhira*, ſaid to be erected in the time of the emperor *Heraclius*. The preſent *Nilometer* (D), or *Mikyâs*

[y] Lucas, ubi ſup. Vid. Thevenot, ubi ſup. [z] Strabo, l. 17. p. 817. [a] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 33.

(D) This *Nilometer* is different from that built in an iſland of the *Nile*, between *Jizah* and *al Foſtât* (which from its pleaſant ſituation, and being planted with ſeveral ſorts of fruit-trees, is much celebrated by the oriental writers, and called *al Rawdat*, or *the Garden*) by *Aſâmah ebn Yazid* (3), collector of the tribute in *Egypt*, in the reign of the *Khaliſah Soleymân ebn Abd'almalek*. Some years after the

(3) Elmacin. *in vita Soleymân.*

Khaliſah



D. Pomarede Sc.

Mikyâs, as the *Arabs* call it, is in the ſame caſtle; it is a large ſquare reſervoir, round which runs a handſome gallery, ſuſtained by twelve marble pillars, which form arches, with a baluſtrade to lean on when one looks into the water. In the midſt of this baſon, through which paſſes a canal drawn from the *Nile*, is an octagonal pillar of white marble, divided into twenty two equal parts; the firſt is again divided into twenty four inches, but the ſecond is not; however, the others are all marked to the top of the column. They are very careful, during the time of the inundation, to obſerve the height of the water by the meaſure, and every day proclaim it in the city. This work is ſo exactly finiſhed and nicely levelled, that the water in the reſervoir is neither higher nor lower than that in the river [b].

Of the Sphinxes.

As theſe *Nilometers* ſerved to meaſure the overflowing of the river, the *Sphinxes*, of which there were alſo a great many in ſeveral places, ſhewed the beginning of the waters riſing; being a ſymbolic repreſentation, or figure, with the head of a woman and the body of a lion, ſignifying, that the *Nile* began to ſwell in the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, when the ſun paſſes through the ſigns of *Leo* and *Virgo* [c]. There are ſeveral of theſe *Sphinxes* ſtill to be ſeen; one in particular near the pyramids much ſpoken of by the antients, being of a prodigious ſize, and cut out of the rock itſelf: the head and neck only appear at preſent, the reſt of the body being hid in the ſand. It is, according to *Thevenot* [d], twenty ſix foot high, and fifteen foot from the ear to the chin; but *Pliny* aſſures us, the head was no leſs than one hundred and two foot about, and ſixty two foot high from the belly, and that the body was one hundred and forty three foot long, and was thought to be the ſepulchre of king *Amaſis* [e]. There is another alſo at the end of the lake of *al Matariya*, which lies on its ſide, the head being ſeparated from the body [f].

[b] LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 313, 321, &c.
[c] Ibid. p. 323.
[d] THEVENOT Voy. part, 1. c. 5. c. 12.
[e] PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. 36.
[f] LUCAS ubi ſup.

Khalifah al Mâhmûn ordered it to be pulled down, on account of ſome defect therein, and a new one to be built in its room, which was at laſt finiſhed in a magnificent manner by *al Motawakkel* (4). The eaſtern hiſtories mention ſeveral other ſtructures of this ſort, built or repaired by the *Khalifahs* while maſters of *Egypt*.

(4) *Vid.* Golij *Not. ad Alfrag. p.* 156. & D'Herbelot *Biбl. orient. p.* 672.

The manner of conveying the water on their lands.

As it may eaſily be conceived, this river could not of itſelf overflow the lands every where in the neceſſary proportion, the inhabitants have been obliged, with infinite labour, to cut a vaſt number of canals and trenches from one end of *Egypt* to the other, to convey the water to every part; ſo that each town and village has its canal, which is opened at the proper time, and the water ſucceſſively conducted to the moſt diſtant places. Theſe canals, or trenches are not permitted to be opened till the river has roſe to a certain height, nor yet all at once, becauſe in ſuch caſe ſome lands would have too much water, and others too little; but they begin to open them firſt in the upper *Egypt*, and then gradually lower, according to a public regulation of the meaſures made for that purpoſe. By this means the water is ſo carefully huſbanded, that if it riſes to twenty four pikes, it ſuffices the whole country; which is ſo large, and the canals ſo numerous, that it is thought ſcarce a tenth part of the waters of the *Nile* enter the ſea for the firſt three months of its overflowing. However, as ſome places lie too high to be watered by the canals, they are obliged to raiſe the water to cover them by engines. Formerly they made uſe of *Archimedes*'s ſcrew, thence named the *Egyptian* pump[g]; but they now generally uſe wheels, which carry a rope or chain, of earthen pots, holding about ſeven or eight quarts apiece, and draw the water from the canals. There are beſides a vaſt number of wells in *Egypt*, from which the water is drawn in the ſame manner to water the gardens and fruit-trees; ſo that it is no exaggeration of the matter to ſay, that there are in *Egypt* above two hundred thouſand oxen daily employed in this labour, without reckoning the men who draw water in wicker baſkets, ſo cloſe and well made that not a drop runs through. As the land lies perfectly even, they cut their gardens into little ſquare beds, which are all ſurrounded with trenches higher than the level of the gardens, ſo that when they want to water one of theſe beds, they open one of the trenches, which immediately furniſhes as much water as is neceſſary; after which they ſtop it up again, and thus they manage the reſt; by which means they have the fineſt and moſt fertile gardens in the world. Pomegranates, oranges, lemons, and ſeveral other ſorts of trees, afford a ſhade and coolneſs, which, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate, make it delightful walking. When a tree is wanting in any place, they only cut down a branch, which they plant by the ſide of a little trench, and in two or three years it grows to be a tree big enough to tranſplant.

[g] Vid. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 30, & l. 5. p. 313.

The

THE *Nile* differing in this from other rivers, which generally carry off the heart of the land they overflow, by the mud, or slime, it brings down with it fattens the earth and makes it exceeding fruitful, without any other manure. The *Egyptians* have not the laborious task of ploughing, digging, or breaking the clods, but when the river is retired, they have no more to do than to mingle a little sand with the earth to abate its strength; after which they sow with little pains, and almost without charge. Anciently, we are told, they used to put in their hogs to tread the seed into the ground, expecting the harvest without any further care; and when that season came they let in the hogs again to shake the grain out of the ear, and had no other trouble than to gather and lay up their corn [h]. They sow ordinarily in *October* and *November*, as the waters fall: within two months the ground is covered with all sorts of grain and pulse; and their harvest is in *March* and *April*. The same piece of ground produces the same year three or four different sorts of fruits and garden stuff: first, they sow lettice and cucumbers, then corn; and after harvest, melons, and those sorts of pulse which are peculiar to *Egypt*.

The fecundity occasioned by the Nile.

WHAT is most extraordinary is, that this surprizing fecundity, caused by the inundation of the *Nile*, reaches not only to the earth, but also to mankind and animals [i]. It is found by constant experience, that the new waters make the women fruitful, whether they bath in them, or only drink them: they usually conceive in *July* and *August*, and are delivered in *April* and *May*. As to the cattle, the cows almost always bring two calves at a time; the sheep yean twice a year, having two lambs the first time, and but one the second; and a goat is often seen followed by four kids, which she has brought in six months: the pastures of *Egypt* are most excellent, the grass generally growing to the height of the cattle: on this they feed in winter, during which season great numbers are driven thither from about the *Euphrates*; in summer, the grounds being either burnt up by the sun, or overflowed by the *Nile*, they are taken up, and fed with hay, beans, and barley.

THERE is not a more pleasant sight in the world than *Egypt* in two seasons of the year; for if you ascend some mountains, or one of the great pyramids of *al Kâhira*, about the months of *July* and *August*, you see a wide sea, out of which there arise a vast number of villages, turrets, and spires, appearing like the isles in the *Ægæan* sea [k], with some causeways for communication, intermixed with groves, and a great

Two different appearances of Egypt in two seasons.

[h] HEROD. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 32. [i] Vid. DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p 32. [k] Vid. HERODOT. & DIODOR. SIC. ubi sup.

great number of fruit-trees, whose tops only are seen; all which affords a most inchanting prospect. This view is terminated by mountains and woods, which at a distance forms the most agreeable perspective in the world. On the other hand, in the winter, that is, about *January* and *February*, all the country is like a fine meadow, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the sight. You see on every side herds and flocks of cattle scattered over the plain, with an infinite number of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then embalmed by the prodigious quantity of flowers, furnished by the oranges, lemons, and other trees; and is so pure, that a man cannot breath one more wholesome or agreeable; so that nature, which is then as it were dead in so many other climates, seems to revive only for the sake of so delightful an abode. If there be any places left which are not quite dried, they are covered with water-fowl in great plenty, which afford diversion to the sportsmen, who kill as many of them as they please.

The cities, towns, and villages in *Egypt*, to secure them from the inundation of the *Nile*, are all built either on some rising ground formed by nature, or else, which is generally the case, on mounds raised by infinite labour; the communication between one town and another, while the country is under water, being carried on either by the causeways abovementioned or boats. When the river is retired within its banks, the canals serve for the same purpose, and to furnish the inhabitants and cattle with water, which the maidens are continually to be seen fetching thence, according to the antient custom so often taken notice of in scripture [l].

The cause of the inundation of the Nile.

As the antients were ignorant of the true cause of the inundation of the *Nile*, which seemed the more unaccountable to them, because, contrary to other rivers, it overflowed in the summer, and was lowest in winter, they made several subtil conjectures to explain this phænomenon [m]. But it has been long since well known to be occasioned by the great rains which fall in *Ethiopia*, about the springs of the *Nile*, and swell that river into the sea, which first lays *Ethiopia* almost entirely under water, as it afterwards does *Egypt*. *Agatharchides* of *Gnidos* [n], and some others, guessed this to be the cause, though they were not certain of it; but it was afterwards confirmed by eye-witnesses; *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a very inquisitive prince, having sent some persons on purpose to

[l] Vid. Lucas, ubi sup. p. 328, &c. [m] Vid. Herodot. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 33, &c. [n] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 39.

examine

examine into the matter. It has been thought, that this piece of natural hiſtory was not unknown to *Homer* himſelf, and that he alludes to it when he ſays [o], that the *Nile* came down from heaven [p]. Theſe rains conſtantly fall in *Ethiopia* during the months of *April* and *May* [q]; at which time it alſo rains with the ſame regularity in the *Indies*, cauſing the *Indus* and the *Ganges* to overflow their banks in the ſame manner as the *Nile* does [r].

THE divine providence has been juſtly admired, in ſending the rains in *Ethiopia* ſo very punctually for the ſupply of *Egypt*, where it rains ſo ſeldom, and thereby rendering a moſt dry and ſandy ſoil one of the moſt fruitful in the univerſe. Nor is it to be omitted, that in the beginning of *June* and the four following months, the *Eteſian* winds (which ſome formerly imagined to be the great cauſe of the inundation [s]) conſtantly blow from the north-eaſt, and keep back the water from flowing down and emptying itſelf into the ſea too faſt [t]. As the fertility of the land of *Canaan* was owing to a very different method of providence, that is, to the *former and latter rains*, which regularly fell at two appointed ſeaſons of the year, while the children of *Iſrael* continued in their duty, *Moſes* thought proper to acquaint them before-hand with ſo material a difference between the promiſed land and that they had lately left; *The land whither thou goeſt in to poſſeſs it*, ſays that lawgiver, *is not as the land of* Egypt, *from whence ye came out, where thou ſoweſt thy ſeed, and watereſt it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land whither ye go to poſſeſs it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven: a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year* [u].

Of the animals of Egypt.

LET us now take a view of the animal and vegetable productions of *Egypt*. The crocodile, and hippopotamus, or river-horſe, are, it is to be preſumed, too well known to the reader, to need a particular deſcription here [v]: they are both inhabitants of the *Nile*. The crocodiles are often killed by the natives. One way of taking them is, by a piece of fleſh ſtuck on an iron hook, and let down into the river by a rope, the other end of which is faſtened to a ſtake: when the crocodile has ſeized the bait, he is drawn to land, and

[o] HOM. Odyſſ. 4. v. 581. [p] STRABO l. 17. p. 1137. [q] Vid. LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 321. [r] BERNIER, Voyage de Cachemire, p. 343, &c. [s] HERODOT. ubi. ſup. [t] LE BRUYN Voyage Tom II. [u] Deut. xi. 10, 11, 12. [v] Vid. HEROD. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p 32. STRABO. l. 17.

knocked

knocked on the head [w]. *Herodotus* describes this manner with very little variation [x]. Another more dangerous way is sometimes practised, by striking them, as they sleep, under the belly, with a stake armed with a bearded point of iron, and also fastened to a rope [y]. A more extraordinary method still was made use of to catch one of these creatures that had done much mischief: the person, who undertook it for a reward, bound his son, a young lad, to a stake in the place where the crocodile used to come, and laid himself flat on his belly with two short clubs in his hand, one of which was wound round at the end with a very large ball of course thread dipped in pitch, and so waited for the crocodile; who coming out of the river and smelling the boy, made directly towards him; but as he opened his mouth to seize him, the father thrust the stake with the pitched ball into his jaws, which sticking in his teeth and entangling them as he bit it, the man broke his back, and killed him with the other [z]. The inhabitants of *Tentyris* are reported to have been very bold and dexterous in hunting these creatures, and that they would even leap on their backs in the water, and clapping a stick across their mouths, as they open them to bite, manage them as with a bridle, and bring them to land; so that these creatures were terrified even by their voice and smell [a]. The flesh of the crocodile is white and fat, and is a delicious dish when young; the *Arabs* of the upper *Egypt* are very fond of it [b], and formerly the inhabitants of *Elephantis* used also to eat these animals [c].

The hippopotami are common in the upper *Egypt*, especially near the cataracts, but are scarce to be met with in any part of the lower *Egypt*. These creatures never go in herds, and it is rare to see two of them together. They are so distrustful, and fly with that swiftness from their pursuers, that they are very seldom taken [d].

Besides wild and tame oxen, camels, asses, goats, and sheep, of which there is great plenty in *Egypt*, and the flesh of the last very delicate food, there are a vast number of antelopes, and a large kind of ape, with a head somewhat like a dog, whence it was called *cynocephalus*: the *Egyptians* often used the figure of this beast as a hieroglyphic. The camelcon is also common in the hedges near *al Kahira*.

[w] Lettre du P. Sicard, dans les Mem. des Missions. Tom. VI. p. 252. [x] Ubi supr. [y] Sicard, ubi supr. [z] Lucas, ubi sup. Tom I. p. 88 [a] Plin. Nat Hist. l. 8 c 25. [b] Sicard, ubi supr. [c] Herod. ubi. supr. [d] Sicard, ubi supr. p. 251.

The

I

THE animal called the little, or land-crocodile (which we take to be the *ſcincus* of *Pliny* [e]) is about the bigneſs of a lizard, and has a round tail covered with ſcales. It is found near the *Nile* and the *red* ſea, and uſually feeds on the moſt odoriferous flowers: the fleſh is of uſe in phyſic, great numbers of them being for that reaſon carried to *Venice* and other places.

THE *Egyptian* rat, called by the antients *ichneumon*, is of the ſize of a cat, with very rough hair, ſpotted with white, yellow, and aſh colour; its noſe like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth: it has ſhort black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, ſerpents, ſnails, cameleons, rats, and other animals; and is of great ſervice in *Egypt*, by its natural inſtinct hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increaſe of that deſtructive creature. The naturaliſts alſo ſay, that it is ſo greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itſelf in mud, it ſlips down his throat, while he ſleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again [f]. This animal is eaſily tamed, but muſt not be kept where cats are, with which they are at perpetual enmity [g].

OF birds there are alſo great numbers in *Egypt*, particularly oſtriches, eagles, hawks, and a prodigious number of water-fowl, as pelicans, flamingoes, or *phœnicopteri*, wild geeſe, herons, ducks, and various other ſorts. Thoſe which are proper to the *Nile*, are the *ibis*, the gooſe with golden feathers, the rice-hen, or hen of *Dimyât* and the *ſakſak*; which laſt is the *trochilus* of the antients [h], obſerved by them to be the only creature with which the crocodile is in friendſhip, becauſe this bird picks and clears his mouth of the leeches which infeſt it [i]. The *ibis* deſerves particular notice, not only becauſe it is ſo peculiar to *Egypt*, that it pines away and dies if carried elſewhere, but for the great uſe it is of in that country, by deſtroying the flying ſerpents, which the ſouth winds bring from the deſerts of *Lybia*, and are ſhaped, as the water-ſnakes, with wings like a bat: in the proper ſeaſon of the year, theſe birds in vaſt numbers, by a peculiar inſtinct, go and wait on the frontiers for theſe ſerpents, and devour them as they fly, before they enter *Egypt*. There are two kinds of the *ibis*, one is of a deep black, and about the bigneſs of a heron: this is the *ibis* which kills the ſerpents, and is ſeldom found except only in the lower *Egypt*: the other is

[e] Nat. Hiſt. ubi ſupr. [f] Vid. DIOD. SIC. p. 32, 78. [g] Vid. LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p 245. [h] SICARD, Mem. des Miſſ. Tom. VI. p. 249. [i] HERODOT. ubi ſup.

white,

white, but has the head, neck, and ends of the wings and tail as black as the former; and are so common that one often sees vast numbers of them. The bill and legs of this bird resemble those of a stork; its usual food (besides the serpents above-mentioned) are snails, locusts, and other insects *j*.

Besides the lakes which are in other parts of *Egypt*, those in the *Delta* near the sea, of which there are three pretty large ones between *Alexandria* and *Tinah* [k], the antient *Pelusium*, afford great numbers of fish, though not of above seven or eight sorts; two of which they salt; and send large quantities to *Syria*, *Cyprus*, and *Constantinople*. The revenues of one of these lakes alone, called *Manzalah*, bring into the *Turkish* emperor's treasury no less than forty thousand crowns a year. Those who live near these lakes eat a great deal of fresh fish, and very cheap, as the *Israelites* formerly did [l]; but the heat of the climate will not suffer them to be carried far; for which reason the inhabitants of *al Kâhira* are obliged to content themselves with the fish which the *Nile* affords them. The bed of that river, being very full of mud and slime, communicates a muddy taste to all the fish that are fed in it, except four sorts, which are very excellent. These are the *kesher*, or *lates*, the *latos* of the antients, which is often so large as to weigh two or three hundred pounds; the *cashouc*, formerly called *oxyrinchus*, from the sharpness of its nose; the *bonni*, which weighs sometimes twenty or thirty pounds, and is the *lepidotus* so much esteemed by the old *Egyptians*; and the *kârmud*, known in antient writers by the name of *phagrus*: this last is black, grows to the same size as the *bonni*, and is a very voracious fish. What makes these fish the more serviceable to the inhabitants of *al Kâhira* is, that they are to be found in the *Nile* at all seasons of the year, and are very easily taken [m].

Of the vegetables of Egypt.

Though woods are very rare in *Egypt*, yet there are some forests of palm-trees towards the deserts of *Libya*, and near *Dandera*, the antient *Tentyra*, there is one of *doms*, or wild date-trees [n], whose fruit is excessive hard, but much admired by those of the country. Palm-trees are the most common of all others in this country; besides which there are several sorts of fruit-trees, and also some cedars, though not so large, or so frequently to be seen as in *Syria*; and a great thorny tree called *al bilaji*, out of which perhaps the antient *Egyptians* made those boats mentioned by *Herodotus* [o].

j Vid. Herod. ibid. Lucas, ubi supr. p. 246. [k] Sicard, ubi supr. p. 233, &c. [l] Numb. xi. 5. [m] Sicard. p. 245, &c. Lucas, ubi supr. p. 242. [n] Sicard, ubi supr. p. 157. [o] Lib. 2.

However,

However, *Egypt* is not a country proper for trees, which thrive not there without great care and cultivation. As to plants, the caſe is very different; the kinds are ſo very various, that we ſhall mention only a few, and chiefly thoſe which may give ſome light into antient hiſtory.

THE firſt we ſhall take notice of is the reed *papyrus*, or *byblus*, called at preſent by the natives *al berdi*. It grows on the banks of the *Nile*, and ſhoots out a ſtalk of nine or ten foot high; the trunk is compoſed of a great number of long ſtrait fibres, which produce ſmall flowers; the leaves are like the blade of a ſword, and they make uſe of them to keep wounds open; the aſhes of the ſtalk alſo cure thoſe that are not inveterate. This is the plant whereof the antients made their writing-paper, which thence took its name. The way of making it was, by taking out the pith of the ſtalk, which they worked into a white paſte, or glew, and of that made the paper, almoſt in the ſame manner as we do our linen rags; but others ſay, it was made of the inner rind of the plant. Before agriculture was improved in *Egypt*, this reed was of great ſervice; for they did not only uſe it as food, but made cloaths, boats, and domeſtic utenſils of it; and alſo crowns for their gods, and ſhoes for their prieſts. But more uſeful inventions have ſet all this aſide, and the plant is now entirely neglected [p].

THE flax of *Egypt*, eſpecially one ſort of it, was ſo exceeding fine, and they dreſſed and ſpun it ſo curiouſly, that the threads could ſcarce be ſeen [q]. It grew in ſo great plenty, that they had not only enough to cloath their prieſts (who wore nothing elſe) and people of condition [r], and to make ſhrouds for their dead, but to drive a very great trade with it into foreign parts. The fine linen of *Egypt* was in great requeſt over all the eaſt [s]; that ſuperfine ſort of it, called *byſſus*, was often died in purple, and was ſo dear, that none but rich people could afford to wear it.

THE *lotus*, which grows plentifully in the lower *Egypt*, eſpecially near *Raſhid*, or *Roſetta*, is called by the inhabitants *al baſhnin*, and is a ſpecies of *nenuphar*, *nymphæa*, or *water-lilly*. Its leaves float on the water, and cover the ſurface of it, producing many flowers, which were formerly wove into the crowns of conquerors. The antient *Egyptians* made bread of the middle, or pulp of this plant dried, which re-

[p] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 249, &c. Vid. ROLLIN Hiſt. anc. V. I. p. 106. Vid. PLIN. l. 13. c. 11. [q] Vid. PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. 19. c. 1. [r] Vid. Geneſ. xli. 42. [s] Prov. vii. 16. Ezek. xxvii. 7.

ſembled that of a poppy; and the root of it, which is round, and as big as an apple, was alſo eaten by them [t]. This *lotus* is different from that fruit of the ſame name whereon the *Lotophagi* lived [u]: the *Arabs* at this day make a drink of the *Egyptian lotus*, which is very good for inward heat; and they eat the ſtalk and heads of them raw, which are very moiſt and cooling [w].

The *henna*, called *alcanna* by the botaniſts, is a ſhrub which ſhoots forth a great many branches. Its leaves are like that of an olive-tree, but ſhorter, broader, and of a more pleaſant green. The flowers, which are ſet like thoſe of the elder, have an agreeable ſmell, and are thrown by the inhabitants into their baths [x]. The women dye their nails and other parts with a reddiſh colour extracted from this plant, by way of ornament.

Other plants, the fruits or roots of which are eaten by the inhabitants, are in ſo great abundance, and ſo excellent in their kind, that they are almoſt ſufficient to maintain them without the uſe of corn [y]; and formerly the labouring people ſcarce lived on any thing elſe. It is not therefore ſo ſurprizing, that the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs regretted *the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick* [z], which they uſed to eat ſo freely in *Egypt*.

Of the artificial rarities of Egypt.

The buildings, and other works of the antient *Egyptians*, which have raiſed the admiration of all ſucceeding ages, deſerve a more particular view.

The pyramids.

The firſt enquiry generally made by thoſe who would be acquainted with this country, is concerning the pyramids, thoſe ſtupendous ſtructures, which were deſervedly reckoned by the antients among the wonders of the world.

There are many of them in ſeveral parts of *Egypt*, and particularly in the upper *Egypt*, as we have already obſerved; but thoſe which have been chiefly taken notice of and deſcribed by travellers, ſtand on the weſt ſide of the *Nile*, not far from *Jizah*, which ſucceeded the antient *Memphis*. The number of theſe pyramids is about twenty, of which three, ſtanding pretty near together, are moſt remarkable, and are thoſe which have been ſo often deſcribed. The other lie far ſcattered in the *Libyan* deſert, and are leſſer models of the three, though ſome of them are very conſiderable, particularly one, which ſtands ſouth and by weſt from them, at about twenty miles diſtance more within the deſert, and has been undeſervedly

[t] Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 30. [u] Herod. l. 4. [w] Lucas, ubi ſupr. p. 257. [x] Idem, Ibid. [y] Plin. l. 21. c. 15. [z] Numb. xi. 5.

neglected

neglected both by antient and modern writers, though it be as worthy of memory, and as near a miracle as any of the former three.

IT is the common opinion, that the word *pyramid* is derived from the *Greek pyr*, or *pur*, *fire*; and that these structures were so called from their shape, ascending from a broad base, and ending in a point like a flame of fire; others, whose opinion *Vossius* [a] seems to approve, say, they took the name from *pyros*, which in the same language signifies *wheat*, because they will have them to be the granaries of the antient *Egyptian* kings; but a late writer, versed in the *Coptic* tongue, has given us another etymology from that language, wherein *pouro* signifies a *king*, and *misi*, a *race*, or *generation*: and the reason why the pyramids had this name given them was, as he tells us, because they were erected to preserve the memory of those princes and their families; and that those who were descended from them, had therefore recourse, to those pillars to prove their pedigree [b] (E). *Whence so named.*

WHO were the builders of these *pyramids* has been matter of much dispute. *Josephus* [c], followed by some modern writers [d], supposed, they were erected by the *Israelites* during their heavy pressure under the tyranny of the *Pharaohs*. The scriptures however seem to be against this opinion, for they expressly make the slavish employment of that people to have *By whom built.*

[a] Etymol. ling. Lat. voce Pyramis. Vid. STEPH. de urb. voce Πυραμίδες. [b] WILKINS Dissert. de ling. Copt. p. 108. [c] Antiq. l. 2. c. 5. [d] SPONDANUS de cœmet. sacr. l. 1. c. 6. PERIZON. Orig. Ægypt. p. 387, &c.

(E) This gentleman endeavours to support his assertion by the authority of *Herodotus*, as if he affirmed, that the *Egyptians* preserved their genealogies on pillars, and that those pillars were called pyramids: but we do not remember any such thing in that author. The passage quoted is no more than this; that when *Hecatæus* the historian acquainted the priest of *Jupiter* with his genealogy, and derived himself from no less than sixteen gods, the priests would by no means admit, that a man could be begotten by a god, but shewed him three hundred and forty five large wooden images of their high priests in a spacious edifice, which stood in regular order, the son being placed after the father; and told him, that none of them had been reputed either a god or a hero; but that each image which he saw represented a *piromis*, begotten by another *piromis*; the word *piromis* signifying no more in their language, than *an honest man* (1). It may be observed, that *romi*, and, with the article, *piromi*, signifies a *man* in the present *Coptic*.

(1). Herod. *l.* 2.

been the making of bricks, whereas all theſe pyramids are of ſtone. Others pretend, they were built by the patriarch *Joſeph*, for granaries to lay up the corn of the ſeven plentiful years [e]; and to ſupport this imagination, alledge the above-mentioned derivation from *pyros*, *wheat*: but this opinion is much more groundleſs than the former; for beſides that their figure is the leaſt capacious of any regular mathematical body, and therefore improper for ſuch a purpoſe, the ſtraightneſs and fewneſs of the rooms within (the reſt being a ſolid fabric of ſtone) do utterly overthrow ſuch a conjecture.

Herodotus ſays, the firſt or greateſt of the three moſt remarkable pyramids was built by *Cheops*, whom *Diodorus* names *Chemmis*; for that they were the ſame perſon will appear hereafter. The ſecond, both thoſe hiſtorians agree to have been erected by *Cephren*, brother and ſucceſſor to the former prince. And the third was the work of *Mycerinus*, the ſon of *Cheops* [f]. This laſt, ſome of the *Greeks* pretended was built by *Rhodopis* [g], or *Rhodope*, a courtezan, whom *Sappho* called *Doricha*, miſtreſs to her brother *Charaxus* [h]. But this is very improbable, if we conſider either her condition, or the vaſtneſs of the expence; though ſome, to amend the ſtory, ſay ſeveral governors of provinces, who were in love with her, built it for her by contribution [i]: beſides, *Herodotus* has ſhewn that ſhe lived long after theſe pyramids were in being [k]. Yet, after all, *Diodorus* confeſſes, that there is little agreement as to theſe pyramids, either among the natives or hiſtorians; ſome ſaying, that the largeſt was built by *Armæus*, the ſecond by *Amaſis*, and the third by *Inaron* [l]; and this uncertainty *Pliny* mentions as a juſt reward of the vanity of the undertakers [m].

The *Arab* writers aſſign other founders of theſe three pyramids different from thoſe mentioned by the *Greeks*. To omit the fancy of thoſe who thought them built by *Jân ebn Ján*, univerſal monarch of the whole world before *Adam* [n], and the above-mentioned opinion, which attributes them to *Joſeph*; ſome ſay, they were erected by *Nimrod*; ſome, by queen *Dalûka*; and others, by the *Egyptians* before the flood. The *Copts* report, that the eaſt pyramid is the ſepulchre of king *Saurid*, the weſtern of his brother *Hûjib*,

[e] Steph. de urb. ubi ſupr. Nicetas, Nonnus, &c. apud Greaves, ubi infra. [f] Vid. Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. [g] Herod. ubi ſupr. [h] Strabo. l. 17. [i] Diodor ubi ſupr. [k] Herod. ubi ſupr. [l] Diodor. ubi ſupr. [m] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 36. c. 12. [n] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 311. See Introd. p. ult.

and

and the coloured pyramid of *Fazfarinûn* the ſon of *Hûjib*. The *Sabians* pretend, that one of them is the ſepulchre of *Seth*, the ſecond of *Hermes* (or *Enoch*), and the third of *Sabi*, from whom this ſect ſay they are denominated: it is alſo ſaid, they go in pilgrimage thither, and ſacrifice at them a cock and a black calf, and offer up incenſe [o]. But the general opinion is, that they were built by *Saurid* before the flood; and the *Copts* mention an inſcription engraven on them to this effect. *I* Saurid, *the king built the pyramids in ſuch and ſuch a time, and finiſhed them in ſix years: he that comes after me, and ſays he is equal to me, let him deſtroy them in ſix hundred years; and yet it is known, that it is eaſier to pluck down than to build; and when I had finiſhed them I covered them with ſattin, and let him cover them with mats* [p].

As the antients have omitted ſpeaking of ſeveral pyramids ſtill remaining in the *Libyan* deſert, ſo have they on the other hand mentioned the names and founders of ſome others, not much inferior to theſe three in magnitude, which have been long ſince ruined and defaced by time. *Herodotus* ſays, there was one of forty fathoms, or two hundred and forty feet, which ſtood at the end of the labyrinth, with large figures of animals in ſculpture, and a ſubterraneous paſſage to it [q]. This ſeems to be that pyramid wherein *Strabo* tells us *Imandes*, or, as *Diodorus* names him, *Oſymanduas*, was buried [r], and therefore probably built by him; though he differs from *Herodotus* as to the dimenſions, making each ſide of it to be four hundred feet, and the height as much [s]. *Pliny*, who agrees with *Herodotus* in this laſt particular, mentions ſeveral pyramids built near the labyrinth, but, if his expreſſion [t] be not miſtaken, deſcribes them to be ſexangular. *Mœris*, who lived after *Oſymanduas*, but long before *Cheops*, alſo built two pyramids, one for himſelf and the other for his wife, in the midſt of a lake which he dug, and which we ſhall take notice of by and by. Theſe pyramids were each a furlong in height, and ſtood one half above the water, and the other half under the water; and on the top of each there was placed a marble ſtatue, or coloſſus, ſitting on a throne [u]. It is ſaid, that *Cheops*, having exhauſted his treaſures in building the firſt and largeſt pyramid, proſtituted his own daughter, commanding her to get as much money as ſhe could;

[o] MERAT ALZEMAN. apud Greaves, ubi infr. Vid. KIRCH. Oedip. Vol. I. p. 74. [p] EBN ABDIAL HOKM. [q] HERODOT. l. 2. [r] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 44. [s] STRABO, l. 17. [t] Senas radicum oras obtinentes. PLIN. l. 36. c. 13. [u] HEROD. & DIOD. ubi ſupr.

and that ſhe, at the ſame time ſhe obeyed her father, contrived to leave a monument of herſelf alſo, and aſked every one that came to her to give her a ſtone towards the ſtructure ſhe deſigned: by which means ſhe built a pyramid which ſtood in the midſt of the three, within view of the great pyramid, and extended to the length of a plethron and a half (or about one hundred and fifty foot) on every ſide of the baſis [x]. This ſtory has ſome reſemblance to that of *Rhodopis* above-mentioned, and might perhaps have given occaſion to it. After all theſe, *Aſychis*, the ſucceſſor of *Mycerinus*, built a pyramid of brick, with this inſcription cut in ſtone: *Compare me not with the pyramids of ſtone, for I as far excel them as* Jupiter *does the other gods: for, ſtriking the bottom of the lake with long poles, and gathering the mud which ſtuck to them, thereof they made bricks, and formed me in that manner* [y]. *Diodorus* mentions three other pyramids, each ſide of which contained two hundred feet, and ſays, that *Chemmis*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus* were reputed to have erected them for their wives [z]. Theſe likewiſe are not now to be ſeen, unleſs they ſhould be ſome of thoſe in the deſert, which well anſwer the meaſure aſſigned by *Diodorus*; but if thoſe princes built them for their queens, it may be wondered why they placed them ſo remote from their own ſepulchres, or at ſuch large and unequal diſtances of ſeveral miles from one another [a].

The time when the pyramids were built.

Since it is uncertain who were the founders of the pyramids that are now ſtanding, it would be in vain to endeavour to determine the time when they were built. The ages of the ſeveral princes to whom they have been attributed, will beſt appear when we diſcourſe of the *Egyptian* chronology: in the mean time we ſhall obſerve, that the leaſt antiquity which can be allowed the ſtructures, ſeems to be near three thouſand years; ſince *Herodotus*, who lived two thouſand two hundred years ago, was able to find ſo little ſatisfaction in his enquiries after them; and *Diodorus* who lived before the birth of our Saviour, ſuppoſes the great pyramid to have been built at leaſt one thouſand years before his time [b].

The end for which they were erected.

Not to mention a ſecond time the improbability of their conjecture, who imagine theſe buildings were deſigned for granaries, it is the conſtant opinion of moſt authors who have wrote on this ſubject, that they were intended for ſepulchres and monuments of the dead. *Diodorus* expreſly tells us, that

[x] Herod. ubi ſupr. [y] Idem. ib. [z] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. [a] Greaves Deſcr. of the pyramids, p. 113. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 57.

Chemmis

Chemmis and *Cephren* designed those built by them for their sepulchres, though it happened that neither of them were buried in them[c]; and *Strabo* judges all those near *Memphis* to have been royal sepulchres[d]: to which the writings of the *Arabs* are consonant, as has been observed above. And if none of these authorities were extant, the tomb, which stands at this day in the first pyramid, puts it out of controversy.

WHY the *Egyptian* kings should have been at so vast an expence in building of these pyramids, is an enquiry of a higher nature. *Aristotle* makes them to have been the works of tyranny[e]: and *Pliny* conjectures, that they built them partly out of ostentation and partly out of state policy, to divert the people, by this employment, from mutinies and rebellions[f]. But the true reason depends on higher considerations, and sprang from the theology of the *Egyptians*; who not only believed the resurrection, but that as long as the body endured, so long the soul continued with it; which last was also the opinion of the *Stoics*[g]. And hence it was, that this nation took that excessive care to preserve the corps from corruption, and were at so great costs in raising monuments for them, as will be specified hereafter.

THE reason why they frequently made use of the pyramidal figure for these monuments (for they were not always of that shape), to omit several philosophical fancies of little solidity[h], seems to have been, because it is the most permanent form of structure; for by reason of the gradual contracting and lessening of it at the top, it is neither overpressed with its own weight, nor is subject to the sinking in of rain, as other buildings: or else they might thereby intend to represent some of their gods; pyramids, and obelisks, which are but a lesser sort of pyramids being both by them and other heathens, antiently made use of and worshipped as images of several deities[i].

THIS practice of the *Egyptians* of erecting pyramids, or columns of that shape, for sepulchres, was also sometimes, though not very frequently, imitated by other nations. That of *Porsena* king of *Etruria*, built by him near *Clusium* in *Italy*, was accounted almost miraculous; though it was more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the pyramids, which were fourteen, than for any excessive magnitude[k].

[c] Idem, ibid. p. 58. [d] STRABO, l. 17. [e] ARISTOT. polit. l. 3. [f] PLIN. l. 36. c. 12. [g] Vid. SERVIUM in Virgil. Æn. 3. [h] Vid. Auctor. anonym. ad calcem Hieroglyph. PIERII. [i] Vid. GREAVES, ubi supr. p. 62. [k] Vid. eund. ibid. p. 64.

the tomb of *C. Cæſtius*, now ſtanding at *Rome* near the *mons teſtaceus*, or *il Doliolo*, is built after the model of thoſe of *Egypt*, but is much leſs [1].

Their deſcription.

The dimenſions and deſcriptions of the three greateſt of the pyramids of *Memphis* have been given by ſeveral writers, both antient hiſtorians and modern travellers. They differ pretty much from one another as to the dimenſions. A countryman of our own, who meaſured them with great care, and wanted not ability to do it with the greateſt accuracy, ſeems to have been the moſt exact; for which reaſon we ſhall chiefly adhere to his obſervations.

The dimenſions of the firſt pyramid.

The firſt and faireſt of theſe three pyramids is ſituated on a rocky hill, in the ſandy deſert of *Lybia*, about a quarter of a mile from the plains of *Egypt*; above which the rock riſes 100 feet or better, with a gentle and eaſy aſcent. Upon this advantageous riſe and ſolid foundation is the pyramid erected; the height of the ſituation adding to the beauty of the work, and the ſolidity of the rock affording it a ſtable ſupport. The north ſide, near the baſis, being meaſured by a *radius* of 10 feet in length, taking two ſeveral ſtations, was found by our author to be 693 *Engliſh* feet. The other ſides were examined by a line, for want of an even level, and a convenient diſtance to place the inſtruments. The altitude, if meaſured by its perpendicular, is 481 feet; but if it be taken as the pyramid aſcends inclining, then it is equal in reſpect of the lines ſubtending the ſeveral angles, to the latitude of the baſis (F). Whereby it appears, that though ſeveral of the antients have

[1] Vid. Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 45. Ammian. Marcel. l. 23.

(F) According to *Herodotus*, each face of this pyramid contains 8 *plethra*, or 800 *Grecian* feet in length (1). *Diodorus Siculus* (who comes neareſt the truth) makes this dimenſion but 7 *plethra*, or 700 feet (2): and *Strabo*, leſs than a furlong (3); that is, leſs than 600 *Grecian*, or 625 *Roman* feet. Whereas *Pliny* equals it to 883 (4). As to the height, *Herodotus* ſays, it is equal to the breadth of one of its ſides; which is true, if taken for the inclining, and not the perpendicular altitude. By *Strabo*'s computation, the height exceeds the breadth: but *Diodorus* rightly acknowledges it to be ſomething leſs. The altitude of this pyramid was taken by *Thales* the *Mileſian*; but his admeaſurement is not preſerved. The method propoſed by him to do it, muſt be very uncertain; for it

(1) Herod. *l.* 2. (2) Diod. Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 57. (3) Strabo, *l.* 17. *p.* 1161. (4) Plin. *l.* 36. *c.* 12.

was

have exceſſively magnified the height of theſe pyramids, yet the biggeſt of them falls ſhort of the height of St. *Paul*'s church in *London*: which from the ground to the top of the lanthorn only, is no leſs than 470 feet. If we imagine on the ſides of the baſis, which is perfectly ſquare, four equilateral triangles mutually inclining till they meet in a point (for ſo the top ſeems to thoſe who ſtand below) then we ſhall have a juſt idea of the true dimenſions and figure of this pyramid; the *area* of whoſe baſis contains 480,249 ſquare feet, or ſomething more than eleven *Engliſh* acres of ground; a proportion ſo monſtrous, that did not the antients atteſt as much, and ſome of them more (G), it might appear incredible.

was by obſerving the hour when the ſhadow of the body is equal to its height (5).

Of the modern travellers, *Belon* or rather *Gyllius*, (for the other, it is ſaid, was a plagiary, and publiſhed the obſervations of *Gyllius* in his own name) (6) makes the breadth of each ſide 324 paces; and the height 250 ſteps, each ſtep being 45 inches high (7). *Marco Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, and afterwards cardinal, computes it to be 270 paces broad, and as much in height (8). Prince *Radzivil* ſays, it is reported to be 300 cubits every way (9). *Della Valle* ſets down nothing preciſely, but acquieſces in the meaſures of *Belon* (10). *Thevenot* tells us it is 520 feet high, on a ſquare baſe of 682 feet (11). And *Le Bruyn* calculates the height to be 112 fathom; which, at 5 feet and a half to the fathom, is 616 feet: and the breadth 300 paces, or 128 fathom; that is, according to the ſame proportion, 704 feet 12). *Wanſleb* ſays, the ſides of the pyramids are not equal; it being viſible in the largeſt, and ſo in the others, that the north ſide is longer than that which ſtretches from eaſt to weſt; (which expreſſion perhaps the reader may underſtand, but we do not): the dimenſions he gives us, are thoſe of *Thevenot* (13). The *Arab* writers make the perpendicular height 317 cubits, and the breadth of each ſide 460 (14).

(G) The area, according to *Herodotus*, muſt be 640,000; and according to *Diodorus* 490,000 ſquare feet. *Pliny* aſſigns the baſis to be but eight *Roman jugera*; which is probably a miſtake of the tranſcriber; for the ſquare of the ſide, by his admeaſurement, muſt be no leſs than 779,689 *Roman* feet, almoſt equal to 28 *jugera* (15).

(5) Plin. *ibid. Vid.* Diog. Laert. *in vita Thaletis.* (6) *Vid.* Thuan. *Hiſt. l.* 16. (7) Belon. *obſerv. l.* 2. *c.* 44. (8) *Apud Kircher Oedip. Vol.* III. *p* 204. (9) Radzivil. *Jeroſol. peregr. p* 161. (10) Della Valle *Lett.* 11. *p.* 359. (11) Theven. *Voy. l* 1. *c.* 5. (12) Le Bruyn. *Voy.* (13) Wanſleb, *apud Ray, Collect. of travels, Vol.* II. *p.* 137, 138. (14) *Vid.* Kircher. *ubi ſupr. p.* 300. (15) *Vid. Plin l.* 36. *c.* 12.

THE

The outſide of the pyramid.

The aſcent to the top of the pyramid is contrived by degrees, or ſteps, the lowermoſt of which is near four feet in height, and three in breadth; and running about the pyramid in a level, made a narrow walk, when the ſtones were entire, on every ſide. The ſecond degree is like the firſt, benching in near three feet. In the ſame manner is the third row placed on the ſecond; and the reſt in order, like ſo many ſtairs, riſing one above another to the top; which ends not in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a little flat, or ſquare of 13.280 *Engliſh* feet broad, and conſiſting of nine ſtones, beſides two which are wanting at the corners (H). This pyramid, by reaſon of the ſtones being worn by the weather, cannot be conveniently aſcended, except on the ſouth ſide, or at the north-eaſt angle. The ſteps are made of maſſy and poliſhed ſtones (ſaid to have been hewn out of the *Arabian* mountains [m], which bound the upper *Egypt* on the eaſt), and are ſo vaſt, that the breadth and depth of every ſtep is one ſingle ſtone. *Herodotus* makes the leaſt ſtone to be 30 feet [n]; and this may be granted in ſome, but not in all, unleſs his words be underſtood of cubical feet; which dimenſion, or a greater in the exterior ones, may, without difficulty, be admitted. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the ſteps

[m] Herod. & Diod. ubi ſupr. [n] Herod. ubi ſup. Pomp. Mela. l. 1. c. 9.

(H) *Herodotus* gives no dimenſions of this flat; *Diodorus* ſays, it is 9 feet (2); but *Pliny* ſeems to make it 25 feet, if we rightly underſtand the paſſage of that author; for *Hardouin* is ſurely miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him to mean that the pyramid was 15,000 feet high (3). *Belon* ſays, the diameter is 2 paces (4), *Radzivil* 10 cubits (5), and *Thevenot* about 16 feet and 2 thirds (6). They differ alſo in the number of ſtones which cover it; one will have it a ſingle ſtone (7); another counts 3 (8); and a third 11 or 12 (9).

On this platform *Proclus* ſuppoſed the *Egyptian* prieſts made their aſtronomical obſervations (10); but it is far from being probable, that theſe ſtructures were deſigned for obſervatories. And it is ſcarce to be conceived, that the prieſts would take the pains to aſcend ſo high, when they might make the ſame obſervations with more eaſe, and as much certainty below; having as free and open a proſpect of the heavens, and over the plains of *Egypt*, from the rock itſelf, as from the tops of the pyramids (11).

(2) Diod. Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 57. (3) Plin. *ubi ſupr. Vid.* Hardouin. *in loc.* (4) Belon, *ubi ſupr.* (5) Radziv. *Ieroſ. pereg. p.* 162. (6) Th'v. *ubi ſupr.* (7) *Voy. de* Villamont. (8) Sandys *Trav. p.* 128. 4 *Edit.* (9) Theven. *ubi ſupr.* (10) Procl. *in* Tim. (11) Greaves *ubi ſupr. p.* 73. *Vid.* Cicero. *de divinat. l* 1.

are

are not all of equal depth; for ſome are near four feet, and others want of three, diminiſhing the higher one aſcends: and the breadth of them is proportionable to their depth; ſo that a right line, extended from the baſis to the top, will equally touch the outward angle of every degree. The number of theſe ſteps is not mentioned by any of the antients; but modern travellers differ very much in their computation (I). Our author and two others counted them very carefully, and found them to be 207; though one of them in deſcending reckoned 208.

HENCE it may be conſidered, how far we may credit what ſome ſay, *viz.* that an arrow ſhot from the top of this pyramid cannot fly beyond the baſis, but will fall on ſome of the ſteps; it being certain, that an indifferent arm can eaſily ſhoot an arrrow much farther than one half of the breadth of this pyramid: it is confeſſed, however, that a man, unleſs he be very ſtrong, cannot throw a ſtone from the top, ſo as to make it fall beyond the ſteps [o]. Some of the antients have reported, that theſe pyramids caſt no ſhadow [p]; which if taken ſtrictly, muſt be alſo a miſtake: it is true, for almoſt three quarters of the year they caſt no ſhadow at noon; but in winter they certainly do.

The inſide of it.

As to the inſide of this pyramid, the antients are altogether ſilent; except only that *Herodotus* ſays, there were ſubterraneous vaults built within the hill on which it ſtands; and that the founder of it conveyed the water of the *Nile* thither by a trench, and formed a little iſland in the midſt of the water, deſigning to place his ſepulchre on that ground [q]. *Strabo* alſo mentions an oblique entrance into this pyramid, to be ſeen on removing a ſtone which covered it [r]; and *Pliny* takes notice of a well of 86 cubits in depth, into which he ſuppoſes the water of the *Nile* was brought by ſome ſecret aqueduct [s]. What the *Arabs* relate of the inner parts of theſe buildings, is no better than a romance; for which reaſon we

[o] LE BRUYN. Voy. Yet ſee LUCAS, T. I. p. 45. [p] SOLIN. Polyhiſt. c. 45. AUSON. Idyll 3. AMM. MARCELL. l. 22. CASSIODOR. var. 7. form. 15. [q] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [r] STRABO, ubi ſupr. [s] PLIN. ubi ſupr.

(I) *Belon* counts 250, *Sandys* 255, *Lewenſtein* 260, *Helfricus* 230, *Grimani* and *Le Bruyn* 210, *Lucas* 243, and *Thevenot* 208 (12). This laſt author obſerves, it is very difficult to count them exactly; not only becauſe a man may miſcount, but becauſe ſeveral of the lower ſteps are, in ſome places, covered with ſand.

(12) *See the places quoted above, and* Lucas *Voy. T. I. p.* 45.

ſhall

ſhall proceed to thoſe accounts that may be better depended on.

The entrance into the pyramid is by a ſquare narrow paſſage, which opens in the midſt of the north ſide on the 16th ſtep, or aſcending 38 feet (K)$_2$ on an artificial bank of earth. The ſtone that is over it is very big, being near 12 feet long, and above 8 feet wide. This entry goes declining with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in breadth exactly 3.463 *Engliſh* feet, and in length 92 feet and an half. The ſtructure of it has been the labour of an exquiſite hand, as appears by the ſmoothneſs and evenneſs of the work, and cloſe knitting of the joints, a property long ſince obſerved by *Diodorus* to have run through the whole fabric of this pyramid. At the end of this paſſage there is another like the former, but goes a little riſing: at the meeting of theſe two paſſages, the one deſcending, and the other aſcending, the lowermoſt ſtone of the roof, perpendicular to it, forms a ſharp ridge, between which and the ſand there is ſometimes not a foot ſpace to paſs through; ſo that a man muſt ſlide on his belly cloſe to the ground, and yet grate his back againſt the above-mentioned ſtone, unleſs he be very ſlender. However this difficulty is occaſioned chiefly by the ſand which the wind drives into this place; for if the paſſage be cleared, it is of the ſame dimenſions there as at the entrance. There being no window, or other opening in this pyramid to admit the light, it may eaſily be conceived, that thoſe who would view the inſide muſt carry lights with them.

Having paſſed this ſtreight, on the right hand there is an ugly broken hole of about 89 feet in length, the height and breadth various, and not worthy conſideration: whether this part be decayed by time, or has been dug away for curioſity, or hopes of diſcovering ſome hidden treaſure, is uncertain. On the left hand, adjoining to the narrow entrance, climbing up a ſteep and maſſy ſtone, 8 or 9 feet in height, one enters on the lower end of the firſt gallery; the pavement of which riſes with a gentle acclivity, conſiſting of ſmooth poliſhed marble, and where not ſmeared with duſt and filth, appearing of a white and alabaſter colour; the ſides and roof of unpoliſhed ſtone, not ſo hard and compact as that of the pavement; the breadth of this gallery is almoſt 5 feet, the height about as much, and the length 110 feet. At the end of it

(K) In the following deſcription we have only given the meaſures of *Greaves*, though other travellers vary both from him and one another therein. But we did not think thoſe variations conſiderable enough to be particularly ſet down.

there

there are two paſſages, one low and horizontal, or level with the ground, and the other high and riſing like the former. At the entry of the lower paſſage, on the right hand, is the well mentioned by *Pliny*, which is circular, and a little above 3 foot diameter: the ſides are lined with white marble, and the deſcent is by fixing the hands and feet in little open ſpaces cut in the ſides within, oppoſite and anſwering to one another in a perpendicular; which is the contrivance for deſcending into moſt of the wells and ciſterns at *Alexandria*. This well might lead to the vault above-mentioned; but it is almoſt now ſtopped up with rubbiſh, and not above 20 feet deep.

LEAVING the well, and going ſtrait on the diſtance of 15 feet, one enters another paſſage opening againſt the former, and of the ſame dimenſions, the ſtones of which are very maſſy, and exquiſitely joined. This paſſage runs in a level 110 feet, and leads to an arched vault, or chamber, ſtanding due eaſt and weſt, of a grave-like ſmell, and half full of rubbiſh; its length not quite 20 feet, and the breadth about 17, and the height leſs than 15: the walls are entire, and plaiſtered over with lime; the roof is covered with large ſmooth ſtones, not lying flat, but ſhelving, and meeting above in an angle. On the eaſt ſide of this room, in the middle of it, *Greaves* ſays, there ſeems to have been a paſſage leading to ſome other place, but neither *Thevenot*, nor *Le Bruyn* could diſcover any ſuch.

RETURNING back through the narrow horizontal paſſage, you climb over it, and enter into the other, or ſecond gallery, on the left, divided from the firſt gallery by the wall, in which is the entrance to the laſt-mentioned paſſage. This ſecond gallery is a very ſtately piece of work, and not inferior, either in curioſity of art, or richneſs of materials, to the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent buildings: it riſes with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in length 154 feet from the well below; but if meaſured on the pavement, ſomewhat leſs, by reaſon of a little vacuity of about 15 feet, before deſcribed, between the well and the ſquare hole: the height of it is 26 feet, and the breadth 6.87 feet, of which one half is to be allowed for the way in the midſt, there being a ſtone bench on each ſide of the wall, of one foot and $\frac{717}{1000}$ in breadth, and as much in depth. On the top of theſe benches, near the angle where they cloſe with the wall, are little ſpaces, cut in right-angled parallel figures, ſet in each ſide oppoſite to one another; intended, no queſtion, for ſome other end than ornament. The ſtone of which this gallery is built, is a white and poliſhed marble, very evenly cut in large tables; and the joints are

ſo cloſe, that they are ſcarce diſcernable by a curious eye: but what adds grace to the whole ſtructure, though it makes the paſſage the more ſlippery and difficult, is the acclivity and riſing of the aſcent. However, the going up is not a little facilitated by certain holes made in the floor, about ſix hands breadth from one another, into which a man may ſet his feet, while he holds by the bench with one hand. In the ranging of the marble tables, in both the ſide-walls, there is one piece of architecture very graceful; and that is, that all the courſes, which are but ſeven, do ſet and flag over one another about 3 inches, the bottom of the upper courſe overſetting the higher part of the next below it, in order as they deſcend.

Having paſſed this admirable gallery, one enters another ſquare hole, of the ſame dimenſions with the former, which leads into two ſmall antichambers, or cloſets, lined with a rich and ſpeckled kind of *Thebaic* marble. The firſt of theſe is almoſt equal to the ſecond, which is of an oblong figure, one ſide containing 7 feet, and the other 3 and a half: the height is ten feet, and the floor level. On the eaſt and weſt ſides, within 2 feet and a half of the top, which is ſomewhat larger than the bottom, are three ſemicircular cavities, or little ſeats.

The inner antichamber is ſeparated from the former by a ſtone of red ſpeckled marble, which hangs in two mortices (like the leaf of a ſluice) between two walls, more than 3 feet above the pavement, and wanting two of the roof. From this ſecond cloſet you enter another ſquare hole, over which are five lines cut parallel and perpendicular; beſides which, no other ſculptures, or engravings, are obſerved in the whole pyramid (L). This ſquare paſſage is of the ſame wideneſs as the reſt, and in length near 9 feet, being all of *Thebaic* marble moſt exquiſitely cut, and landing you at the north end of a very ſumptuous and well proportioned room. The diſtance from the end of the ſecond gallery to this entry, running upon the ſame level, is 24 feet.

This magnificent and ſpacious chamber, in which art may ſeem to have contended with nature, the curious work being not inferior to the rich materials, ſtands, as it were, in the heart and centre of the pyramid, equidiſtant from all

(L) It may therefore be juſtly wondered, whence the *Arabians* borrowed thoſe vain traditions, that all ſciences are inſcribed within the pyramids in hieroglyphics; and alſo upon what authority *Cornelius* (or rather *Ælius*) *Gallus* is ſaid to have therein ingraven his victories (1).

(1) Xiphil. *in Cæſ. Aug.*

the

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the ſides, and almoſt in the midſt between the baſis and the top. The floor, the ſides, and the roof of it are all made of vaſt and exquiſite tables of *Thebaic* marble, which, if they were not obſcured by the ſteam of torches, would appear gliſtering and ſhining. From the top of it deſcending to the bottom, there are about ſix ranges of ſtone, all which being reſpectively ſized to an equal height, very gracefully in one and the ſame altitude run round the room. The ſtones which cover this chamber are of a ſtupendous length, like ſo many huge beams lying flat and traverſing the room, and withal ſupporting that infinite maſs and weight of the pyramid above. Of theſe there are nine which cover the roof; two of them are leſs by half in breadth than the reſt, the one at the eaſt end, and the other at the weſt. The length of the chamber on the ſouth ſide, moſt accurately taken at the joint, or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is 34.38 *Engliſh* feet; the breadth of the weſt ſide, at the joint or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is 1.719 feet; and the height 19 feet and a half.

WITHIN this glorious room ſtands the monument of *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*, of one piece of marble, hollow within, uncovered at the top, and ſounding like a bell; which laſt particular is mentioned not as a rarity, but becauſe ſome authors have taken notice of it as ſuch. Some write, that the body has been removed hence; but it has been already obſerved, that the founder was not buried in it. This monument is of the ſame kind of ſtone with which the whole room is lined, being a ſpeckled marble, with black, white, and red ſpots, as it were, equally mixed, which ſome call *Thebaic* marble; but Mr. *Greaves* rather conceives it to be that ſort of porphyry which *Pliny* calls *Leucoſticos*, of which there were, and ſtill are, an infinite number of columns in *Egypt*; though *Burretini*, who accompanied him, imagined this kind of marble came from mount *Sinai*, where he affirmed the rocks to be of the ſame colours, and that he had ſeen among them a great column of the ſame marble left imperfect, almoſt as big as that called *Pompey*'s pillar, near *Alexandria*.

THE figure of the tomb is like an altar, or two cubes finely ſet together; it is cut ſmooth and plain, without any ſculpture, or engraving. The outward ſuperficies is in length 7 feet 3 inches and a half, and in depth 3 feet 3 inches and 3 quarters. The hollow inſide is in length on the weſt ſide 6.488 feet in breadth at the north end 2.218 feet, and in depth 2.860 feet. As this monument could not have been brought hither through the above-mentioned narrow paſſages, it is ſuppoſed to have been raiſed and placed there before the

roof

roof of the chamber was cloſed. It ſtands exactly in the meridian, or due north and ſouth, and as it were equidiſtant from all ſides of the chamber, except the eaſt, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the weſt. Under it there is a little hollow ſpace dug away, and a large ſtone in the pavement removed at the angle next adjoining to it, which *Sandys* imagined to be a paſſage into ſome other apartment, but more probably done in hopes of finding ſome treaſure hidden there; it being a ſuperſtitious prodigality practiſed by the antients, and continued to this day in the *Eaſt-Indies*, to conceal money in their ſepulchres. In the ſouth and north ſides of the chamber there are two inlets oppoſite to one another, ſeven tenths of a foot broad, four tenths of a foot deep, evenly cut, and running in a ſtrait line 6 feet and farther into the thickneſs of the wall: that on the ſouth ſide is larger and ſomewhat round, not ſo long as the former, and by the blackneſs within ſeems to have been made uſe of for ſetting of lamps.

THIS is all that is to be ſeen within this firſt pyramid; but there is one thing more to be obſerved, and that is a very ſurprizing echo, which *Plutarch* takes notice of, and ſays, that it anſwers four or five times [t]; but a late traveller aſſures us, that it repeats no leſs than ten or twelve times very diſtinctly [u]. If we conſider the narrow entrance of the pyramid, and the length of the two galleries, which all lie as it were in one continued line, and leading to the middle of the pyramid, we need not be at a loſs to account for this effect; for the ſound being ſhut in, and carried in thoſe ſmooth paſſages, as in ſo many pipes, or trunks, finding no iſſue out, reflects on itſelf, and cauſes a circulation of the air, which by degrees vaniſhes as the motion ceaſes [w].

The ſecond pyramid. SCARCE the flight of an arrow diſtant from the firſt, towards the ſouth, ſtands the ſecond pyramid, of which, beſides the miracle, both antient and modern writers have delivered very little. *Herodotus* ſays it falls ſhort of the other in magnitude, he having meaſured them both, but he does not give the dimenſions: he adds, that it has no ſubterraneous chambers, neither is the *Nile* conveyed into it by a channel, as into the former, but that it is of equal altitude [x]. *Diodorus* is ſomewhat more particular, and tells us, that for the architecture it is like the former, but much inferior to it in

[t] PLUT. de placitis Philoſ. l. 4. c. 20. [u] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. T. I. p. 43. [w] Vid. GREAVES, ubi ſupr. p. 67.----101. THEVENOT, part 1. c. 5. LE BRUYN. T. 2. DELLA VALLE. Let. 11. p. 359, &c. [x] HEROD. l. 2.

reſpect

reſpect of magnitude; each ſide of the baſis containing a ſtadium, or 600 *Grecian* feet, in length [y]; ſo that, by his computation, each ſide ſhould want 100 *Grecian* feet of the former pyramid. *Pliny* makes the difference to be greater by 46 feet [z]. Moſt of the modern travellers do alſo agree this pyramid to be leſs than the other [a]. *Thevenot* makes it but 631 feet ſquare [b]. However, *Strabo* ſuppoſes theſe pyramids to be equal [c]; and Mr. *Greaves*, on the credit of a perſon who meaſured the ſecond with a line, aſſures us, the baſes of both are alike; and that the height taken by a deliberate conjecture (which it is eaſy to do by reaſon of the nearneſs of this and the former, and their ſtanding on the ſame plain) is not inferior to that of the firſt. This pyramid has no entrance, and is built of white ſtones, not near ſo vaſt as thoſe of the firſt; the ſides riſe not with degrees like that, but are ſmooth and equal; the whole fabric (except where it is oppoſed to the ſouth) ſeeming very entire, free from any deformed breaches [d].

The prieſts lodgings near it.

ON the north and weſt ſides of this ſecond pyramid are two very ſtately and elaborate pieces, about 30 feet in depth, and above 1400 in length, cut out of the rock in a perpendicular, and ſquared by the chiſſel; being deſigned, as is ſuppoſed, for lodgings of the *Egyptian* prieſts. They run parallel to the two ſides of the pyramid, at a convenient diſtance from it, and meeting in a right angle make a very fair proſpect. The entrance is by ſquare openings hewn out of the rock, much of the ſame ſize with the narrow paſſages of the firſt pyramid, each leading into a ſquare chamber, arched above with the natural rock. In moſt of them was a paſſage opening into ſome other apartments, but dark, and full of rubbiſh. On the north ſide without, there is a line engraven in ſacred *Egyptian* characters [e].

The third Pyramid.

THE third pyramid ſtands at the diſtance of about a furlong from the ſecond, on an advantageous riſing of the rock, whereby afar off it ſeems equal to the former, though the pile be much leſs and lower. *Herodotus* ſays it is 300 feet on every ſide (M), and to the middle built of *Ethiopic* marble [f].

Diodorus

[y] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. [z] PLIN. l. 36. p. 12. [a] RADZIVIL. p. 163. LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 46. SANDYS, p. 128. 4th Edit. [b] THEVEN. ubi ſupr. [c] STRABO, l. 17. [d] GREAVES, ubi ſupr. p. 103, &c. [e] Idem ibid. p. 106, &c. [f] HERODOT. l. 2.

(M) Yet he tells us that it wants but 20 feet on each ſide of the firſt pyramid, which muſt be a miſtake; unleſs we charge it rather

Diodorus gives the same dimensions of the basis, and adds, that the walls were raised fifteen stories with black stone, like *Thebaic* marble, and the rest finished with such materials as the other pyramids are built with; that this piece of work, though it be exceeded by the two former in magnitude, yet for the structure, art, and magnificence of the marble, it far excels them; and that in the side, towards the north, the name of *Mycerinus*, the founder, is engraved [g] *Pliny* writes to the same effect, except only that he makes this pyramid 363 feet between the angles [h]. *Belon* tells us, that it is but a third part greater than that of *C. Cæstius* at *Rome*; and that it is still perfect, and no more decayed than if it had been newly built, consisting of a kind of *Ethiopic* marble called *Basaltes*, harder than iron itself [i]. The descriptions of others of the moderns concur in the same tale as to substance, only differing as to some circumstances; so that they all seem to have copied *Herodotus*, or one another, and, surfeited with the view of the two other pyramids, not to have been near this, since they so constantly agree in what is most evidently false; for they have mistaken both the quality of the stone, and the colour of the pyramid, the whole appearing to be of a clear and white stone, somewhat choicer and brighter than that in either of the two other pyramids: there are indeed the ruins of a pile of buildings on the east side of it, of a sad and dusky colour, which might be the occasion of the error. But *Belon*, and those who follow him, are more inexcusable in making this pyramid but a third part greater than that of *Cæstius*, which exactly measured, on that side which stands within the city, is compleatly 78 *English* feet in breadth, to which if we add a third part, the result will be 104, which should be equal to this *Egyptian* pyramid. An unpardonable oversight of no less than 200 feet in a very little more than 300. For so much besides the authority of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, Mr. *Greaves* takes the side of this pyramid to be, and the altitude to have much the same proportion. The name of *Mycerinus* is not now to be seen on it, the engraving having been defaced by time [k].

[g] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 57. Vid. Strab. ubi supr. [h] Plin. ubi supr. [i] Belon. Observ. l. 2. c. 44. [k] Greaves, ubi supr. p. 108, &c.

on the copies, and instead of 20 read 500 feet. Mr. *Littlebury*, in his translation of *Herodotus*, supposes the meaning to be, that this pyramid was 20 feet lower than the former. As great a mistake as the other.

To

To the deſcriptions of theſe three pyramids we ſhall add that of a fourth, which ſtands near the *mummies*, and which we take to be that remarkable one mentioned above. This pyramid would fall nothing ſhort of the beauty of the firſt, if it had been finiſhed: it has 148 ſteps of large ſtones like the firſt pyramid; the platform of it is not even, the ſtones being ſet together without order, which ſhews, that it has not been finiſhed, and yet it is much more antient than the other; as is evident by the ſtones which are all worn out and crumbled into ſand. It is 643 feet ſquare, and has its entry at the fourth part of its height on the north ſide, as the former, being diſtant from the eaſt ſide 316 feet, and by conſequence 327 from the weſt. There is but one paſſage into it, 3 feet and a half broad, and 4 feet high, which reaching 267 feet downwards ends in a hall with a ſharp arched roof 25 feet and a half in length, and 11 in breadth. In the corner of the hall there is another paſſage, or gallery, parallel to the horizon, 3 feet ſquare within, and nine feet and a half long, which leads to another chamber 21 feet in length and 11 in breadth, with a very high arched roof alſo, having at the weſt end a ſquare window raiſed 24 feet and two thirds from the floor, by which one enters into a paſſage indifferent broad, and of a man's height, parallel to the horizon, and reaching in length 13 feet and 2 inches. There is a great room, or hall, at the end of this paſſage, with an arched roof, containing in length 26 feet 8 inches, and in breadth 24 feet and 1 inch: the floor of it is the natural rock, which on all ſides is rough and unequal, leaving only a little ſmooth and even ſpace in the middle encompaſſed round with the rock, and much lower than the entry into the room or the foundation of the wall [l].

A fourth pyramid.

IN what manner theſe wonderful ſtructures were erected, and by what contrivance the ſtones, eſpecially thoſe vaſt ones in the firſt, were raiſed to that height, has been the ſubject of much ſpeculation. *Herodotus*, whoſe expreſſions are not very clear, ſuppoſes, that when they had laid the firſt range, they raiſed other ſtones thither from the ground, by ſhort engines made of wood; that when the ſtone was lodged on this row, it was put into another engine ſtanding on the firſt ſtep, from whence it was drawn up to the ſecond row by another, there being as many engines as orders of ſtone; or elſe there might be but one engine, which they might remove as there was occaſion. He ſays alſo, that the higheſt parts were firſt finiſhed, and the reſt in order, but laſt of all thoſe that are loweſt and next the ground [m]. *Diodorus* imagines the work was erected

How the pyramids were built.

[l] THEVENOT, Voy. part 1. c. 6. [m] HEROD. l. 2.

by the help of mounds, which he ſays the *Egyptians* pretended were raiſed of ſalt and nitre, and that they were diſſolved and waſhed away by letting in the river [n]. With this writer *Pliny* agrees, adding, that others were of opinion that bridges were made of bricks, which the work being ended, were diſtributed into private houſes; conceiving that the *Nile* being much lower, could not come to waſh them away [o]. *Greaves* thinks it was done none of theſe ways; but that they firſt built a large tower in the midſt, reaching to the top; to the ſides of which he conceives the reſt of the building to have been applied, piece after piece, like ſo many buttreſſes, ſtill leſſening in height, till at laſt they came to the lowermoſt degree. A difficult piece of building taken in the eaſieſt projection.

If what the antients deliver be true, that the ſtones made uſe of in the building of theſe pyramids, were fetched either from the quarries in the *Arabian* Mountains, *Thebaïs*, or *Ethiopia*, we need not be ſurprized when we are told, that *Cheops* employed 100,000 men in this labour, 10,000 every three months [p]. But ſome modern travellers, obſerving that theſe ſtructures are built not with marble, but with a white ſandy ſtone, and very hard, rather believe it was dug out of the rock whereon they ſtand [q]. We think a middle opinion the moſt probable; that the aforeſaid rock indeed ſupplied them with great part of the materials, but that the marble of the inner rooms and paſſages was brought thither from ſome other place. *Wanſleb* imagines the greateſt pyramid to be nothing but a rock cut in that ſhape, and covered with a wall of ſtone [r]; a piece of work, to our apprehenſion, full as difficult as erecting a like maſs of ſtones from the quarry.

Diodorus makes the number of men employed in building the firſt pyramid 360,000, and *Pliny* 366,000. It is agreed, that twenty years were ſpent in the work: and *Herodotus* adds, that there was in his time an inſcription on the pyramid, though it be ſince worn out, declaring, how much was expended in radiſhes, onions, and garlick for the workmen, which his interpreter told him, amounted to no leſs than 1600 talents of ſilver, or about 413,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* ſterling [s].

Some late writers think, there is no beauty in theſe ſtructures, except their prodigious ſize [t], though they might for-

[n] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 57. [o] Plin. ubi ſupr. [p] Herod. l. 2. [q] Thevenot, part 1. c. 5. Wansleb, ubi ſupr. [r] Wansleb, ibid. [s] Vid. Herod. Diodor. & Plin. ubi ſupr. [t] Figueroa, Emb. di Perſia. Sicard, Mem. des Miſſ. T. II. p. 281,

merly

merly be reckoned among the wonders of the world, when they were, as is ſuppoſed, caſed with marble, before the later kings of *Egypt* took it away to adorn their palaces [u]; which is a piece of hiſtory we cannot warrant. However a very intelligent traveller judges them, in their preſent condition, worthy the magnificence of the old *Egyptian* kings; adding, that no prince now in the world (without diſparagement to any) is able to raiſe ſuch a pile of building [w]: and antient writers ſay, that they were magnificent beyond expreſſion, and ſingly comparable to many of the greateſt ſtructures in *Greece* conſidered together; that they exceeded all other works in *Egypt*, not only in the maſſineſs of the building, and in the expence, but alſo in the induſtry and ſkill of the workmen; the *Egyptians* themſelves, thinking, very juſtly, that the architects were more to be admired than the kings who were at the expence; for the former erected them by their own abilities and contrivance, the latter by their wealth received by inheritance, and the labours of others [x].

ONE thing more remarkable in the firſt pyramid is, that the ſides of it do ſtand exactly facing the four quarters of the world, and conſequently mark the true meridian of the place (N); which preciſe poſition could not well have been owing to chance, but was in all probability the effect of art and deſign; and that it was really ſo, is confirmed by the ſame poſition of the tomb within. A permanent proof of the early progreſs made by the *Egyptians* in aſtronomy [y].

HERODOTUS mentions a bridge near this pyramid, and little leſs conſiderable than the pyramid itſelf: but there are now no remains of it to be ſeen. It was 40 ſtadia, or about 5 Miles in length, 60 feet broad, and in the higheſt

[u] SICARD, ibid. [w] THEVENOT, ubi ſupr. [x] HEROD & DIODOR. ubi ſupr. [y] Vid. FONTENELLE, Elog. de Mr. DE CHAZELLES, p. 91. LUCAS, Tom. I. p. 366.

(N) Mr. *de Chazelles*, who made this obſervation, and was on the ſpot in the year 1693, being an excellent mathematician, we ſhall here ſet down the dimenſions of this pyramid as taken by him, and the rather becauſe they come the neareſt to thoſe of Mr. *Greaves*. The ſide of the baſe is, according to this gentleman, 110 *toiſes*, which is, as we compute, 704,880 *Engliſh* feet; and the perpendicular height 77 *toiſes* and 3 quarters, or 498,222 *Engliſh* feet (1).

(1) *Vid.* Rollin. *Hiſt. anc.* T. I. p. 20.

part 80 feet in altitude; all of poliſhed ſtones, and carved with the figures of various animals. This was the work of ten years [z].

Other pyramids.

HAVING been ſo diffuſive in the deſcription of the pyramids of *Memphis*, we may be excuſed taking notice of thoſe which are to be ſeen in other parts of *Egypt*; obſerving only that they are not all of the ſame form, ſome being round and almoſt like a ſugar-loaf, and others riſing with a leſſer inclination, and not ſo pointed at the top [a]. *Lucas* aſſures us, that there are no leſs than twelve pyramids near the cataracts, and two in *al Feyyûm*, nothing inferior to thoſe of *al Kâhira* [b].

Of the labyrinth.

THE *Egyptian* labyrinth, from whence *Dædalus* is ſuppoſed to have taken the model of that which he afterwards built in *Crete*, though he therein imitated but the hundredth part of it [c], was a celebrated ſtructure; and yet *Herodotus*, who ſaw it, ſays, that it far ſurpaſſed the report of fame, being, in his judgment, even more admirable than the pyramids [d]. As there were at leaſt 3 buildings of this kind, antient writers, not diſtinguiſhing them, generally ſpeak but of one, and conſequently with great confuſion and diſagreement.

THEY tell us, it ſtood in the *Heracleotic* nome, near the city of *Crocodiles* or *Arſinoe*, a little above the lake *Mœris* [e]. *Pliny* ſays, it was built by *Peteſuccus*, or *Tithoes*, one of the demigods, 4600 years before his time; but that *Demoteles* would have it to be the palace of *Motherudes*; *Lyceas* the ſepulchre of *Mœris*; and others the temple of the ſun [f]. It is recorded by *Manetho*, that *Lachares*, or *Labares*, the ſucceſſor of *Seſoſtris*, provided a labyrinth for his monument [g]. And *Diodorus* writes, that *Mendes*, or *Marus*, alſo built one for the ſame purpoſe, which was not ſo conſiderable on account of its magnitude, as for the artificial contrivance of it [h]: but this ſeems to be a different building from that deſcribed by him a little after, which is in all probability the ſame with the labyrinth of *Herodotus*; for they both agree in the ſituation, that it was the work of twelve kings, among whom *Egypt* was at one time divided; and that they built it at their common charge, as a public monument of their reign, and were buried there [i].

[z] HEROD. ubi ſup. [a] LUCAS Voy. T. II. p. 10. [b] Idem, T. I. p. 99, and II. p 75. [c] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 55. [d] HEROD. l. 2. [e] Idem. ibid. PLIN. l. 36. c. 13. [f] PLIN. ibid. [g] SYNCELL. Chronog. p. 59, 60. [h] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [i] Idem. ibid. p. 59. HEROD. ubi ſupr.

THIS

THIS ſtructure ſeems to have been deſigned as a *pantheon*, or univerſal temple of all the *Egyptian* deities, which were ſeparately worſhipped in the provinces. It was alſo the place of the general aſſembly of the magiſtracy of the whole nation, thoſe of all the provinces, or *nomes*, meeting here to feaſt and ſacrifice, and to judge cauſes of great conſequence [k]. And for this reaſon every *nome* had a hall, or palace, appropriate to it; the whole edifice containing, according to *Herodotus*, twelve; *Egypt* being then divided into ſo many kingdoms. But *Pliny* makes the number of theſe palaces ſixteen, and *Strabo*, as it ſeems, twenty ſeven [l]. The firſt of theſe writers tells us, that the halls were vaulted, and had an equal number of doors oppoſite to one another, ſix opening to the north, and ſix to the ſouth, all encompaſſed by the ſame wall; that there were three thouſand chambers in this edifice, fifteen hundred in the upper part, and as many under ground; and that he viewed every room in the upper part, but was not permitted, by thoſe who kept the palace to go into the ſubterraneous part, becauſe the ſepulchres of the holy crocodiles, and of the kings who built the labyrinth were there. He reports, that what he ſaw ſeemed to ſurpaſs the art of man: ſo many ways out by various paſſages, and infinite returns, afforded a thouſand occaſions of wonder, as he paſſed from a ſpacious hall to a chamber; from thence to a private cabinet; then again into other paſſages out of the cabinets, and out of the chambers into the more ſpacious rooms. All the roofs and walls within were incruſted with marble; but the walls farther adorned with figures of ſculpture. The halls were ſurrounded with pillars of white ſtone finely poliſhed; and at the angle, where the labyrinth ends, ſtood the pyramid formerly mentioned [m], which *Strabo* will have to be the ſepulchre of the prince who built the labyrinth [n].

To this deſcription of *Herodotus* others add, that it ſtood in the midſt of an immenſe ſquare, ſurrounded with buildings at a great diſtance; that the porch was of *Parian* marble, and all the other pillars of marble of *Syene*; that within it were the temples of their ſeveral deities, and galleries, to which one aſcended by 90 ſteps, adorned with many columns of porphyry, images of their gods, and ſtatues of their kings, of monſtrous ſize; that the whole edifice conſiſted of ſtone, the floors being laid with vaſt tables, and the roof appearing

[k] STRABO, l. 17. p. 1165. [l] See the places above quoted.
[m] HEROD. ubi ſupr. See before, p. 405. [n] STRABO, ubi ſup.

like a field of ſtone; that the paſſages met, and croſſed each other with ſo much intricacy, that it was impoſſible for a ſtranger to find his way, either in or out, without a guide; and that ſeveral of the apartments were ſo contrived, that on opening of the doors, there was heard within a terrible noiſe of thunder [o].

We ſhall ſubjoin part of the deſcription given by *Diodorus* of a fabric, which though he does not call it a labyrinth, but a ſepulchre, yet appears to be the ſame we are now ſpeaking of. He ſays it was of a ſquare form, each ſide being a furlong in length, built of moſt beautiful ſtone, the ſculpture and other work of which poſterity could not exceed; that when one had paſſed the outer encloſure, a building preſented itſelf to view, ſurrounded by a piazza, every ſide conſiſting of 400 pillars; and that it contained the enſigns, or memorials of the country of each king; and was, in all reſpects, a work ſo ſumptuous, and of ſuch vaſt dimenſions, that if the twelve princes who began it, had not been dethroned before it was finiſhed, the magnificence of it could never have been ſurpaſſed [p]. Whence it ſeems, that *Pſammitichus*, one of the twelve, who expelling his aſſociates, made himſelf maſter of all *Egypt*, finiſhed the deſign, but not with a grandeur anſwerable to the reſt of the ſtructure; though *Mela* attributes the glory of the whole to that king [q].

The ſolidity of this wonderful building was ſuch, that it withſtood for many ages not only the rage of time, but that of the inhabitants of *Heracleopolis*, who, worſhipping the *ichneumon*, the mortal enemy of the crocodile, which was the peculiar deity of *Arſinoe*, bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *labyrinth*, which ſerved alſo for a ſepulchre to the ſacred crocodiles, and therefore aſſiſted to demoliſh it. *Pliny* ſays, it was remaining in his days, and that about 500 years before *Alexander*, *Circumnon*, eunuch to king *Nectanebis*, was reported to have beſtowed ſome ſmall reparations on it, ſupporting the building with beams of *Acacia*, or the *Egyptian* thorn boiled in oil, while the arches of ſquare ſtone were erecting [r].

Though the *Arabs* have alſo, ſince the days of *Pliny*, helped to ruin this ſtructure, yet a conſiderable part of it is ſtill ſtanding almoſt at the ſouth end of the lake *Mœris*, a little to the eaſt, and about ten leagues from the ruins of *Arſinoe*. The people of the country call it the palace of *Charon*, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomething by and by.

[o] Plin. & Strabo, ubi ſupr.. [p] Diod. Sic. p. 59, 60. [q] Pomp. Mela. l. 1. c. 9. [r] Plin. ubi ſupr. Vid. Strabo, p. 1166.

The

THE remains we ſpeak of retain yet ſome marks of the antient ſplendor of the whole. The firſt thing one ſees is a large portico of marble, facing the riſing ſun, and ſuſtained by four great pillars of marble alſo, but compoſed of ſeveral pieces: three of theſe pillars are ſtill ſtanding, and one of the two middle ones is half fallen. In the middle is a door, whoſe ſides and entablature are very maſſy; and above is a frize, whereon is repreſented a head with wings ſtretched out along the frize, and ſeveral hieroglyphics underneath. This head is covered with a kind of vail, and ſurrounded with four points of marble, like rays; over this firſt entablature runs a frize, the ſtones of which are cut into the figures of ſerpents, very big below the head, but growing inſenſibly leſs to the tail. On this frize are the ruins of ſeveral doors, in different ſtories, by which probably they entered into the apartments that were above, but they are at preſent entirely ruined: on each ſide of that in the middle there is an *Anubis* full of hieroglyphics.

THIS edifice reſembles none of the four orders of architecture which we received from the antients. Having paſſed through the portico, one enters into a fine large hall, all of marble, the roof conſiſting of twelve tables of marble, exquiſitely joined, each 25 feet long and 3 broad, which croſs the room from one end to the other; the roof, being not arched (as *Herodotus* ſays) but flat, ſtrikes one with admiration at the boldneſs of its architecture; it being ſcarce conceivable, how it could continue ſo many ages in a poſition ſo improper to ſupport ſo prodigious a weight. This hall is at preſent 40 feet high without making any allowance for the duſt and rubbiſh with which the floor is covered. At the end of this hall, over-againſt the firſt door, there is a ſecond portico, with the ſame ornaments as the firſt, but leſs, by which one enters into a ſecond hall, not ſo big as the firſt, which is covered with eight ſtones. At the end of this room, ſtrait forwards, there is a third portico, ſtill leſs than the ſecond, as well as the hall into which it leads, though it has thirteen ſtones to roof it. At the end of this third hall there is a fourth portico, ſet againſt the wall, and placed there for ſymmetry only to anſwer the reſt. The length of theſe three halls is the whole depth of the building in its preſent condition: it was on the two ſides, and eſpecially under ground, that the prodigious number of rooms and avenues, mentioned by the antients, were built; the halls we have deſcribed having ſeveral openings made in them, through which one may go into other rooms on the ſame level, from whence there are ſtair-caſes to go up into thoſe above, and down into thoſe under

under ground. Our author having firſt taken the precaution which *Ariadne* taught *Theſeus*, and provided himſelf with above 2000 fathom of thread, and ſome chopped ſtraw to ſtrew in his way, went into above 150 of theſe chambers, but was often obliged either to creep on his belly, or to remove the rubbiſh which choaked up the paſſages; but with all his endeavours he was not able to go very far.

To have a perfect idea of the conſtruction of this edifice, you muſt imagine, that you go from one chamber into another, ſometimes into an alley, which has apertures in ſeveral places anſwering to other avenues, from which often, without perceiving it, you come to the place from whence you ſet out. All theſe chambers and paſſages, where a perfect obſcurity reigns, are not of equal dimenſions, nor of the ſame figure: ſome being long, ſome ſquare, and others triangular.

The diſagreement which may be found between this relation and the accounts of the antients, and even among the ſeveral deſcriptions of the antients themſelves in a building of ſo great variety and extent, need not be wondered at. What is now remaining of it, ſeems to be no more than a fourth part of the inner edifice, which, in all probability, had four fronts, and twelve halls anſwering to them; the reſt being decayed by time, or demoliſhed by deſign, as appears from the prodigious ruins which are to be ſeen all around it [r].

Of the lake Mœris.

How admirable ſoever the labyrinth was, yet the lake *Mœris*, by which that monument ſtood, is ſaid to be yet more wonderful. The antients make it no leſs than 3600 ſtadia in circumference [s], which is ſomewhat incredible (O); but later relations aſſure us, that it is not above half a league broad and a day's journey in length, being in circuit about

[r] Lucas, Voy. T. II. p. 18, &c. [s] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 49.

(O) *Pomponius Mela* makes the circuit of this lake no more than 20 miles; which being ſo very diſſonant from what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have delivered, the critics will have it to be a miſtake in *Mela*'s copy, and have corrected it by thoſe authors (1); but, as we imagine, without reaſon: though we muſt not diſſemble the tradition of the people of the country, who ſay, the lake was formerly much larger than it is now; and one place in particular, which the water has left, is become a dangerous quickſand, wherein men and cattle are ſometimes loſt (2).

(1) *Vid.* Voſſium & *alios in Melam*, *l.* 1. *c.* 9. (2) Lucas, *ubi ſup. p.* 64, 71.

12 or

12 or 15 leagues [u]: which is prodigious enough, if we conſider that it was the work of mens hands, as appeared from the two pyramids built in the midſt of it, which were ſtanding in the time of *Herodotus*. In the deepeſt parts it has 50 fathom of water. This lake ſtretches from north to ſouth, and is not fed by the ſea, the adjacent country being exceſſively dry, but by water derived from the *Nile*, by a channel cut for that purpoſe, 80 ſtadia long and 300 feet broad, through which the water flowed into the lake ſix months of the year, and back again to the river the other ſix months: yet we are told, by a modern traveller, that there are two conſiderable ſprings in the lake, which keep it from becoming ever quite dry; though in thoſe years that the *Nile* increaſes but little, it has not much water, and then ſeveral fine ruins are diſcovered, which at other times are not to be ſeen [w].

THIS lake was dug by a king of *Egypt*, called by *Herodotus Mœris*, and by *Diodorus Myris*, whoſe name it afterwards received, to correct the irregularities of the *Nile*, by receiving the ſuperfluous waters when that river roſe too high, and thereby preventing their ſtagnation in other places to the detriment of the land, and by ſupplying water for the lands when the river failed; which was effected by many canals and ditches cut from the main channel [x]. Theſe canals are ſtill ſubſiſting, and almoſt entire at this day, their number and ſtructure being worthy admiration. And as they were of the greateſt benefit to the antient inhabitants, ſo are they no leſs ſerviceable to the preſent, who, as has been obſerved, attribute theſe works, and indeed almoſt all other antient works of public utility, to *Joſeph* [y].

THE canal of communication between the *Nile* and the lake, had antiently large ſluices to let the water in or out as occaſion required; and whenever they were either to be opened or ſhut, the charge of doing it was no leſs than 50 talents, or about 12,916*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. On the other hand, the lake brought in a very conſiderable revenue to the prince; the fiſhery, during the ſix months of the river's retreat, yielding a talent of ſilver, or about 258*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. every day to the royal treaſury; and the reſt of the time 20 *minæ*, or a fourth part of that ſum; there being twenty two ſorts of fiſh in this lake, and in ſuch plenty, that though a great number of people were employed in ſalting them, yet there wanted hands for the work. *Mœris*, it is ſaid, gave theſe revenues to his wife, to buy her ointments, or, as we expreſs it,

[u] LUCAS Voy. T. III. p. 63. [w] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 53.
[x] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. [y] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. See before, p. 389.

it, for pin-money. The earth dug for the making of the lake, was, as the *Egyptians* told *Herodotus*, carried to the *Nile*, and diſperſed by the current of that river [z].

There is an iſle in the middle of the lake *Mœris*, of about a league in circumference: but nothing is now to be ſeen of the two pyramids which were built here, though they ſay there are ſeveral ruins of temples and tombs in the iſle, with large figures of men and animals. On the farther ſide of the lake there are ſome little mountains with grottos in them, which were formerly made uſe of for ſepulchres [a].

The inhabitants, at preſent, call this lake, *the lake of Charon*, concerning whom they tell the following ſtory; that being a perſon of mean extraction, and reſolved to get money by any means, he planted himſelf by this lake, and exacted of every corps that was ferried over to be interred a certain ſum: though he did this without any authority from the prince, yet he carried on the impoſition for ſeveral years, till refuſing paſſage to the dead body of the king's ſon, unleſs the uſual ſum were paid him, the cheat was diſcovered: however, he made the king ſo ſenſible of the great advantage it would be to him to continue this duty by his royal authority, that he ordered it to be conſtantly paid for the future, appointing *Charon* his firſt miniſter, and confirming him in his old employment, which he made the firſt poſt in the kingdom. And *Charon* got ſuch vaſt riches in it, that he became powerful enough to aſſaſſinate the king, and mount the throne in his ſtead [b]. There is ſo much correſpondence between this fable and what the antients ſay of *Charon*, that we could not omit it.

The time would fail us if we ſhould go through an exact deſcription of the other buildings and admirable works of the antient *Egyptians*, though perhaps they deſerve it equally with what we have already mentioned; the very ſpoils of them making at this day the principal ornament of *Rome*; where is ſcarce a column, or an obeliſk, worthy of note, but what has been formerly brought thither out of *Egypt*. We may, however, find occaſions in the progreſs of this work to ſpeak of what we here omit; and ſhall only take notice, as briefly as we can, of two or three things more, which we judge extraordinary, and for which, we apprehend, we may not hereafter find a more proper place.

A palace near the Cataracts.

One is a moſt magnificent palace in the upper *Egypt*, not far from *Aſwan*, the antient *Syene*; the ruins whereof are enough to ſtrike a ſpectator with aſtoniſhment. It is as large

[z] Herod. & Diodor. ubi ſup. [a] Lucas, ubi ſup. [b] Idem.

as

as a little city, having four avenues of columns, leading to as many *porticos*. At each gate between two pillars of porphyry, there ſtand two gigantic figures of fine black marble, armed with maces. The avenues conſiſt of columns, ſet three and three together in a triangle on one pedeſtal; on the chapiter of each triangle is placed a *Sphinx* and a tomb alternately. Every column is 70 feet high, all of one ſtone. There are in the whole, in all the four avenues above five or ſix thouſand of theſe columns, a great many of which are fallen down.

THE firſt hall of this palace is painted with fine pieces of hiſtory, and it ſeems as if the painting had not been long finiſhed. In ſome places they have repreſented the hunting of antelopes, in others feaſts, and a great many young children playing with all kinds of animals. From hence you go into other apartments, encruſted with marble, the roofs being ſupported by pillars of porphyry and black marble. Notwithſtanding the vaſt quantity of rubbiſh, our author made ſhift to get up to the top of this building, from whence he had a proſpect of the ruins of the greateſt city that had ever been, as he thought, in the world. He ſuppoſes it might be the antient *Thebes* [c], though that city probably ſtood much lower.

THE grots near *Oſyût* ought not to be neglected. One of them is large enough to contain above 600 horſe in battle array: it is cut out of the rock by the chiſſel, and ſupported by vaſt ſquare pillars of the ſame rock. In this grotto ſeveral little ſeats are made to reſt on; and it ſeems by ſome footſteps which ſtill remain of them, that formerly the figures of ſeveral deities were painted there; but they are now almoſt entirely defaced. There are a great many other grots in the ſame mountain, more beautiful than this. They are ranged in order, with doors anſwering one another, on which there are ſeveral images of the antient gods of *Egypt* in *baſſo relievo*; ſome having a ſtaff in their hand, as if they guarded the entrance. In theſe grottos various apartments have been made, and ſome wells ſunk; but, what is moſt wonderful of all, at the farther end there are *catacombs* hollowed in the rock, where there are a great number of *mummies*, and tombs adorned with ſepulchres in *baſſo relievo*, which have been almoſt all disfigured by the *Arabs*. Our author went into above 200 of theſe grots, each of them more ſingular than the other; and he aſſures us there are above a thouſand of them. It is ſurprizing to conſider the time and number of men that *Grots near Oſyût.*

[c] Idem, T. I. p. 98, &c.

muſt

muſt have been employed in a work of ſuch difficulty; there being ſcarce a monument in any other part of the world, which carries ſuch evidence of the power of thoſe who executed it; for which reaſon the people of the country believe theſe grots the work of dæmons, who have hid immenſe treaſures in them. As to the time when they were cut, and for what purpoſe, it is in vain to expect any light from hiſtory [d].

A magnificent ſtructure at Dandera.

AMONG the antiquities of *Dandera*, the antient *Tentyra*, there is ſtanding part of a temple, or palace, of ſurprizing height and dimenſions. The back part of this ſtructure is a vaſt wall, without any windows, built of large ſtones of greyiſh granite, covered with *baſſo relievos* bigger than the life, repreſenting the antient *Egyptian* deities, with all their attributes in different attitudes. Two lions of white marble, as big as horſes, ſtand above half the length of their bodies out of the wall. The ſide is about 300 paces long, filled alſo with ſculptures of the ſame kind, and has three lions jutting out, of the ſame ſize with the former. The front of this glorious edifice expoſes to view, in the midſt, a porch, ſuſtained by ſquare pilaſters of a prodigious ſize; a large piazza ſupported by three rows of columns, one of which eight men can hardly fathom, extends it ſelf on each ſide the porch, and bears up a flat roof, made of ſtones of 6 or 7 feet broad, and of an extraordinary length. This roof appears to have been formerly painted, and ſome colours, which time has ſpared, are ſtill to be perceived. The columns, made of great ſtones of granite, and full of hieroglyphics in relief, have each, on their corniſh, a capital compoſed of four womens heads, with their head-dreſs ſet back to back, and appearing like the faces of a double *Janus*: theſe heads are of a proportion ſuitable to the columns: there is above them an *abacus* of a ſquare ſtone, of about 6 feet high, ſomewhat longer than it is broad, which ſupports the roof. A kind of corniſh, of a ſingular conſtruction, runs all round this piazza; and in the middle over the porch, there are two great ſerpents interwoven, whoſe heads reſt on two large wings extended on each ſide. Though theſe columns are above half buried in the ruins, yet one may judge of their height by the circumference; and according to the proportions of architecture, they ought to be, at leaſt, 44 or 45 feet high, and 120 including the baſis with the capital. From this porch one enters directly into a large ſquare hall, where there are three doors, opening into different apartments which lead ſtill into others, ſup-

[d] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. T. II. p. 76, &c.

ported

ported alſo by a great many fine columns, though dark and full of rubbiſh.

As this edifice is almoſt entirely buried on one ſide under the ruins and heaps of ſtones, which have formed a kind of mountain, one may eaſily get up to the top; and to give ſome idea of its dimenſions, it is ſufficient to ſay, that the *Arabs* had formerly built a very large town upon it, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen. At ſome diſtance from the front, there is a large arch of a beautiful order of architecture, and above 40 feet high, which ſeems to have been the firſt gate.

THE tradition of the country is, that this was a temple of *Serapis*; which ſeems to be confirmed by a *Greek* inſcription on the frize, wherein the name of that deity appears; but the whole is ſo imperfectly taken, that there is no making any certain judgment of it. They alſo pretend, that this temple had as many windows as there are days in the year, and that thoſe windows were ſo diſpoſed, that each anſwering to one of the degrees of the ecliptic, the ſun every day ſaluted the deity who preſided there, through them in order, one after another [e].

WE ſhall conclude this ſection, which is perhaps already too long, with a reflexion made on occaſion of this ſtructure: That if in ſuch cities as *Tentyra*, and ſome others of inferior note, there are found monuments of ſuch exquiſite beauty and grandeur, what ought we to think of thoſe erected in the principal cities, which were the ordinary reſidence of the kings; as *Thebes*, *Memphis*, and *Alexandria*? and how great an idea ought we to entertain of the power and magnificence of the antient inhabitants of *Egypt* [f]?

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade of the antient Egyptians.

The antiquity of the Egyptians

THERE are few nations in the world which can pretend to an equal antiquity with the *Egyptians*. Their country is the only one in the world which has born the name of a ſon of *Noah*; though it be uncertain, whether *Ham* himſelf made any ſettlement there. However, his ſon *Miz-*

[e] SICARD, Mem. des miſſions, T. II. p. 158. LUCAS, T. II. p. 133, &c. [f] LUCAS, ibid. p. 139.

raïm

raïm certainly peopled *Egypt* with his own iſſue, which inhabited ſeveral parts of it, under the names of *Mizraïm*, *Pathruſim*, *Caſluhim*, and *Caphtorim* [a].

And yet the *Egyptians* themſelves being ignorant of their true deſcent, pretended even to a greater antiquity than this, aſſerting themſelves to have been the firſt men in the world, which (as well as animals) they imagined muſt have been originally produced in their country, rather than in any other part of the world, becauſe of the benign temperature of the air, the natural fecundity of the *Nile*, and its ſpontaneous bringing forth ſeveral kinds of vegetables, as proper food for the newly produced men and animals. And to ſupport this opinion by fact, they inſtanced in the great numbers of mice which were every year bred out of the mud left by the *Nile* on its retreat, ſome of them, as they ſay, appearing alive, and formed ſo far as the fore-part of the body only, the other part being inanimate and without motion, as having not yet quite put off the nature of earth [b]. That the concurrence of proper cauſes, in certain ſeaſons will occaſion a prodigious increaſe of thoſe vermin, is obſerved in other countries; but as to the other part of the relation, it is not improbable, that the mice which are generated at that ſeaſon in *Egypt*, are of the ſame kind with thoſe mentioned by antient authors to breed in that country, and ſome other parts, which have but two legs [c], and which an incurious ſpectator might therefore eaſily take to be imperfect animals, and but half formed. On this miſtaken notion of their original, the *Egyptians* built their hiſtory, reckoning an extravagant number of years, during which they pretended they had the moſt flouriſhing kingdom in the world, under the adminiſtration of their own native kings. However, we are told, that in the time of *Pſammitichus* they acknowledge the *Phrygians* to be more antient, yielding that nation the priority, and challenging only the ſecond rank to themſelves [d].

Their government and laws.

The *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the firſt who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life eaſy, and a people happy; the true end of politics. Their laws and inſtitutions were not only highly reverenced by thoſe who lived under their immediate influence, but by other nations, and particularly the *Grecians*, whoſe firſt ſages and law-givers travelled into this country to acquaint themſelves

[a] See before, p. 365. &c. [b] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 9. [c] Theophrast. in fragm. de animalibus. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 10. c. 65. Herod. l. 4. [d] Herod. l. 2. ſub init. See before, p. 335. note U.

herewith, and borrowed thence the beſt part of thoſe which they afterwards eſtabliſhed at home.

THE crown of *Egypt* was hereditary; their firſt kings did not live after the manner of other monarchs, or govern by their own arbitrary will and pleaſure, ſubject to the control of none; but they were obliged to conform themſelves to the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, not only in the management of public affairs, but even in their private way of life. No ſlave bought with money, or ſervant born in their own houſe, was admitted into their ſervice; but they were attended by the ſons of the prieſts of moſt diſtinguiſhed birth; who after having had a ſuitable education, were at the age of twenty placed about the king's perſon; that, being waited on both day and night by men of ſuch extraordinary merit, he might learn nothing unworthy of the royal majeſty, and be in the leſs danger of falling into any vicious exceſs; which princes ſeldom do, unleſs they find, among thoſe who approach their perſons, encouragers of their debauchery, and miniſters of their paſſions. *Their kings manner of life.*

THERE were ſtated hours of night as well as day, when the king could not do what he had a fancy to, but was indiſpenſibly obliged to give attention to buſineſs and ſerious employment. When he aroſe early in the morning, the firſt thing he did was to peruſe the public diſpatches and letters, which came from ſeveral parts of his dominions, that ſo he might be well acquainted with the ſtate and affairs of his kingdom. Then bathing himſelf, and putting on ſplendid attire, and aſſuming the enſigns of his regal office, he went to the temple to ſacrifice: the victims being brought to the altar, the chief prieſt, in the preſence of the king and the aſſiſtants, prayed with a loud voice for the health and proſperity of the king, who governed according to juſtice and the laws of the kingdom. And on this occaſion he enlarged on his royal virtues, obſerving that he was pious towards the gods, tender towards his people, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, of ſtrict veracity, liberal, maſter of himſelf, puniſhing below, and rewarding above, deſert. He then ſpake with execration of the faults which the king might have committed through ſurprize or ignorance; but withal abſolving him, and laying the guilt on his miniſters and council. And this method they took to win their kings to the practice of virtue; not by ſharp admonitions, but by the pleaſing praiſes due to good actions. The ſacrifices being duly performed, the ſcribe read, out of the ſacred records, ſuch of the counſels and actions of the moſt famous men as might be of uſe in life, and fit for imitation; that the king might thereby be in-

ſtructed to govern his ſtate by their maxims, and regulate his adminiſtration, in every reſpect, according to the eſtabliſhed laws.

Nor was the king obliged to this exactneſs in public affairs only; but he was ſo little maſter of himſelf in private, that he could not take the air, lie with his queen, bath, or do the moſt indifferent thing, but at certain times, which were particularly appointed, and ſet apart for this or that purpoſe. He was not permitted to chooſe what he would eat, but his table was furniſhed with the moſt ſimple food, generally veal or gooſe; and he was allowed but a certain quantity of wine to drink. And this regulation was ſo moderate, that it ſeemed not to have been the inſtitution of a legiſlator, but the preſcription of an experienced phyſician for the preſervation of health; to which it was ſo conducive, that one of the kings of *Egypt*, named *Tachos*, who had the beſt of conſtitutions while he lived after the frugal manner of his own country, retiring into *Perſia*, ſoon ruined it by the luxurious diet of that nation [e]. It is ſaid, that there was, in a certain temple in *Thebes*, a pillar, with an inſcription on it, containing imprecations againſt a king, who had firſt introduced luxury among the *Egyptians* [f].

So great a reſtraint laid on the prince in matters ſeemingly of little conſequence, is indeed extraordinary; but what deſerves greater admiration is, that it was not in his power to ſatisfy more dangerous appetites, by wronging or oppreſſing the ſubject; for he could not puniſh any perſon out of paſſion or caprice, nor give judgment in any caſe otherwiſe than as the laws ordained. And all this was ſo far from being thought hard or diſhonourable by the kings, that on the contrary they eſteemed it a ſingular bleſſing, that while other men were ſubject to the ill conſequences of indulging their natural paſſions, themſelves were exempt from ſuch dangers, by living up to a rule of life approved by the moſt prudent perſons. While the princes behaved themſelves with this juſtice and moderation, they were infinitely dear to their people; not only the colleges of prieſts, but the whole *Egyptian* nation being more ſollicitous for the king's ſafety, than that of their wives, children, or poſſeſſions. Wherefore, ſo long as theſe laws were obſerved, their ſtate was flouriſhing, and the people happy; they extended their dominions by the conqueſt of ſeveral nations, became exceeding rich and populous, and en-

[e] Ælian. var. hiſt. l. 5. c. 1. [f] Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 354.

abled

abled to adorn the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom with works of inimitable magnificence [g].

THE affection of the *Egyptians* to their king appeared in nothing more than in the lamentations they made for them, and the honours they paid them when dead; for upon the death of any of their kings, the whole kingdom went into mourning, rending their garments, ſhutting up their temples, and putting a ſtop to all ſacrifices, feaſts, and ſolemnities, for the ſpace of ſeventy two days. Companies of 200 or 300, both men and women, having thrown dirt on their heads, and being girt with linen girdles, marched ſolemnly in proceſſion twice a day, ſinging his praiſe in mournful dirges, calling on the virtue of the deceaſed. All this while they abſtained from fleſh and wheat, as alſo from wine and all delicacies; they neither bathed, nor anointed themſelves, nor ſlept in their beds, nor uſed the company of their wives; but every one mourned both night and day, as for the loſs of a beloved ſon. In the mean time the funeral pomp being prepared with great magnificence, on the laſt day, the body was expoſed in a coffin at the entrance of the ſepulchre, where, in purſuance of a law, the actions of his life were recited, and every one was at free liberty to accuſe him. The prieſts pronounced his elogy; and if it ſo happened that the deceaſed had reigned worthily, the numerous multitude, aſſembled on the occaſion, ſeconded the applauſes of the prieſts; but if he had governed unworthily, they boldly expreſſed their diſapprobation. It even depended on the inclinations of the people, whether the deceaſed prince ſhould be honoured with a ſolemn burial, which through their diſlike was denied to ſeveral. Upon which account (among others), and leſt their dead bodies ſhould be abuſed, and their memory blaſted with eternal infamy, they did their utmoſt to deſerve the good opinion of their ſubjects by an unblameable conduct.

The honours paid them when dead.

As to the adminiſtration of public affairs, each *nome*, or province had its peculiar governor, who ordered and took care of every thing within his juriſdiction. The lands were divided into three parts; of which one was allotted to the prieſts, and the revenues thereof were employed not only for the maintenance of them and their families, but for the providing ſacrifices and all other expences of public worſhip. The ſecond belonged to the king, and was appropriated to defray the charges of his wars, and for the ſupport of the regal dignity with ſplendor. By ſuch an abundant proviſion, he was enabled liberally to reward men of diſtinguiſhed merit;

The political diviſion of the kingdom.

[g] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 63, &c.

and had no occaſion to lay any burthenſome taxes on his people. The third part was the ſoldiers, who, having ſo handſome a maintenance, were thereby encouraged to venture their lives in defence of their country: for they thought it abſurd to truſt the ſafety of the whole nation in the hands of thoſe, who had nothing dear or valuable at home to fight for [h].

Herodotus ſays, the *Egyptians* were diſtinguiſhed into ſeven orders of men; prieſts, ſoldiers, herdſmen, hogherds, traders, interpreters, and ſeamen; who took their names from the profeſſions they exerciſed [i]. But *Diodorus* mentions no more than five; prieſts, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, huſbandmen, and artificers, including probably ſome of the former denominations under ſome of theſe.

Of the prieſts.

The king, prieſts, and ſoldiery made as it were the three eſtates of the kingdom. The prieſts were held in great reverence and eſteem, not only for their attendance on the worſhip of their gods, but becauſe by their learning and prudence they were of great ſervice to the ſtate; being for that reaſon always near the king's perſon, as the chief of his council, to aſſiſt him with their advice, to give their judgments as to the event of any enterprize, by their ſkill in aſtrology, and in divination by inſpection of the ſacrifices; and to read uſeful points of hiſtory out of the ſacred commentaries. Theſe were exempt from all taxes, and were the next in power and dignity to the king [k].

The prieſts wore linen garments and ſhoes, being not permitted to dreſs in any other manner; they took particular care to waſh them often, and have them always clean: and for greater neatneſs, they ſhaved all parts of their bodies once in three days, and bathed conſtantly twice by day, and twice by night in cold water, with a great deal of ſuperſtition. The ſervice of every god was performed, not by one, but by many prieſts; and they had a chief prieſt over them, in whoſe room, when he died, his ſon was ſubſtituted. The prieſthood enjoyed very great advantages, being never diſturbed with domeſtic cares; for they eat the conſecrated bread, and were daily furniſhed with beef and geeſe in abundance, and had alſo an allowance of wine; but they might not taſte of fiſh. Beans, which were never eaten by the other *Egyptians*, the prieſts abhorred the ſight of, accounting them impure and abominable: whence *Pythagoras* took the averſion he had to that kind of pulſe.

[h] Diodor. ubi ſupr. p. 66. [i] Herod. ubi ſupr. [k] Diodor. ubi ſupr. [l] Herod. ubi ſupr.

The

THE military men were called *Calaſirians*, or *Hermotybians*, according to the different nomes they inhabited. Thoſe of the latter were the nomes of *Buſiris*, *Saïs*, *Chemmis*, *Papremis*, and one half of the iſland *Proſopis*, from whence 160,000 men might be drawn, when they were moſt numerous. The nomes of the *Calaſirians* were thoſe of *Thebes*, *Bubaſtis*, *Aphthis*, *Tanis*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, *Athribis*, *Pharbæthus*, *Thmuïs*, *Onuphis*, *Anytis*, and *Myecphoris*; which laſt was ſituate in an iſland over-againſt the city of *Bubaſtis*. And theſe nomes of the *Calaſirians* might furniſh 250,000 men at the moſt. The ſoldiers of both denominations were not permitted to learn, or exerciſe any mechanical art, but were obliged, from father to ſon, to apply themſelves to the art of war only [m]; wherein it may be ſuppoſed, they therefore, made a more than ordinary proficiency; but their great excellency ſeems to have been in horſemanſhip, and the ſkill of guiding chariots; for which they were particularly and early famous, as appears from ſcripture [n]. For neglect of duty, flying in battle, or cowardice, they were puniſhed only by marks of infamy; it being thought more adviſeable to keep them in order by the motive of honour, than the fear of chaſtiſement [o]. *Of the ſoldiery.*

THE lands conferred on the militia were exempted from public taxes, as well as thoſe of the prieſts. The portion aſſigned to each man was 12 *aruræ*, every one containing a ſquare of 100 *Egyptian* cubits (A). The king's guard conſiſted of 1000 *Hermotybians*, and as many *Calaſirians*, who were changed every year, that they might all have that honour and advantage in their turn. For, beſides the revenues of their lands, thoſe that were on duty at court had a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two pounds of beef, and two pints of wine. This liberal proviſion for the militia, was alſo an encouragement for them to marry, helping to people the country, and leaving behind them a ſucceſſion of troops ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom [p].

BUT after all, the *Egyptians* cannot be ſaid to have been a warlike nation; it being real and not imaginary combats that form a ſoldier. They rather extended their dominions by ſending out colonies, than by their arms: however, we ſhall find ſome conquerors of great fame among their kings.

[m] Idem ibid. [n] Exod. xiv. 7, &c. Cant. i. 9. Iſai. xxxvi. 9. [o] DIOD. l. 1. p. 70. [p] HEROD. & DIODOR. ubi ſupr.

(A) The *Egyptian Arura* muſt therefore have been ſomewhat more than three quarters of an *Engliſh* acre.

We had almoſt forgot to obſerve, that if the *Egyptians* at any time created a new king by election (which ſometimes happened), he was always choſen, either out of the prieſts, or the ſoldiers; and if out of the latter, he was immediately received into the order of prieſts, and initiated in their learning and myſteries [q].

Of the inferior claſſes.

The huſbandmen taking the lands from the king, prieſts, and ſoldiers, at an eaſy rent, and employing themſelves wholly in their tillage, and the ſon continually ſucceeding the father in the ſame occupation, they became the moſt expert in agriculture of any people in the world. The ſhepherds, in like manner, were always ſhepherds from generation to generation; and, by the obſervations of their fore-fathers, and their own experience, arrived at great ſkill in their way; endeavouring to vie with one another in contrivances to encreaſe the breed of the animals they fed. One thing in particular deſerves to be mentioned, which was practiſed by thoſe who fed hens and geeſe. For not contented with the ordinary way of natural encreaſe, they did not ſuffer them to ſit, but themſelves hatched the eggs by an artificial fecundation; and by that means raiſed prodigious flocks of thoſe fowls [r]. The method was moſt probably by ovens, which are ſtill uſed in *Egypt* for the ſame purpoſe, and much ſpoken of by travellers (B).

The

[q] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 354. [r] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr.

(B) It may not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of this method; which perhaps might be practicable in other countries as well as *Egypt*.

The houſes built for this uſe have a long entry, on each ſide of which are fourteen ovens on the ground (ſome places have more, and ſome leſs): the bottoms and ſides of which are all of ſun-dried bricks; upon them they put mats, and on the mats eggs. The tops of theſe ovens are flat, and covered with ſticks, except two long channels or hearths, of ſun-dried bricks, three or four inches deep, wherein the fires are made, to heat the eggs lying under them in the lower ovens.

Above theſe lower ovens are ſo many other, alſo of ſun-dried bricks, and arched at the top; where are ſome holes, which are ſtopped, or left open, as they pleaſe, to govern the heat in the ovens below. Theſe upper ovens have not only mouths opening into the long entry, but mouths of communication with each other, and every one of them has two of the above-mentioned hearths. The depth of the lower oven is about two feet and a half *Engliſh*; that of the upper above four.

They

THE law which obliged the ſon of the huſbandman and ſhepherd to follow the vocation of his father, extended to all arts and trades: for amongſt the *Egyptians* a man was under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of taking up his father's employment, and of applying himſelf wholly to that, without med-

They begin to heat the ovens in the middle of *January*, burning every morning one hundred *kintars* (or hundred weight) of camels or buffaloes dung, and the like proportion at night, till the middle of *February*, about which time the ovens are ſo hot, that one cannot well endure to lay his hand upon the walls,

After this they put the eggs into the ovens to hatch the chickens; which they continue ſucceſſively to the end of *May*. The eggs are firſt put on mats in the lower ovens, ſeven or eight thouſand eggs in number, and laid only double, one upon another. In the upper ovens the fire is made in the long channels, or hearths, from whence the heat is conveyed into the lower ovens. The eggs which are directly under theſe hearths, lie treble one upon another; the reſt, as was ſaid, only double.

At night, when they make new fires in the hearths, they remove the eggs that were directly under them, and lay treble, into the place of thoſe which lay on the ſides, and double only; and theſe being now removed, lie treble under the hearth, becauſe the heat is greater there than on the ſides.

Theſe eggs continue in the lower ovens fourteen days and nights: afterwards they remove them into the upper ovens, which are juſt over the lower. In thoſe (there being now no more fire uſed) they turn all the eggs four times every twenty four hours. The twenty firſt or twenty ſecond day the chickens are hatched; which the firſt day eat not; the ſecond they are fetched away and fed.

The maſter of the oven has a third part of the eggs for his coſt and pains; out of which he is to make good unto the owners, (who have two thirds in chickens for their eggs) if any happen to be ſpoiled or miſcarry.

The fire in the upper ovens, when the eggs are placed in the lower, is thus proportioned. The firſt day the greateſt fire; the ſecond leſs than the firſt; the fourth more than the third; the fifth leſs; the ſixth more than the fifth; the ſeventh leſs; the eighth more; the ninth without fire; the tenth a little fire in the morning; the eleventh they ſtop all the holes with flax or ſtraw, making no more fire; for if they ſhould, the eggs would break. They take care that the eggs be no hotter than the eye of a man, when they are laid upon it, can well endure.

When the chickens are hatched, they put them into the lower ovens, which are covered with mats. Under theſe mats is bran to dry them; and upon the mats ſtraw for them to ſtand on (1).

(1) Greaves, *Manner of hatching chickens at* Cairo. *Phil. Tranſ. No.* 137. *Vid.* Lucas *Voy. Vol.* 1. *p.* 279, *&c.*

dling with any other. Thus being cut off from all hopes of rising to the magistracy, and having no room left for popular ambition, they stuck closely to what they professed. They were never permitted to concern themselves with civil affairs: and if they happened to attempt it, or undertook any business that did not belong to their hereditary profession, they were severely punished.

Of their courts of justice.

The *Egyptians* were very careful in the administration of justice; for they rightly judged the sentences pronounced from the tribunals to be of the greatest consequence to the public; and that as nothing could conduce more to the reformation of mens manners, than the punishment of offenders, and the relieving the oppressed; so nothing could be more destructive of society, or a greater cause of confusion, than the suffering of bribery or favour in such cases. For this reason, they were very scrupulous in the choice of their judges; who were men of the best reputation, and taken from the three chief cities, *Heliopolis*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*; ten from each; so that their whole number was thirty. This tribunal was thought to be inferior neither to that of the *Areopagus* at *Athens*, nor to the *Lacedemonian* senate.

This venerable assembly chose a president out of their own number, whose place, as an inferior judge, was upon his election supplied by the city that sent him. Their salaries were paid by the king, who allowed the president a stipend proportioned to his superior rank; and that he might be more visibly distinguished from his brethren, he wore a chain of gold about his neck, from which hung an image of precious stones, which they called *truth*. Whenever the president assumed this ensign of his office, it signified, that he was prepared to hear causes. The court being seated, and the eight books, which contained all the laws laid before them, the plaintiff preferred his complaint, clearly and distinctly set forth in writing; a copy of which being granted to the defendant, he gave in his answer. To this the plaintiff replied, and then the defendant rejoined. Each party having given in two writings, the court took them into consideration; and after consulting together, proceeded to sentence; and the president turned the effigies of truth towards the party in whose favour judgment was given. All this was done without the clamorous harangues of lawyers, who are too apt to disguise truth, or falshood, to serve their turn, and pervert judgment by their specious rhetoric. The *Egyptians* therefore, sensible of the fallacies of oratory, and the evil arts of public pleaders, banished them from the tribunal; nor would they even suffer a man to speak in his own cause, well knowing

ing the advantage one perſon might have over another by more artful ſpeaking, or greater confidence; but contented themſelves with a ſimple and intelligible ſtate of the caſe in writing, which being readily underſtood, was as readily decided. By which means every man ſtood upon the level with his antagoniſt, and nothing but the merits had any weight in the determination of a cauſe.

Their remarkable laws.

HAVING ſpoken of their courts of judicature, it may not be amiſs briefly to mention ſuch of their laws as are moſt remarkable, for their antiquity or uſe.

I. PERJURY was puniſhed with death; it being looked on as ſinful in the ſight of the gods, and deſtructive of human ſociety.

II. HE that ſaw a man killed, or violently aſſaulted on the highway, and did not endeavour to reſcue him if he could, was puniſhed with death. If it appeared that he was unable to give aſſiſtance, he was nevertheleſs obliged to diſcover, and proſecute the offenders according to law; which if he neglected, he received a certain number of ſtripes, and was kept without food for three days.

III. FALSE accuſers underwent the ſame puniſhment as the accuſed ſhould have undergone in caſe of conviction.

IV. EVERY *Egyptian* was enjoined to give in his name, and by what means he gained his livelihood, in writing, to the governor of the province where he lived. But if it could be proved, that he had given in a wrong information, or got his living in an unlawful way, he was puniſhed with death. This law was made by *Amaſis*, and *Solon* is ſaid to have introduced it, from *Egypt* among the *Athenians* [f].

V. HE that wilfully killed any perſon, whether freeman or ſlave, was condemned to die.

VI. PARENTS that killed their children were not adjudged to die; but were obliged to embrace their dead bodies for three days and three nights together; a guard being ſet over them to ſee that they punctually obeyed this law.

VII. BUT parricides were put to a moſt cruel death; firſt they had their limbs mangled, and their fleſh cut into ſmall pieces with ſharp reeds, after which they were laid upon thorns, and burned alive.

VIII. WOMEN with child were not executed till they had been delivered; that the innocent might not be involved in the puniſhent of the guilty.

[f] Vid. HEROD. ubi ſupr.

IX. Mu-

IX. Mutiny and desertion were punished only by degradation and disgrace; which could never be wiped away, but by brave actions and amendment.

X. Those who betrayed their secret designs to the enemy had their tongues cut out.

XI. Coining false money, using false weights, and forgery of all sorts, were punished by cutting off the offending parts, both the hands.

XII. He that committed a rape on a free-woman, had his privities cut off; for they held a ravisher guilty of three most enormous crimes, having besides the injustice of the action, brought infamy on the woman, and bastardized her issue.

XIII. Adultery by consent, was punished in the man by giving him a thousand lashes with rods; and in the woman by the loss of her nose.

XIV. According to the commercial laws, which are said to have been made by *Bocchoris*; if a man borrowed money without giving a note in writing for it, he was discharged from the debt, provided, he would make oath that he was no ways indebted to his creditor. The oath in this case was very solemn, and preceded by sacrifice.

XV. In cases where the debt was acknowledged by proper instruments, the interest was not to exceed the double of the capital or sum lent. The debtor's goods, and not his body, were answerable for the debt; for his body was claimed by the city, or place, where he lived, which had the greatest interest in him, and had a right to his service, both in peace and war. In short, they did not apprehend wherein lay the policy of sacrificing an useful member of the republic to the cruelty or avarice of a private person. This law, or one very like it, is said to have been established by *Solon* [s].

XVI. To help the circulation of money, *Asychis* made a law, that a man might borrow on the pledge of his father's dead body, which was to be put into the hands of the creditor; and if he did not redeem it, he was to be deprived of the honour of a funeral himself, nor could he have the liberty of burying any person descended from him; which was accounted the greatest ignominy [t].

XVII. The *Egyptian* priests were allowed no more than one wife, but all others might marry as many as they pleased: nor was any child reckoned a bastard, though begotten on a slave bought with money; for they held the father to be the sole cause of generation, and that the mother only provided nourishment and lodging for the infant [u].

[s] Diod. Sic. ubi supr. p. 69, &c. [t] Herod. ubi sup.
[u] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 72.

XVIII. By

XVIII. By the laws of *Egypt* brothers were permitted to marry their ſiſters; becauſe they had an inſtance of the happineſs of ſuch marriages in that of *Iſis* with her own brother *Oſiris*; for having vowed, on his death, never to ſuffer the embraces of any other, ſhe revenged his murder, and governed the kingdom during her widowhood with great prudence, being the author of infinite benefits to mankind. For which reaſon, in *Egypt*, the queen had more power, and more honour ſhewn her than the king; and in private contracts the greater authority was given to the women, the husbands thereby promiſing to be obedient to their wives in all things [w].

XIX. THERE was a very remarkable law, or rather a cuſtom which had the ſanction of law, with regard to the *Egyptian* robbers and ſharpers. Whoever entered himſelf of their gang, gave in his name to their chief, promiſing to deliver him all the booty he ſhould from time to time purloin. Upon this account it was cuſtomary for ſuch as had any thing ſtolen from them to apply themſelves to the chief of the gang, and give him a very particular account and deſcription, in writing, of what they had loſt, as alſo of the day, hour, and place, when, and where, they loſt it. This information being given, the ſtolen goods were eaſily found, and reſtored to the right owner, upon his paying a fourth part of their value. The inſtitutor of this extraordinary law thought, that ſince it would be impoſſible to prevent thieving entirely, it would be more tolerable for the injured party to loſe a fourth, by way of redemption, than the whole [x].

Of the religion of the Egyptians.

As much as the *Egyptians* ſeemed to excel other nations in the wiſdom of their laws and conſtitutions, they yet ſurpaſſed them more in bigotry and ſuperſtition.

IDOLATRY was ſo antient among them, that the *Greci-ans* confeſſed, they borrowed not only their religious ceremonies, but the names of almoſt all their gods from *Egypt*. For the *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the firſt people who erected altars, images, and temples, and the firſt inventers of feſtivals, ceremonies, and tranſactions with the gods by the mediation of others; and alſo to have firſt given names to the twelve gods [y].

THE *Egyptians* had a great many deities of different ranks and orders. Thoſe who were chiefly honoured in *Egypt*, were *Oſiris* and *Iſis*; by which it is moſt probable they

[w] Idem ibid. p. 23. [x] Idem ibid. p. 69. [y] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

originally

originally meant the ſun and the moon (C), whoſe influences governed and preſerved the world; thoſe two planets being reckoned by them to be the great cauſes of nutrition and generation, and as it were the ſources from whence the other parts of nature, which alſo they looked upon as gods, and to which they gave diſtinct names, were derived. Theſe were *Jupiter*, or ſpirit, the *vis vivifica* of living creatures; *Vulcan*, or fire; *Ceres*, or the earth; *Oceanus* (by which the *Egyptians* meant their *Nile*), or moiſture; and *Minerva* (called alſo by that nation *Neith*), or air.

BESIDES theſe celeſtial and eternal gods, they had alſo terreſtrial and mortal deities, which had merited the honours paid them, by the benefits they conferred on mankind in their life-time; ſeveral of them having been kings of *Egypt*: ſome of theſe bore the ſame names with the celeſtial gods, and others had proper names of their own. Such were the *Sun*, *Cronus*, or *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter* (called by them *Ammon*) *Juno*, *Vulcan*, *Veſta*, *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, *Orus*, *Venus*, *Pan*, *Arueris*, *Nephthys*, *Harpocrates*, and others [z]. *Serapis* is ſaid to have been an upſtart deity, introduced by one of the *Ptolemies* at *Alexandria* [a]; but others ſuppoſe it to be only another name for *Oſiris* [b], who was alſo called *Bacchus*. As *Oſiris* was ſuppoſed to have been of a good and beneficent nature, ſo his brother *Typhon* was eſteemed the reverſe, and held in univerſal deteſtation for the evils brought by him on his family and nation, as will be mentioned hereafter. The other names of *Typhon* were *Seth*, *Bebon*, and *Smy* [c].

THOUGH the bodies of theſe mortal deities remained in their ſepulchres on earth, yet they believed their ſouls ſhone

[z] Vid. DIOD SIC. ubi ſupr. p. 11, &c. [a] ORIGEN, cont. Celſ. Vid. TACIT. Hiſt. l. 20. [b] PLUTARCH. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 362. [c] Idem ibid. p, 367.

(C) Agreeably hereto, the name of *Oſiris*, we are told, in the *Egyptian* tongue ſignifies *many-eyed*; an epithet very proper for the ſun; and *Iſis antient* (1).

There are ſeveral other mythological interpretations of theſe two deities. Sometimes *Iſis* is the earth in general; ſometimes only the land of *Egypt*; and *Oſiris* is the moon, or elſe the *Nile*, which is loſt, or deſtroyed, in the ſea, which they call *Typhon*. At other times *Oſiris* is *Pluto* and *Bacchus*, and *Iſis Ceres*, *Proſerpine*, *Cybele*, &c. One ſuppoſes *Oſiris* to ſignify the efficient cauſe of things, and *Iſis* matter; and another thinks *Iſis* denotes nature in general (2).

(1) DIOD. SIC. *ubi ſupr. p.* 10, 11. (2) *Vid.* PLUT. *de Iſid. & Oſirid.* APULEIUM, *Metam, l.* 2.

in

in the ſtars in heaven; the ſoul of *Iſis* in particular in the dog-ſtar, called by them *Sothis*; the ſoul of *Orus* in *Orion*; and that of *Typhon* in the bear [d].

NOTWITHSTANDING this polytheiſm of the *Egyptians*, they are yet ſaid in reality to have acknowledged one ſupreme god, the maker and ruler of the world, whom they ſometimes denoted by the name of *Oſiris*, or *Serapis*, ſometimes by that of *Iſis*, and at other times by that of *Neith*, on whoſe temple at *Saïs* was the following remarkable inſcription; *I am all that hath been, is, and ſhall be; and my vail hath no mortal yet uncovered* [e]. There is alſo an inſcription to *Iſis* ſtill remaining at *Capua*, to this effect; *To thee who, being one, art all things, the goddeſs* Iſis [f]. The inhabitants of *Thebaïs* are reported to have worſhipped only the immortal and unbegotten god *Cneph*, or *Emeph*; for which reaſon they were exempt from all contributions towards the maintenance of the ſacred animals which were worſhipped in the lower *Egypt* [g]. From this god *Cneph* they ſuppoſed a ſecondary god proceeded, repreſenting the world, and was called *Phtha*, which word is at preſent uſed among the *Copts* to ſignify the divine being [h].

HOWEVER, the idolatrous humour which prevailed at firſt, perhaps only in ſome parts of *Egypt*, appears at length to have entirely over-run it, and, which ſeems ſcarcely credible, they came at length to give divine honours to ſeveral animals, nay even to vegetables themſelves, as leeks and onions; and that with ſo great variety and diſagreement among themſelves, that except ſome of the principal gods who were honoured all over the kingdom, the worſhip of every deity was confined to one or two cities or provinces; whence it came to paſs, that the names of a great number of the chief cities of *Egypt* were by the *Grecians* named after the gods, or animals, that were worſhipped there; as *Dioſpolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, *Heliopolis*, or the city of the ſun; and in the ſame manner others bore the names of *Pan*, *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Hermes*, *Hercules*, and *Venus*; and alſo of the *Dog*, the *Lion*, the *Wolf*, the *Crocodile*, the fiſhes *Latos*, *Oxyrinchus*, and *Phagrus*, and other animals.

THIS diverſity of worſhip was ſometimes attended with very ill conſequences, eſpecially if their deities happened to be ſuch as were naturally enemies to one another; the inhabitants of one place often paying their adoration to that kind of ani-

[d] Idem ibid. p. 359. [e] Idem ibid. p. 354. [f] Vid. CUDWORTH Intell Syſt. p. 412, &c. Vid. IAMBLICH. de myſt § 8. c. 3. [g] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 359. [h] See before p. 27.

mals

mals which were held in the greateſt abhorrence by their neighbours. Hence proceeded inveterate quarrels and dangerous wars; as happened in particular between thoſe of *Heracleopolis*, who worſhipped the *ichneumon*, and thoſe of *Arſinoe*, who worſhipped the crocodile; and to mention no more, between the cities of *Oxyrinchus* and *Cynopolis*, the former of which ſacrificed and eat dogs, the deity of the latter, in revenge for their eating that ſort of fiſh, which was the object of their own worſhip [i]. It was thought, however, that the kings themſelves, out of policy, firſt occaſioned, or at leaſt encouraged and fomented theſe diſſenſions, to prevent the peoples attempting any thing againſt the ſtate; for *Diodorus* tells us, that one of their firſt and moſt prudent kings, finding the *Egyptians* very prone to ſedition, enjoined to each province the worſhip of ſome particular animal different from all the reſt, and likewiſe to uſe a different diet; ſo that the *Egyptians*, being by this means divided into ſo many diſtinct ſocieties, prejudiced againſt each other in religious matters, and mutually deſpiſing one another on account of their different cuſtoms in the ordinary affairs of life, there was no likelihood of their ever uniting again [k].

It would be rather tedious than entertaining, to ſet down all the fables, and uncertain traditions, which might be found in antient authors, concerning the *Egyptian* gods; ſome of them may perhaps be occaſionally taken notice of hereafter: wherefore we ſhall immediately proceed to give an account of the images, by which they repreſented thoſe deities which were moſt peculiar to this nation, and of their ſacrifices, feſtivals, and religious ceremonies.

Osiris was variouſly repreſented; ſometimes by a ſceptre and eye, to expreſs his power and providence; at other times by the image of a hawk, becauſe of its ſharp ſight, ſwiftneſs, and other qualities; and in later times in a human form, in a poſture not very decent, ſignifying his generative and nutritive faculty [l]. But the greateſt adoration was paid to his living image, the bull, as we ſhall obſerve by and by.

The image of *Iſis* was uſually in the form of a woman, with cow's horns on her head [m], repreſenting the appearance of the moon in her increaſe and decreaſe, and holding the *Siſtrum* (a kind of cymbal) in her right hand, and a pitcher in her left; the former ſignifying the perpetual motion there is in nature, and the other the fecundity of the *Nile*. But

[i] Plutarch. ubi ſup. p. 380. Vid. Juven. Sat. 15. & Athanasium, orat. contr. Julian. [k] Diod. ubi ſup. p. 80.
[l] Plut. ubi ſup. p. 371. [m] Herod. ubi ſup.

ſometimes ſhe was repreſented as *Cybele*,, having her body full of breaſts, to expreſs her nouriſhing of all things [n].

THE ſtatue of *Sarapis* was of a human form, with a baſket or buſhel, on his head, ſignifying plenty; his right hand leaned on the head of a ſerpent, whoſe body was wound round a figure with three heads, of a dog, a lion, and a wolf; in his left hand he held a meaſure of a cubit length, as it were to take the height of the waters of the *Nile* [o].

JUPITER, or *Ammon*, was by the *Egyptians* repreſented by an image with the head of a ram; the reaſon of which, they ſay, was this; *Hercules* being very deſirous to ſee *Jupiter*, did not without great difficulty obtain his requeſt, for the god was unwilling to be ſeen: but at length *Jupiter* yielded to his importunity, and having ſeparated the head from the body of a ram, and flayed the whole carcaſs, he put on the ſkin with the wool, and in that form ſhewed himſelf to *Hercules*. And in this manner of repreſenting *Jupiter*, the *Egyptians* were imitated by the *Ammonians*, who were a colony of them and the *Ethiopians* [p].

THE other more famous deities of the *Egyptians* were *Anubis*, *Harpocrates*, *Orus*, and *Canopus*. The firſt was uſually painted with the head of a dog, becauſe he accompanied *Oſiris* in his expedition cloathed in a dog's ſkin [q], and was the guard of him and *Iſis* [r]. Sometimes this deity is confounded with *Hermes*, and then the dog's head may denote his great ſagacity. *Harpocrates* was the ſon of *Iſis*, begotten as is ſaid, by *Oſiris* on her after his death; for which reaſon he was weak in his lower limbs [s]. This was the god of ſilence, being therefore uſually repreſented with his finger on his mouth; he was always placed near the ſtatues of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, to intimate, that their having been once mortals was not to be ſpoken of [t]. *Orus* is often confounded with *Apollo*; he was the ſon of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*; and was generally repreſented as a child wrapped up in ſwadling-cloaths, and ſometimes, by thoſe of *Coptos*, as holding in one hand the privities of *Typhon* [u]. *Canopus* was the pilot of *Oſiris*'s ſhip, whoſe ſoul, after his death migrated into the fixed ſtar of that name [w], which is one of the firſt magnitude, but not viſible in *Eu-*

[n] Vid. PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 376. SERV. in Virg. HOR. APOLL. l. 1. c. 3. APULEIUM, Metam. l. 2. [o] Vid. MACROB. in Saturn. l. 1. c. 20. SUIDAM. in Σάραπις. [p] HEROD. ubi ſup. [q] DIOD. SIC. p. 15. [r] Ibid. p. 77. PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 357. [s] PLUT. ubi. ſup p. 358. [t] VARRO apud Auguſt. de civit. Dei. [u] PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 373. Vid. KIRCHER Oedip. v. 1. p. 214. [w] PLUT. ibid. p. 359.

rope.

:ope [x]. This god became famous for the victory obtained by him over the *Chaldean* god, *Fire*; the ſtory of which in brief is this: the *Chaldeans* carried about their god, to combat with thoſe of other provinces, all which it eaſily overcame and deſtroyed, none of their images being able to reſiſt the force of the fire, till at length the prieſt of *Canopus* deviſed this artifice; he took an earthen water-pot full of holes, which he ſtopped up with wax, and having filled it with water, painted it over, and placed the head of an old image upon it, and produced it as a god. In the conflict, the wax being ſoon melted, the water ruſhed out at the holes, and quickly extinguiſhed the fire: In memory of this victory, *Canopus* is uſually repreſented in the manner we have juſt deſcribed, without arms, and having ſcarce any feet to be ſeen [y]. Yet others ſuppoſe, theſe were really no more than veſſels filled with the water of the *Nile*, which the antient *Egyptians* uſed alſo to worſhip.

Of the ſacred animals, adored by the *Egyptians*, none was held in ſo great reverence as the bull, by which they repreſented *Oſiris*. There were two of this kind kept in *Egypt*, one at *Memphis*, called *Apis*, by the *Grecians Epaphus*, and the other at *Heliopolis*, called *Mneuïs*, this laſt was black, and the honours paid to him were inferior to thoſe due to *Apis* [z]. The *Apis* was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwiſe to be impregnated (as the *Egyptians* imagined) than by thunder. The marks which diſtinguiſhed him from all others were theſe: his body was black; except one ſquare of white on the forehead; he had the figure of an eagle on his back; a double liſt of hair on his tail, and a knot like a beetle under his tongue [a]. And others reckon no leſs than twenty nine marks peculiar to this beaſt [b]. They ſacrificed bulls to *Apis*, but were ſo nice in the choice of them, that if they found but one black hair upon them, they judged them to be unclean. This ſearch was made by the prieſt with the utmoſt precaution; after which he drew out his tongue, to ſee if he were clean in that part; and in the laſt place he examined his tail, to ſee whether the hairs were natural, and as they ought to be. The beaſt being found without blemiſh, the prieſt tied a label about his horns, and ſealing it with his ſignet, ordered him to be taken away and ſecured; for it was death to ſacrifice any beaſt of this kind that was not marked with ſuch a ſeal. The order

[x] Vid. Plin. l. 6. c. 22. [y] Suidas in Canop. Ruffin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 11. [z] Plut. ubi ſup. p. 364. [a] Herod. l. 3. Vid. Plin. l. 8. c. 46. [b] Ælian. Hiſt. anim. l. 11. c. 9.

and ceremony of the ſacrifice was thus: the victim being brought to the altar, they immediately kindled a fire, and pouring wine upon him, they offered their prayers to the god. Then killing the beaſt they flayed him, and ſtruck off his head, which they carried, with many imprecations, to the market or other public place, and ſold it to ſome *Grecian*, if they met with any; but if no ſuch perſon were to be found, they threw it into the river, with this form of execration; *May the evils impending over the perſons now ſacrificing, or the* Egyptians *in general fall upon this head.* This ceremony of libation, and the manner of devoting the head of the victim, was an univerſal practice over all *Egypt*; for which reaſon no *Egyptian* would eat of the head of any animal. But in the choice of their victims, there were different cuſtoms in different places[c].

WHEN the *Apis* died, and his funeral pomp was over, the prieſts, who had this office, ſought out for another with the ſame marks, and when they had found one, the lamentations immediately ceaſed; and the prieſts led the calf firſt into the city of *Nile*, where he was fed for forty days: from thence he was tranſported in a veſſel with a gilded cabin to *Memphis*, as their god, and turned into the grove of *Vulcan*. For the above-mentioned forty days women only were admitted into his preſence, who ſtanding before him, lifted up their coats, and ſhewed him their privities; after which time they were not permitted to ſee the new god. The reaſon they gave for this worſhip was, becauſe the ſoul of *Oſiris*, as they pretended, migrated into a bull of this ſort, and by ſucceſſive tranſmigration paſſed from one to another, as often as one died, and another was found. But others ſay, that it was becauſe when *Oſiris* was killed by *Typhon*, *Iſis* threw his limbs into a wooden cow, covered with fine linen, from whence the city of *Buſiris* received its name[d].

THE feſtival of *Iſis* was celebrated with the utmoſt ſolemnity; for on the vigil thereof they faſted, and, having prayed, ſacrificed a bullock; taking out the bowels, and leaving the fat and vitals in the carcaſs; then cutting off the legs, rump, neck, and ſhoulders, and filling the body with fine bread, honey, dried raiſins, figs, incenſe, myrrh, and other perfumes, they proceeded to the conſecration, pouring in great quantities of oil. They ſacrificed faſting, and beat themſelves all the while the fleſh lay on the fire, and afterwards they feaſted on the remainder. The offerings of this kind of cattle, whether young or old, were to be unblemiſhed males; for

[c] HEROD. l. 2. [d] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. p. 76.

the females, being sacred to *Isis*, could not be offered. Whence it was, that the *Egyptians* paid the first degree of veneration to that creature, and abominated the *Grecians* for not doing the same. When a cow died, they threw her into the river; but a bull was buried without the cities, leaving one horn, and sometimes both, sticking up as a mark of the grave. The flesh being perfectly consumed, and nothing but the bare bones left, they were transported to an island of the *Delta*, called *Prosopitis*, from whence vessels were dispatched to several parts of the kingdom, to collect the bones, and carry them away, and bury them together: the same was observed in relation to other cattle, the *Egyptians* being forbidden to kill any [e].

Jupiter was principally worshipped at *Thebes*, thence named *Diospolis*; they esteemed the ram sacred on that deity's account, and, abstaining from sheep, sacrificed goats only; only once a year, at the festival of *Jupiter*, they killed a ram, and flaying the carcass, put the skin on the statue of the god, bringing at the same time an image of *Hercules* into his presence, in memory of the above-mentioned passage between those two deities: after which every one present gave the ram a blow, and he was buried in a consecrated coffin.

The inhabitants of *Mendes*, on the other hand, sacrificed sheep, and no goats, because they worshipped *Pan*, whom they took to be one of the eight most antient gods, and always represented him with the face and legs of a goat, just as the *Grecians* did. Not that they imagined him to have been really of that shape (for as to that they deemed him to be like other gods), but for some mystical reason. Though the *Mendesians* had a religious veneration for goats of both sexes, yet they esteemed the male above the female, and paid great reverence to goatherds; and particularly to one, who at his death was universally lamented. In the *Egyptian* tongue, *Mendes* signified both *Pan* and a goat [f].

To the moon it was their custom to sacrifice when she was at the full. The victims offered to her were swine, which the *Egyptians* held to be impure animals, and were forbidden to offer them to any other deities, than to that planet and *Bacchus*. When they made their sacrifice to the moon, and had killed the victim, they put the end of the tail, with the spleen and fat, into the caul, and burned them on the sacred fire, and eat the rest of the flesh on the day of the new moon, though they would not have tasted it at any other time. Those whose poverty would not admit of the expence of this sacri-

[e] Herod. ubi sup. [f] Idem ibid.

fice,

fice, moulded a bit of paſte into the ſhape of a hog, and offered up that.

AT the feſtival of *Bacchus*, though every one was obliged to kill a hog before the door of his houſe in the evening, yet they inſtantly returned the carcaſs to the ſwineherd of whom it was bought. The reſt of this feſtival was celebrated in the ſame manner in *Egypt* as in *Greece*; excepting that, inſtead of the *Phallus*, the *Egyptian* women carried about little images of a cubit in height, each of which had a *priapus* almoſt as big as the reſt of its body, and ſo contrived with ſtrings as to move. With theſe the women marched in proceſſion, all the while ſinging the praiſes of *Bacchus*, and preceded by a flute [g].

THEY did not think it ſufficient in *Egypt* to ſolemnize the feſtivals of their gods at annual periods only; but they had ſeveral times in the year appointed for that purpoſe, when they viſited the ſeveral cities, where the particular deities were worſhipped, with great devotion.

THOSE of *Iſis* at *Buſiris*, and of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, we have already mentioned; only in reſpect to the former, we muſt add, that after the ſacrifices were duly performed, the men and women who met together on that occaſion, to the number of many thouſands, diſciplined themſelves with an inſtrument our author dared not diſcover. In which devotion the *Carians* who lived in *Egypt* ſurpaſſed all others, cutting their foreheads with ſwords. The other moſt remarkable feſtivals were thoſe of *Diana*, at *Bubaſtis*, which was the *Egyptian* name of that goddeſs; of *Minerva*, at *Saïs*; of the ſun, at *Heliopolis*; of *Latona*, at *Butus*; and of *Mars*, at *Papremis*. Thoſe who aſſembled on ſuch ſolemn occaſions at *Heliopolis* and *Butus*, offered ſacrifices only, without any farther ceremony: but the others deſerve a more particular deſcription.

THE feſtival of *Diana*, in the city of *Bubaſtis*, was obſerved after this manner: great numbers of men and women embarked promiſcuouſly together, and during the voyage ſome of the women beat on the tabor, whilſt ſome of the men played on the pipe; the reſt of both ſexes ſinging and ſtriking their hands together at the ſame time. They ſtopped at every city they came to; where during their ſtay, the women were partly employed in their muſic, and partly in railing at the women of the place where they had ſtopped, or in dancing, and ſhewing themſelves naked. At length being arrived at *Bubaſtis*, they celebrated the feſtival with numerous ſacrifices, and conſumed more wine than in all the reſt of the year; for

[g] Idem ibid.

the concourſe of people upon this occaſion was reported to have uſually amounted to 700,000 men and women, beſides children.

When they met to ſacrifice to *Minerva* at *Saïs*, they hung up by night a great number of lamps filled with oil mingled with ſalt, round every houſe, the tow ſwimming on the ſurface. Theſe burned during the whole night, and the feſtival was thence named, *the lighting of lamps*. The *Egyptians* who were not preſent at this ſolemnity, obſerved the ſame ceremonies, wherever they happened to be; and lamps were lighted that night, not only at *Saïs*, but throughout all *Egypt*. The reaſons for uſing theſe illuminations, and paying ſo great reſpect to this night, were kept ſecret.

At *Papremis* a very extraordinary cuſtom was obſerved; for after having gone through the uſual form of worſhip, a few of the prieſts, towards the ſetting of the ſun, attended about the image of *Mars*, whilſt the far greater part of them poſted themſelves before the gates of the temple with ſtaves or clubs in their hands; on the other hand, a company of men, who had devoted themſelves to this ſervice, and frequently amounted to above a thouſand, armed in like manner, drew up oppoſite to the prieſts, who guarded the avenues of the temple. The image of the god, which was kept in a gilded wooden ſhrine, and had been removed out of the temple on the eve of the feſtival, and placed in another chapel, was drawn by thoſe few who were appointed to attend it, together with the ſhrine in which it ſtood, on a four-wheeled chariot back again to the temple. But the prieſts who guarded the entrance refuſing to give them admittance, the before-mentioned votaries, in duty to the god, began to lay on the opponents with their clubs, whereon a violent conflict enſued, the blows being chiefly dealt on the head: inſomuch, that in all probability many muſt have died of their bruiſes, though the *Egyptians* would never allow it. The inhabitants of the place accounted for this barbarous inſtitution, by relating, that *Mars* having been educated abroad till he attained to man's eſtate, and coming home to ſee his mother, who was an inhabitant of this ſacred place, her ſervants, having never ſeen him, refuſed to admit him, and forcibly drove him away. Whereupon, retiring to another city, he got together a good number of men, and returning fell upon his mother's ſervants, and entered by force; in commemoration of which action this combat was inſtituted.

But there was nothing ſo remarkable in the *Egyptian* religion, as the prepoſterous worſhip that nation paid to animals; ſuch as the cat, the *ichneumon*, the dog, the *ibis*, the wolf, the

the crocodile, and ſeveral others, which they had in high veneration as well dead as living. Whilſt they were living, they had lands ſet apart for maintenance of each kind; and both men and women were employed in feeding and attending on them, the children ſucceeding their parents in the office, which was ſo far from being declined, or thought deſpicable by the *Egyptians*, that they gloried in it as a high honour, wearing certain badges and enſigns, by which being diſtinguiſhed at a diſtance, they were ſaluted by bending of the knee, and other demonſtrations of reſpect. To theſe, and to the deities to which they were ſacred, the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities where they were worſhipped, offered up their prayers; and in particular for the recovery of their children, whoſe heads they ſhaved ſometimes all over, ſometimes only one half, or a third part, and putting the hair into one balance, and ſilver into the other, when the ſilver overbalanced, they gave it to the keepers of the animals; who therewith provided food for them, which was uſually fiſh cut in pieces; but the *ichneumons* and cats were ſometimes fed with bread and milk.

IF a perſon killed any of theſe ſacred animals deſignedly, he was puniſhed with death; if involuntarily, his puniſhment was referred to the diſcretion of the prieſts; but if a man killed either a cat, a hawk, or an *ibis*, whether with deſign or not, he was to die without mercy; the enraged multitude hurrying away the unfortunate perſon to certain death, ſometimes without any formal proceſs or trial [h]: an inſtance of which is given in a *Roman*, who happening accidentally to kill a cat, the mob immediately gathered about the houſe where he was, and neither the entreaties of ſome principal men ſent by the king, nor the fear of the *Romans*, with whom they were then negotiating a peace, could ſave the man's life [i]. For this reaſon, if any one by chance found one of theſe creatures dead, he ſtood at a convenient diſtance from it, and with great lamentation proteſted, that he found it dead. And, what may ſeem ſtill more incredible, it is reported, that at a time when there was a famine in *Egypt*, which drove the inhabitants to ſo great a diſtreſs that they fed on one another, there was no one perſon accuſed of having taſted of any of theſe ſacred animals.

THE extravagant worſhip which the *Egyptians* paid to theſe deities, as to the bulls at *Memphis* and *Heliopolis*, the o at at *Mendes*, the lion at *Leontopolis*, and the crocodile at

[h] HEROD. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. [i] DIOD. ibid. p. 75.

the lake *Mœris* (D), and to many others in different places, exceeds all belief. For they were kept in conſecrated enclоſures, and well attended on by men of high rank, who at a great expence provided victuals for them, which conſiſted of the greateſt dainties, ſuch as the fineſt flour boiled in milk, cakes of ſeveral ſorts made with honey, and the fleſh of geeſe boiled and roaſted: thoſe who fed on raw meat were ſupplied with ſeveral ſorts of birds. And not only this, but they were waſhed in hot baths, anointed with moſt precious ointments, and perfumed with the moſt odoriferous ſcents: they lay on the richeſt carpets and other coſtly furniture; and that they might want nothing to make their life as happy as poſſible, they had the moſt beautiful females of their ſeveral kinds provided for them, to which they gave the title of their concubines, beſtowing extravagant attendance and expence upon them.

When any of theſe animals died, they lamented them, as if they had been their deareſt children, and frequently laid out more than they were worth in their funeral; as an inſtance of which, it is ſaid, that in the beginning of the reign of *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, the *Apis* dying of old age (E) at *Memphis*, his keeper beſtowed no leſs than fifty talents of ſilver, or almoſt 13,000 *l.* over and above all his ſubſtance, in the burying of him. And leſt this ſhould ſeem improbable, we are told, that ſome keepers of theſe creatures had ſquandered away 100,000 talents, a moſt immenſe ſum, in the maintenance of them [k]. In whatever houſe a cat died, all the family ſhaved their eyebrows; and if a dog, their whole body; nor would they make uſe of any proviſion which happened

[k] Idem. ibid.

(D) The crocodile ſeems to be the laſt animal to which mankind could be tempted to pay divine adoration. That it might be done with ſafety, one of theſe creatures was trained up to be tame and familiar for the purpoſe, and had his ears adorned with ſtrings of jewels and gold, and his fore feet with chains. He was fed with conſecrated proviſions at the public charge; and when ſtrangers went to ſee him, which often happened out of curioſity, they alſo carried him a preſent of a cake, dreſſed meat, and wine, or a drink made with honey, which was offered to him by the prieſts, one opening his mouth, and the other feeding him. When he died, his body was embalmed, and buried in a ſacred coffin at *Arſinoe* (1).

(E) This contradicts that aſſertion of ſome, that the *Apis* was not ſuffered to live beyond a certain time; after which the prieſts drowned him in a ſacred fountain (2).

(1) Herod *ubi ſupr.* Strab, l. 17. p. 165. (2) Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. p. 227.

pened

pened to be in the houſe at ſuch times. In caſe of a fire, there was generally great lamentation among the *Egyptians* on account of their cats; for though, when ſuch accidents happened, they took greater care to preſerve the cats than their houſes, yet thoſe creatures, either by creeping ſlily on the ground, or leaping over the mens heads, for the moſt part found a way to throw themſelves into the fire. The dead bodies of the ſacred animals were wrapped up in fine linen, and carried to be embalmed, and being anointed with oil of cedar, and other aromatic preparations, to preſerve them from putrefaction, were buried in ſacred coffins. Dead cats were carried to be interred to the city of *Buba ſtis*; hawks, and the venemous mole were carried to *Butus*; dogs, bears, (of which there are but few in *Egypt*) and a ſmall kind of wolves, no bigger than foxes, were buried where they were found dead. And in performing this laſt honour to them, the *Egyptians* were ſo exact, that when they had been abroad in foreign wars, they frequently brought home dead cats and hawks along with them for that purpoſe, with great demonſtrations of ſorrow, though at the ſame time they often wanted neceſſaries [1].

How abſurd and ridiculous ſoever theſe ſuperſtitions may ſeem, yet they wanted not thoſe who endeavoured to defend them by various reaſons; though the prieſts generally affected ſilence on theſe occaſions, referring all to certain myſteries which they might not reveal.

1. THE firſt reaſon alledged, was from the fabulous tradition, that the gods, in the early ages, were obliged to transform themſelves into ſeveral kinds of animals, to avoid the aſſaults and cruelties of men, who had conſpired againſt them; but afterwards, out of gratitude for the many benefits beſtowed by them on mankind, thoſe in power ordained, that the creatures, whoſe ſhapes the gods had aſſumed, ſhould be well maintained while they lived, and honourably buried when they died.

2. SOME pretended this worſhip had the following original; They ſay, that the antient *Egyptians* being often routed by their neighbours, for want of a regular diſpoſition of their troops, they at length invented the uſe of ſtandards, to diſtinguiſh the different companies; and for that end fixed the images of the animals they afterwards adored on ſo many ſpears, and cauſed the leaders to carry them at the head of each troop; by which means every man knew his poſt: their obſerving this order often gained them the victory, the ho-

[1] Idem, & HERODOT. ubi ſupr.

nour of which they aſcribed to the animals whoſe figures they had uſed for enſigns. Others will have theſe images to have been made uſe of in the moſt early times, to diſtinguiſh the firſt civil ſocieties, who united for mutual defence againſt the violence of their fellow creatures.

3. A third reaſon is taken from the great uſe and ſervice the ſeveral animals are of to mankind: as the ox for tilling the land; the ſheep by ſupplying milk and wool; the dog for guarding the houſe and hunting; the *ibis* and hawk for deſtroying the ſerpents and noxious inſects; the crocodile for *defending the country* againſt the incurſions of the *Arabian* robbers; the *ichneumon* for preventing the two great multiplication of the crocodiles; and the cat againſt the aſp and other venemous reptiles [m].

4. But men of better judgment, not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, which ſeemed to them too weak to excuſe practices ſo diſhonourable to paganiſm, and at which they bluſhed in private [n], urged ſomething more ſpecious in favour of it, by pretending, that the worſhip paid by the *Egyptians* to animals, did not terminate in the animals themſelves, but in the gods, whoſe ſymbols they were, and to whom they had ſome peculiar relation. The philoſophers, ſay they, honoured the image of god wherever they met with it, even in inanimate beings, and conſequently much more in thoſe which partook of life. They therefore are to be commended who worſhip not the creatures, but the ſupreme Deity through them; which ſhould be eſteemed as ſo many mirrors, offered us by nature, reflecting the divine image; or as ſo many inſtruments of God in the eternal ſupport and preſervation of the world. Wherefore, if ſtatues ſhould be adorned with all the gold and precious ſtones in the world, it is not to them that men ſhould direct their worſhip; for the divine nature cannot dwell in the artful diſpoſition of colours, nor in matter which is ſubject to decay, and deſtitute both of ſenſe and motion. And they add, that as the ſun, moon, heaven, earth, and ſea are common to all men, but have different names in different nations; ſo there is but one Mind, and one Providence, which governs the univerſe, and has ſeveral ſubordinate miniſters, though called by different names, and worſhipped in divers manners, and with different ceremonies, according to the laws and cuſtoms of every country [o].

[m] Vid. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 380. [n] Vid. Plut. ibid. p. 379. [o] Idem ibid. p. 377, 382, &c.

Agree-

AGREEABLY to this notion, they pretended, that the hawk was an emblem of the ſupreme Deity, becauſe of its piercing ſight and ſwiftneſs. The aſp, the cat, and the beetle were alſo honoured as images of the divine power; the firſt, as not ſubject to old age, and moving without the aſſiſtance of limbs; the cat, becauſe they imagined ſhe conceived by her ear, and brought forth her young by her mouth, repreſenting the generation of ſpeech; and the beetle, becauſe they ſuppoſed there was no female in the whole ſpecies. The crocodile alſo they took to be another image of the Deity, becauſe of all animals it has no tongue, which organ GOD has no occaſion for [p].

THE relation the ſacred animals bore to ſome particular gods, or the ſervices they had rendered on ſome particular occaſions, or their being typical reſemblances of ſome parts of nature, are alſo mentioned as further reaſons for the great reſpect ſhewn them. Thus it is ſaid, that dogs were worſhipped becauſe they guided *Iſis* when ſhe ſought for the body of *Oſiris*, which they had guarded from wild beaſts [q]; though this creature afterwards loſt much of its reputation, by eating part of the *Apis*, which had been killed by *Cambyſes*, when no other animal approached the dead body [r]: that the hawk was deified becauſe one of thoſe birds, in antient times, brought a book to the prieſts of *Thebes*, tied round with a ſcarlet thread, containing the rites and ceremonies which were to be obſerved in the worſhip of the gods; for which reaſon the ſacred ſcribes wore a ſcarlet fillet, with a hawk's feather on their head: that the wolf was adored becauſe *Oſiris* aroſe in that ſhape from the infernal regions, and aſſiſted *Iſis* and her ſon *Orus*, in the battle againſt *Typhon*, wherein that uſurper was ſlain; or elſe becauſe when the *Ethiopians* once broke into *Egypt*, a great company of wolves fell upon the invaders and drove them beyond *Elephantis*; whence that nome was called *Lycopolites*; though others give no other reaſon for the reſpect paid them, than the near relation they bore to dogs: that the crocodile attained this honour, becauſe one of thoſe creatures ſaved *Menes*, an antient king of *Egypt*, from being worried by his own dogs, which purſued him to the lake *Mœris*, where a crocodile took him on his back, and carried him to the other ſide of the lake [s]: that the cat was revered as an emblem of the moon, for its various ſpots, fruitfulneſs, and activity in the night [t]: and the goat, the moſt luſtful of all

[p] Idem ibid. p. 363, 380, &c. [q] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 77. [r] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 368. [s] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 78, &c. [t] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 376.

creatures

creatures, was the hieroglyphic of that violent impulse by which men are urged to propagate their species; and in honouring this animal, they testified their gratitude to the gods for the populousness of their country [u].

Not to take up the reader's time in enumerating the other animals worshipped in the several parts of *Egypt*, we shall conclude what we intend to say of them, with *Herodotus*'s account of the *Phœnix*, which fable has given rise to whatever has been since related of that imaginary bird. He tells us, that the *Phœnix* was one of the sacred birds, which himself had never seen but in effigy; for he appeared in *Egypt* but once in five hundred years, immediately after the death of his father, as those of *Heliopolis* affirmed. The painters represented him with a plumage of crimson and gold, and of the shape and size of an eagle. They pretended, he came from *Arabia*, and brought the body of his father embalmed, which he buried in the temple of the sun. And this he performed in the following manner: first he moulded as much myrrh as he could carry in the shape of an egg, and having tried its weight, hollowed the egg, and put his father into it; he then stopped up the aperture again with myrrh, in such proportion that the weight of the whole might equal that of the egg before the body was put in, and carried it to *Heliopolis* [w].

Some other institutions of the Egyptians.

The *Egytians* are reported to have been the first who ordained that men should abstain from women in temples, and not enter any sacred place without washing after the use of a woman. They were also the first who assigned each month and day to a particular deity, and observed the times of each person's nativity; by which they judged of their future fortunes. They carefully registered all prodigies (in which their country is said to have abounded more than any other) with an account of their consequences; supposing, that if the like happened at another time, the event would be the same. However, they did not pretend to foretel any thing themselves, but all predictions were delivered by the gods. For if they were not the first nation which erected oracles, and introduced the custom of consulting them, it is however allowed, that the most antient and famous oracles among the heathens, particularly those of *Jupiter* in *Libya*, and at *Dodona*, owed their original to *Egypt* [x]; as will be mentioned in a more proper place.

[u] Diod. ubi supr. [w] Herodot. ubi supr. [x] Idem ibid.

There

THERE were ſeveral oracles in *Egypt*, as thoſe of *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter*; but that which they reverenced above all others, was the Oracle of *Latona*, in the city of *Butus* [y]: and in after-times there was a very famous one of *Serapis* at *Alexandria* [z]. The ſacred animals alſo themſelves had their ſeveral oracles; as the *Apis*, the goat, the lion, and the crocodile [a]. The manner of conſulting the *Apis* was, by obſerving into which chamber, of two that were prepared for him, he entered; his going into one of them being conſtrued as a good omen, and into the other as a bad one: or elſe they offered him food, and from his accepting, or refuſing of it, concluded the anſwer favourable, or the contrary. It is ſaid, that *Germanicus Cæſar* conſulting this oracle ſome ſhort time before his death, the beaſt would not eat out of his hand [b].

WE muſt not omit to ſay ſomething of the human ſacrifices, which are ſaid to have been offered by the antient *Egyptians*. As red oxen were allowed to be ſacrificed, becauſe of their reſemblance to *Typhon*, who, it is ſaid, was red-haired; ſo men of that complexion were reported to have been ſlain in former times by their kings at the tomb of *Oſiris*: but few of the *Egyptians* having red hair, ſtrangers were the uſual victims; whence it is ſuppoſed, the fable, ſo current among the *Greeks*, of the cruelty of *Buſiris* to ſtrangers, took its riſe; not from any king of that name, but becauſe *Oſiris*'s tomb was ſo called in the *Egyptian* tongue [c]. Men were alſo in old times ſacrificed at *Heliopolis*, and to *Juno*, or *Lucina*, at a city in the upper *Thebaïs*, called by the name of that goddeſs, who was worſhipped there under the form of a vultur. Theſe human victims were to be approved of in the ſame manner as the calves that were ſearched and ſealed as clean; and three were ſacrificed every day at a certain ſeaſon in the dog-days, being burnt alive, and their aſhes ſcattered abroad; to theſe unhappy men they gave the epithet of *Typhonian* [d]. This barbarous cuſtom was aboliſhed by *Amaſis*, who ordered, that ſo many images of wax ſhould be offered in their ſtead [e]: and there was ſo little remembrance of it left in the days of *Herodotus*, that mentioning a fable of the *Grecians*, that when *Hercules* arrived in *Egypt*, the *Egyptians*,

[y] Idem ibid. [z] PAUSAN. l. 7 RUFFIN. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23. [a] Vid VAN DALE de Orac p. 274. [b] PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. 8. c. 46. AMM. MARCELL. l. 22. c. 15. [c] DIOD. Sic. l. 1. p. 79. [d] MANETHO, apud Porphyr. de abſtin. l. 2. c. 55. Euſeb. præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 16. & Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 380. [e] Idem apud eoſd.

deſigning

designing to sacrifice him to *Jupiter*, conducted him to the altar with great ceremony; but that he delivered himself, by killing all that were present; that historian judges those who invented that story utterly ignorant of the *Egyptian* laws and customs; for how, says he, can we imagine, that a people forbidden to kill any kind of animal, except geese, swine, and such bulls, and calves as they find without blemish (F), would sacrifice men [f]? however, that there was really such a custom seems undeniable from good authority; and is confirmed by the impress of the priests seal, which was set on the oxen that were to be sacrificed; and on which a man was engraved kneeling, with his hands bound behind him, and a sword at his throat [g]. We have formerly mentioned the human sacrifices which were offered to the *Nile*, according to a tradition of the *Egyptians* [h]; but we do not find any notice taken of them in antient authors.

We have mentioned the worship of leeks and onions as one part of the *Egyptian* superstition; but as the historians mention nothing of this, we imagine the satyrist, to heighten the ridicule, might go a little beyond strict truth [i]; though there might possibly be some foundation for such an opinion, from the scrupulous abstinence of some of that nation from particular vegetables, as lentils, beans, and onions; the latter of which the priests abominated, as some pretend, because *Dictys*, who had been brought up by *Isis*, was drowned in hunting after them; or rather because onions alone of all plants thrive when the moon is in the wane [k].

Before we quit this subject, the structure of the *Egyptian* temples deserves some notice. The first thing which offered itself to the view, was an avenue, or stone pavement, of a *plethron* in breadth, or something less, and about three or four times as long; having on each side a row of sphinxes, twenty cubits distant from each other. This avenue led to a portico, behind which was a second, and sometimes a third (the number of these porticos being not always the same). The temple itself consisted of a spacious and magnificent

[f] Herod. ubi supr. c. 45. [g] Plut. ubi supr. p. 363. [h] See before, p. 391. [i] Juven. Sat. 15. v. 10. [k] Plut. ubi supr. p. 353. Vid. Diod. p. 80.

(F) From this passage, and what has been said above, we cannot but think those mistaken who have asserted, that it was never lawful for the *Egyptians* to appease the gods with cattle or blood, but only with prayers and incense (1).

(1) Vid. Macrob. *Saturnal.* l. 1. c. 7.

court,

court, and a well proportioned chapel; in which was generally no image (for the *Egyptians* in the eldeſt times uſed none [l]), or if there was any, it was not of human form, but in the ſhape of ſome irrational animal [m].

The miſcellaneous cuſtoms of the Egyptians.

FEW nations in the world obſerved their original laws and cuſtoms ſo long as the *Egyptians*; and their exactneſs in obſerving ordinances of a higher nature was not to be admired, conſidering their ſtrict attachment to their own uſages and manners in trivial things; for a new cuſtom was a prodigy in *Egypt* [n].

IN the education of their children they were very careful; but they brought them up with great frugality, feeding them with cheap broths, made of common things, and with the ſtems of the *papyrus* roaſted under the aſhes, and the ſtalks and roots of other plants which grew in the marſhes, ſometimes raw, and ſometimes dreſſed. They went for the moſt part naked and barefoot during their childhood, becauſe of the warmth of the climate: ſo that the whole expence of a child, from his birth till he arrived at the ſtate of manhood, did not exceed twenty *Drachmæ*, or about thirteen ſhillings; which was one great cauſe that *Egypt* was ſo exceeding populous. As to the inſtruction they gave their children, the prieſts taught them two ſorts of letters, thoſe called ſacred, and thoſe in which their common learning was written: but exerciſed them chiefly in geometry and arithmetic: however, there were few of the inferior claſſes who learned to write and read, except the tradeſmen. But that they might be uſeful members of the commonwealth, and be enabled to maintain themſelves, they began very early to learn their paternal art, or profeſſion, either from their fathers, or near relations. Muſic and wreſtling they never taught their children, as diſapproving them both: the firſt they eſteemed not only uſeleſs, but rather hurtful, ſerving only to emaſculate the mind; and the other they believed did not tend to the preſervation of health, the ſtrength gained by it being of ſhort duration, and the exerciſe itſelf dangerous [o]. One particular of the education of the *Egyptian* youth was very commendable; for they were taught to behave with great reſpect towards their elders; being obliged to riſe up from their ſeats, and to retire at the approach of thoſe that were more aged; which cuſtom was alſo practiſed at *Sparta* [p].

[l] LUCIAN. de Dea Syria.
[n] PLATO, in Tim. p. 656.
[p] HEROD. ubi ſupr.
[m] STRABO, l. 17. p. 1158.
[o] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. p. 72.

As to the diet of the *Egyptians* we have already made some occasional observations; to which we may add, that among them it was a reproach to eat bread made of barley or wheat; instead of which they used a fine flower, called by some *olyra*, and by others *zea*, or *spelt*; and this bread they named *colleſtis*, probably from its glutinous quality [q]. Their usual drink was (as it is at this present) the water of the *Nile*, which is very agreeable to the taste, and so fattening, that they never gave it to the *Apis*, lest he should grow too corpulent [r]. It is true, the water of this river is pretty muddy, but the *Egyptians* have a way of clarifying it, by rubbing the vessel with a little pounded almonds [s]. Their better sort of drink, or wine, as *Herodotus* calls it, was made of barley, because they had antiently no vines in that country [t], or rather did not cultivate them, nor do they yet in any other part than the province of *al Feyyûm* [u]. So that we are probably indebted to this nation for the invention of beer.

The *Egyptians* abstained from different sorts of animals, in different parts of the kingdom, according to the different deities they worshipped; but they all agreed in the aversion they had to swine's flesh; which was accounted by them so impure, that if a man but touched one of those animals by accident, he went immediately and plunged himself in the river with his cloaths on. And for this reason hogherds alone of all the *Egyptians* were not suffered to enter any of their temples; neither would any man give his daughter in marriage to one of that profession, or take a wife born of such parents; so that they were forced to intermarry among themselves. They eat fish, either pickled or dried in the sun; and also quails, ducks, and smaller birds, preserved in salt, without any other preparation: all other birds, or fishes, except such as they accounted sacred, they eat without scruple, either boiled or roasted. Those who dwelt in the marshes made food of several plants, which annually grow there, particularly the *lotus*, of which they made a sort of bread, and the lower stems of the *papyrus*, the head of which was reserved for other uses [w].

At their principal feasts it was their custom, when they began to taste the wine after supper, to bring in a coffin with the image of a dead man carved in wood and painted, of one or two cubits in length, or, as others say, a real corps [x]; which was carried about to all the company by a person appointed for that purpose, who repeated these words distinct-

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir. p. 353. [s] Sicard, Mem des Miss. V. II. p. 401. [t] Herod. ubi supr. [u] Lucas, V. II. p 226. [w] See before, p. 401. [x] Lucian. de luctu. Silius de bello Pun. l. 3.

ly; *Look upon this, and be merry; for ſuch as this is ſhalt thou be, when thou art dead* [y]. This image ſome will have to be that of *Maneros* in memory of whom they ſung a mournful ſong at their entertainments, which they called by his name. Of this perſon there are various traditions: the *Egyptians* made him the ſon of their firſt king, who died in the flower of his age; others ſay, he was the ſon of a king of *Byblus*, in *Phœnicia*, and was frighted to death by the angry look of *Iſis*, for his prying too nearly into her behaviour to the dead body of *Oſiris*. This *Maneros* is reported to have been the firſt inventor of muſic; for which reaſon, and the conformity of the ſong to that ſung by other nations in honour of the *Grecian Linus*, *Herodotus* ſuppoſes him to be the ſame with that poet: but after all, ſome pretend, *Maneros* was not the name of a perſon, but of the ſong itſelf; and that the dead image repreſented the fate of *Oſiris* [z].

THE *Egyptians* were very cleanly, both at their meals and in other reſpects; carefully ſcouring the drinking-veſſels, which were of braſs, every day; and uſing frequent ablutions and purifications: they ſcrupulouſly avoided eating with ſtrangers, as unclean [a]; and for neatneſs chiefly it was that they circumciſed themſelves, which was a cuſtom among them from time immemorial [b], and eſteemed by them ſo neceſſary that *Pythagoras*, to have the liberty of converſing with the *Egyptian* prieſts, and entering into their temples, was obliged to ſubmit to this operation [b]. One of the fathers tells us, they were circumciſed at the age of fourteen [c]; but whence he had his information we do not know. Whether the *Jews* learned this cuſton of the *Egyptians*, as ſome of the prophane hiſtorians pretend, is a point we ſhall conſider in another place.

THE habit of this nation was a linen veſt, fringed at the bottom, which they called *calaſiris*; and over that they wore a white mantle of woollen cloth. But to enter any of their temples in that upper garment, or to bury their dead in woollen, was accounted prophane. Their manner of ſaluting one another abroad, was by bowing very reſpectfully, letting their hands fall down to their knees [d].

THE *Egyptians*, in ſeveral of their manners and cuſtoms, ſeemed induſtriouſly to act in contradiction to the reſt of mankind. For amongſt them it was the cuſtom for the women

[y] HEROD ubi ſupr. [z] PLUTARCH. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 357. [a] Gen. xliii. 32. HEROD. ibid. [b] HEROD. ibid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. p. 24. [b] CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. 1. p. 30. [c] AMBROS. de Abrahamo, l. 2. c. 11. [d] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

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to be employed in trade and buſineſs abroad, while the men ſtaid at home to ſpin, and minded domeſtic affairs; and this perhaps gave occaſion to that extraordinary law, by which the ſons were not obliged to provide for their parents, but the daughters were. In carrying of burthens, the men bore them on their head, and the women on their ſhoulders; and when they made water, the women ſtood upright, but the men ſat. They uſed to eaſe nature at home, and eat publicly in the ſtreets; ſaying very juſtly, that ſuch things as were filthy, though neceſſary, ſhould be done in private, and ſuch as were decent in public. They kneaded dough with their feet, and tempered mortar with their hands. And whereas in other countries, the apartments of the cattle were ſeparated from thoſe of the men, in *Egypt* men and beaſts dwelt together [e]. And we might mention ſeveral other inſtances of the like ſingularity.

Of their funeral ceremonies.

The great virtue of the *Egyptians*, and wherein they pretended to excel all mankind, was gratitude; which they eſteemed to be of the greateſt ſervice in life, as the only encouragement to beneficent actions. And for this reaſon it was, that they honoured their princes as gods, ſuppoſing that thoſe whom providence had exalted to the throne, and endued with both the power and will to do good to mankind, participated in ſome meaſure of the divine nature; hence alſo proceeded the great reſpect they ſhewed to the remains of their dead anceſtors, and their conſtant endeavour to teſtify their gratitude to every perſon and thing from which they received benefit [f].

The *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the firſt who aſſerted the immortality of the ſoul, which according to their doctrine, when the body was corrupted, entered into ſome other animal, and, paſſing by a continual metempſychoſis through the different kinds of animals, belonging to the air, earth, and water, returned again into a human body, after the revolution of 3000 years [g]. For this reaſon they endeavoured by art to preſerve the body as long as poſſible, that the ſoul might be obliged to contine with it, and not ſoon paſs into another [h]: and as the dead bodies, by the means they uſed, were of long duration, they ſpared no labour nor coſt in building their ſepulchres, which they termed their *eternal manſions*; at the ſame time being little curious in the ſtructure of their houſes, calling them *inns*, where they ſtaid but for a

[e] Idem ibid. [f] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 81. [g] Herod. ubi ſupr. [h] Servius in Virgil. Æn. 3. v. 67. Vid. Auguſt. Serm. de diverſis, & Platon. in Phædon.

ſhort

ſhort time, whereas they remained in the other for a long courſe of years [i].

THE mourning for the dead, and funeral rites, in *Egypt*, were antiently theſe: when a man of any conſideration died, all the women of that family beſmeared their heads and faces with dirt, then making bare their breaſts, and girding their waiſts, they left the body at home, and marched through the ſtreets of the city, lamenting and beating themſelves as they went, attended by all their relations of the ſame ſex; the men at the ſame time forming another company, mourned in the ſame manner. And this they continued till the corps was interred; abſtaining in the mean time from bathing, wine, and the more delicate meats, and laying aſide their beſt attire. The firſt lamentation being over, the body was carried to thoſe who profeſſed the art of embalming, which like other trades, they learned from their anceſtors. Theſe ſhewed the kindred of the deceaſed ſeveral models, or patterns, in wood, and painted, together with the bill of the charges of each manner of preparation, and aſked them which they would chooſe: for there were three different ways of preparing dead bodies for burial. One was very exquiſite and expenſive, and came to a talent of ſilver, or about 258 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the ſecond was inferior, and of a moderate price, the charge being 20 *minæ*, or a fourth part of the former ſum; and the third was very mean, and coſt but a trifle. This preliminary being ſettled, the embalmers took the body, and firſt drew out the brains through the noſtrils with a crooked inſtrument of iron, and filled the vacancy with certain medicaments. Then one, whom they called the ſcribe, marked out on the left ſide of the belly, how far the inciſion was to be made; and the *parachiſtes*, whoſe office it was to make the inciſion, taking a ſharp *Ethiopic* ſtone, cut open the body, as far as the law ordained, and immediately ran away as faſt as he could, all that were preſent purſuing him, throwing ſtones at him, and curſing him, to turn the execration upon him: for they thought it a very heinous crime to wound, or offer violence to a dead body; but the *tarichevtæ*, or embalmers, were highly eſteemed and reſpected, converſing with the prieſts, and being with them admitted, as perſons of ſanctity, into the more ſacred parts of their temples. When theſe came to dreſs the diſſected body, one of them thruſt his hand into it by the wound, and drew out all the inteſtines, except the heart and kidneys; another cleanſed all the entrails, waſhing them with wine of

[i] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 47.

palms and aromatic odours (G). Then the belly was filled with pounded myrrh, caſſia, and other odoriferous drugs (frankincenſe only excepted); and the inciſion being ſewed up, the body was carefully anointed with the oil of cedar and other things for above 30 days, or elſe laid in nitre for 70 days, which was the longeſt time allowed. At the expiration of which term, they waſhed the whole body, and bound fillets of fine linen round every part, covering it with gum, which the *Egyptians* uſed inſtead of glue. And all this was done without disfiguring the body; ſo that the very hairs remained on the brows and eye-lids, and the reſemblance of the countenance was preſerved, and eaſy to be known (H). The embalmers having done their parts, the relations received the corps, and put it into a wooden coffin, ſhaped like a man, which they ſet upright againſt the wall of the edifice deſigned for that purpoſe (I). For ſeveral of the *Egyptians* kept their

(G) *Plutarch* writes, that when the belly was opened, they firſt expoſed it to the ſun, and caſt the bowels into the *Nile*, as what defiled the body (1)

(H) This ſeems a little extraordinary, conſidering how the fleſh of the face muſt have been dried by the ſalt; but an eye witneſs aſſures us, that he ſaw ſome embalmed bodies in *Egypt*, with the hair, beard, and nails, the fillets which covered the head and feet being rotted off. 2).

(I) To the deſcription of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* given above, we beg leave to add ſome obſervations as to thoſe embalmed bodies, or mummies, as they are now called, which are frequently taken up and brought from *Egypt*.

The coffins in which they lie are very thick, and generally of ſycamore, which in *Egypt* they call *Pharaoh*'s fig-tree, and does not rot ſo ſoon as other wood; though ſome are of ſtone, and others of cloths paſted together and very ſtrong. The top of the coffin is uſually cut into the ſhape of a head, with a face painted on it, reſembling a woman; the reſt is one continued trunk, and at the end of it is a broad pedeſtal, to ſet it upright upon in the reconditory. Some of theſe coffins are handſomely painted with ſeveral hieroglyphics.

The bodies appear in this manner: they are wrapped up in a ſhroud of linen, upon which are faſtened divers ſcrolls of linen alſo, painted with ſacred characters: theſe ſcrolls generally run down the belly and ſides, or elſe are placed on the knees and legs. The face is covered with a kind of head-piece of linnen cloth fitted with plaiſter, on which the countenance of the perſon is repreſent-

(1) Plut. *apud Greaves, ubi inf.* (2) *Voyages de M.* de Breves.

ed

their dead at home with them above ground [k], in magnificent apartments, having by this means the pleaſure of ſeeing the lineaments of their anceſtors, who died many ages before they were born; and they often brought the dried corps of a friend as a gueſt to their feaſts [l]. The way of embalming which we have deſcribed, was the moſt coſtly manner of preſerving the dead: thoſe who were unable, or unwilling to be at ſo great an expence, were contented with a more ordinary preparation, which was done in this manner: they injected a clyſter of oil of cedar by the common way, without opening the belly, or taking out the bowels, and laid the body in nitre the number of days above-mentioned; at the end of which they let out the oil of cedar by the fundament, which by a peculiar efficacy, brought away the whole paunch and entrails ſhrunk and putrified; the nitre having conſumed the fleſh, and left nothing but the ſkin and bones. And when this was done, they delivered the body to the relations with-

[k] CICER. Tuſc. quæſt. l. 1. c. 9. [l] LUCIAN. de luctu.

ed in gold; and the feet have alſo a cover of the ſame, painted with hieroglyphics, and faſhioned like a high ſlipper. The whole body is ſwathed with fillets, or narrow bands of linen, beginning with the head and ending with the feet, ſo artificially, and in ſo inimitable a manner wound round with ſo many caſts and turnings, and ſo often one upon another, that there cannot be leſs than a thouſand ells of filletting upon one body. Thoſe which cover the head and face being ſo neatly done, that they hinder not, but one may ſee the ſhape of the eyes, noſe, and mouth. On the breaſt is a ſort of breaſt-plate, made with folds of linen cut ſcollop-wiſe, richly painted and gilt: on which is uſually the face of a woman with her arms expanded.

The inſide of the body is filled with medicaments of the conſiſtence, colour, and ſcent of pitch, or bitumen, which waxes ſoft by the heat of the ſun. In a ſcull of one of theſe bodies, there was found the quantity of two pounds of this preparation, which could not be infuſed any other way than by the noſtrils, as *Herodotus* intimates. And the tongue of one being weighed, was leſs than ſeven grains *Engliſh* (3). Some curious perſons in vain ſearched one of theſe mummies for the piece of money, which the antient *Grecians* are ſaid to put in the mouths of the dead, to pay *Charon* his fare (4). We are told however, that the greater part of theſe embalmed bodies have under the tongue a ſmall plate of gold, worth about two piſtoles (5).

(3) Thevenot *Voy. part.* 1. *c.* 6. Greaves *Pyramidogr. p.* 49. 50.
(4) *Vid.* Gaſſend. *de vita Peireſc l.* 4. (5) Burretini *apud Thevenot. Relat. part.* 1. *p* xxv.

out any further operation. The third and laſt manner of preſerving the dead, uſed only for the poorer ſort, was performed by cleanſing the belly by injected lotions, and ſalting the body for 70 days; after which it was taken away [m]. The wives of conſiderable perſons, and all women who had been beautiful and dear to their relations, were not delivered to the embalmers preſently after death; but were kept at home three or four days before they were carried out, to prevent thoſe artiſts from abuſing the bodies of ſuch perſons; for one of them was caught in ſuch an action, and accuſed of it by his companion. If any *Egyptian*, or even a ſtranger, was found killed by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, whereever the body came aſhore, the inhabitants were by law obliged, at their own charge, to embalm and place it among the conſecrated monuments, in the moſt coſtly manner; for none of his friends, or relations, or any other might touch his body, except the prieſts of the *Nile*, who buried him with their own hands, as ſomething more than human [n].

When the corps of the deceaſed was prepared for the ſepulchre, his neareſt relations gave public notice of the day when ſuch a one, by name, was to paſs the lake, in order for his interment; to which the judges and all his friends were invited. At the time prefixed, above forty judges aſſembled, and ſat in a ſemicircle in a certain place beyond the lake (which we ſuppoſe to be that of *Mœris*). The veſſel, whoſe pilot was, in the *Egyptian* tongue, called *Charon*, being ready hauled up to the ſhore, before the coffin which contained the body was ſuffered to embark (K), every one was at liberty to accuſe the deceaſed. If an accuſer appeared, and made good his charge, that the deceaſed had led an ill life, the judges gave ſentence accordingly, and the body was denied the uſual burial: but if the accuſer was convicted of having accuſed him unjuſtly, he incurred a ſevere puniſhment. If no accuſer appeared, or if the accuſation proved falſe, then the relations, laying aſide their lamentation, proceeded to recite the praiſes of the deceaſed; in doing which they took no notice of his deſcent, for all the *Egyptians* were held equally noble; but having mentioned in what manner he had been brought up and educated, they declared how he

[m] Herod. & Diodor. ubi ſupr. [n] Herod. ibid.

(K) This is the ſenſe of the original; though it ſhould rather ſeem, by the judges ſitting on the farther ſide of the lake, that the corps was actually ferried over, but was not ſuffered to be diſembarked, till ſentence had paſſed.

had

had lived and behaved himſelf after he became a man, enlarging on his piety, juſtice, temperance, and other virtues; and beſeeching the infernal gods to give him a favourable reception among the pious. The aſſiſtants joined their acclamations to this funeral oration, and celebrated the praiſes of the departed, as of one who was going to dwell for a long ſpace of time with the juſt below. After this the body was depoſited in the ſepulchre of the family, if they had one; and if they had not, they kept it at home with them in the manner above-mentioned. Thoſe that were forbidden to be interred, either for crimes by them committed, or for debt, were depoſited privately in their own houſes. But it often happened, that the poſterity of ſuch perſons growing rich, paid their debts, or obtained their pardon, and buried them in an honourable manner.

IT muſt be acknowledged, that this inſtitution of the *Egyptians*, in relation to their treatment of dead bodies, was excellently contrived for the encouragement of virtue, and the diſcouragement of vice. It is very plain, that the *Greeks* took all they fabled concerning the infernal judges, and the happineſs and puniſhments of men after death, from this practice of the *Egyptians*: but *Diodorus* obſerves, that inſtead of bringing men to amendment of life by thoſe fables, they incurred the ridicule and contempt of profligate perſons: whereas in *Egypt* the reward of the good and puniſhment of the wicked, after death, was not fabulous or imaginary, but really and daily diſtributed in public, in the ſight of all men [o].

THE ſepulchres, wherein the *Egyptians* depoſited the bodies of their dead, were built in various manners, according to the perſon's condition. The magnificence of the royal tombs have been already hinted; thoſe of the antient kings at *Thebes*, it is ſaid, could not be exceeded by their poſterity. The ſacred commentaries mentioned forty ſeven of them; but in the time of *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, there were but ſeventeen remaining; moſt of which were quite decayed when *Diodorus* viſited thoſe parts in the 180th *Olympiad*. Of the pyramids, which were built for the ſame purpoſe, we have ſpoken ſufficiently; and the ſepulchre of *Oſymandias* we may mention hereafter. The *Egyptians* of lower quality, at a great expence, cut ſubterraneous grots, or dormitories, in the rocks; ſuch as thoſe in the *Libyan* deſerts, of which travellers ſpeak ſo much, calling them *catacombs*, or *mummy-pits*. The entrance into them is by a ſquare well, by which one

[o] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 82, &c.

may deſcend, ſetting the feet in the holes cut on each ſide for that purpoſe. Theſe wells are not of equal depth, but the ſhalloweſt are above ſix mens height. At the bottom of the well there is a ſquare opening, and a paſſage of ten or fifteen feet long, leading into ſeveral ſquare vaulted chambers, each ſide of which is uſually fifteen or twenty feet; and in the midſt of every one of the four ſides of the chamber is a bench cut out of the rock, upon which the embalmed bodies lie. At the head of them there is commonly an idol, at the feet the image of a bird; and on the walls are ſeveral hieroglyphics, which might ſerve for epitaphs. Beſides the principal bodies, there are other ſmaller ones, and particularly of children, which lie on the ground. Sometimes there are no leſs than twenty five or thirty of theſe chambers, or grots, having communication with one another; and the deſcent to them all is by one well [p]. The ſtones, of which *Strabo* obſerved a great number in a plain between *Syene* and *Philæ*, are alſo by ſome thought to have been tombs. That author calls them *Hermæa*, from the reſemblance they bore to the heaps of ſtones frequently erected by the highways in honour of *Mercury*; and he deſcribes them to be a great ſmooth ſtone, almoſt ſpherical, of that hard and black marble of which mortars were made, placed upon a greater ſtone, and ſurmounted by another; ſome of them lying by themſelves: the greateſt of them was no leſs than twelve feet diameter, and all of them above half ſo big [q].

Of their arts and ſciences.

The antient *Egyptians* were the inventers of many uſeful arts and ſciences: and though they did not perhaps carry them afterwards to that perfection which might have been expected from them, ſince among them every man was obliged to apply himſelf to his paternal profeſſion, and was confined to one particular art, or branch of learning only; yet, whoever conſiders how difficult it is to lay the firſt foundations of any ſcience, be they ever ſo ſmall, will allow them great commendation.

As they acknowledge themſelves indebted to their firſt kings for inſtructing them how to provide the common neceſſaries and conveniences of life, ſo they attributed the honour of the firſt invention of the ſciences to their *Hermes*, or *Mercuries* [r]. How many there were of this name, when they lived, and what they invented, or wrote, we ſhall enquire in another place, contenting ourſelves here with a ſhort account of the arts and learning which the *Egyptians* are ſuppoſed to have

[p] Burretini, ubi ſupr.
[q] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1173.
[r] Diodor. ubi ſupr. p. 41.

communi-

communicated to the reſt of mankind, and the progreſs they made therein.

THAT the *Egyptians* were early famous for wiſdom and learning, appears from many antient writers, and even from the ſcriptures themſelves: it is ſaid, among other things, to the honour of *Moſes*, that *he was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians* [r]; and to magnify the wiſdom of *Solomon*, we are told, that *it excelled all the wiſdom of Egypt* [s]. Prophane authors alſo unanimouſly teſtify this nation to have been the parents of all philoſophical knowledge, and the only men that perfectly underſtood divine things [u].

GEOMETRY is on all hands agreed to have been firſt found out in *Egypt* [w]; and is ſaid to have owed its riſe to the ſetting out and meaſuring of their lands, the bounds of which were annually diſturbed by the overflowing of the *Nile* [x]. How far the *Egyptians* improved this ſcience, is not very certain; but their ſkill therein ſeems not to have been very profound, or to have extended to all geometrical quantities and ſubtile theories, like that of the moderns: the utmoſt they knew was probably no more than plain meaſuring, and ſuch rules as were of common uſe in life. For *Pythagoras*, who travelled into *Egypt* for the ſake of their learning, after his return home offered an hecatomb, on his finding out the proportion of the longeſt ſide of a right-angled triangle to the other two [y]; and *Thales*, who alſo learned geometry in *Egypt*, ſacrificed an ox to the gods, for joy that he had hit on a method of inſcribing a rect-angled triangle within a circle [z]: both which inventions they could not have had from the *Egyptians*; unleſs we ſhould ſay that the *Egyptians* did not teach them all they could, or that thoſe two philoſophers unjuſtly arrogated to themſelves what they were beholden to their maſters for. Now, if theſe more ſimple, though noble propoſitions, were not then to be found in the *Egyptian* geometry, much leſs can it be ſuppoſed to have contained thoſe more abſtruſe theorems, and analytical methods, which were afterwards known, and for which we are indebted to the *Greeks*, who built ſo fine a ſuperſtructure on the old *Egyptian* foundation [a].

Of their geometry.

[r] Acts vii. 22. [s] 1 Kings iv. 30. [u] MACROB. in Somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 19. & Saturn. l. 1. c. 14. & l. 7. c. 13. [w] DIOG. LAERT. in Proœm. STRABO, l. 16, 17. PLATO, in Phædro. ACHILL. TATIUS ad Arati Phæn. IAMBLICH. de vita Pythag. p. 144. [x] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. p. 73. [y] DIOG. LAERT. in Pythag. [z] Idem in Thalete. [a] Vid. BURNET Archæol. l. 1. p. 72. WOTTON's Reflections on antient and modern learning, c. 9. p. 115.

Arithmetic As arithmetic is not only of great use in itself, but absolutely necessary both in the theory and practise of geometry, that science was diligently cultivated in *Egypt*. That there was in later ages a kind of *algebra* known in that country, appears from the writings of *Diophantus*; but whether it was not an improvement made by the *Grecians*, after their settling there, cannot be affirmed; however, it was greatly inferior to the modern *algebra* in many respects [b].

Astronomy. It is generally supposed, that astronomy was also an invention of the *Egyptians* [c], who, by reason of the constant serenity of the air and the flatness of their country, might observe the heavenly motions earlier, and with more ease than other people. *Herodotus* indeed gives the honour of this to the *Babylonians* [d]; but *Diodorus* makes the *Babylonians* themselves, as well as their sciences, to have been transplanted from *Egypt*. He attributes the first invention to those of *Thebes*; and says, the *Egyptians* were accurate observers of the places and motions of the stars, and kept registers of their observations for an incredible number of years, having addicted themselves to this study in the most early ages; that they were well acquainted with the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, and with their influences and effects; and by long experience were often able to make surprizing predictions of events in life; and to foretel famines, plenty, pestilential diseases, earthquakes, the appearance of comets, and other things which seemed to exceed human capacity. The *phænomena* they seem to have observed were indeed the most obvious and easy; but thereby they were directed to adjust the length of the year to the annual revolution of the sun, which this nation first did, by adding to their twelve months, of thirty days apiece, five additional days and six hours, while the *Greeks* and *Romans* used the more rude and inconvenient form of lunar years, intercalating a month every third year [e]. But the great use they seem to have made of their astronomy was, either for the use of husbandry, or else for astrological calculations, with which the *Egyptians* were much in love. It is probable, they might have a true notion of the system of the world, and of the matter of the planets and fixed stars; for they called the moon, *an ethereal earth*, and affirmed the stars to be fire [f]; however, they were far from having an exact knowledge of the theory of the plane-

[b] Ibid. c. 14. p. 180. [c] Plato, in Epinom. Aristot. Metaph. l. 1. Diog. Laert. & Achill. Tatius, ubi supr. Manil. Astron. l. 1. [d] Herod. ubi sup. [e] Diodor. ubi supr. p. 46. Herod. ubi supr. [f] Procl. in Tim. Platonis, l. 1. p. 45.

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tary motions, ſo as to make any artificial calculations; ſince *Thales* was the firſt man who ventured to foretel an eclipſe [g], and *Eudoxus* and *Ptolemy* firſt reduced the heavenly motions into hypotheſes and tables [h].

THE ſcience of phyſic ſeems alſo to have owed its original to the *Egyptians* [i]. The invention of it is generally aſcribed to *Æſculapius*, which name was given to *Toſorthrus*, or *Seſorthrus* a king of *Memphis*, and the ſecond of the third dynaſty of *Manetho*, for his great skill in that art [k]. This prince was much more antient than the *Grecian Æſculapius*; and though *Africanus* places him ſome ages after *Athothes*, the ſucceſſor of *Menes*, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Thoth*, or the firſt *Hermes*; yet others make them contemporaries [l], as they muſt have been, if this *Æſculapius* was the ſame with the ſon of *Sydyc*, and the brother of the *Cabiri* [m]. *Athothes* is alſo ſaid to have been a phyſician, and to have written ſome books of anatomy [n], unleſs we rather aſcribe thoſe writings to the ſecond *Hermes*, who might publiſh ſeveral inventions of the firſt *Hermes*, and of *Æſculapius*; for we are told, that among the *Hermaic* books there were ſix which treated of phyſic, and that the firſt of them was anatomical [o]. *Iſis* herſelf is ſaid alſo to have invented ſeveral medicines, and to have taught the art to her ſon *Orus*, or *Apollo*; whence ſhe was held by the *Egyptians* to be the goddeſs of health [p]. *Phyſic.*

THE *Egyptian* phyſicians mentioned by *Moſes* [q], ſeem rather to have been embalmers than *phyſicians*, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word; unleſs we ſuppoſe both arts were originally profeſſed by the ſame perſon, which poſſibly might be the caſe, though in after-times it was otherwiſe. For every phyſician was not permitted to practiſe every branch of the art; but it was diſtributed into diſtinct parts, and each man applied himſelf to the cure of one diſeaſe only, pretending to no more. This occaſioned a great number of phyſicians in *Egypt*: ſome profeſſing to cure the diſeaſe of the eyes; others thoſe of the head, teeth, or parts about the belly; ſome applied themſelves to chirurgical operations, whilſt others undertook the care of internal diſtempers [r]: by which regulation great improvements might have been expected from them in

[g] DIOG. LAERT. in Thal'et. CICER. de Divinat. l. 1. PLIN. l. 2. c. 12. [h] Vid. BURNET ubi ſupr p. 73, &c. [i] PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 56. [k] Vid. SYNCELL. Chronogr p. 56, 57. [l] MARSHAM. Canon. Chron. p. 40. [m] See before, p. 302. [n] SYNCELL. ubi ſupr. [o] CLEM. ALEX. Str. l. 1. p. 634. [p] DIODOR. SIC. l, 1. p. 22. [q] Geneſ. l. 2. [r] HERODOT. ubi ſupr.

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their ſeveral provinces, had not the laws as it were ſhut the door to any future diſcoveries, by obliging the phyſicians to preſcribe according to fixed rules and receipts, ſet down in their ſacred regiſters, which had been collected from long obſervation and experience, and approved by the moſt famous men of the profeſſion. So long as the phyſician followed theſe legal preſcriptions he was ſafe, let the ſucceſs of the medicines be what it would; but if once he ventured to depart from them, and to follow his own private judgment, he was anſwerable for the event, and run the hazard of his life in caſe the patient died [r]. It muſt be confeſſed however, that this was a moſt effectual method to prevent the miſchievous practice of empirics. Another thing obſervable, in reſpect of the *Egyptian* phyſicians, is, that they had a public proviſion made for them by law; for which reaſon they were not to take any fee from thoſe who happened to be ſick in the army, or on a journey within the kingdom [t].

The *Egyptian* medicines ſeem rather to have been calculated for prevention than cure; they chiefly preſcribed evacuations, which they effected either by clyſters, potions, or emetics, or elſe by faſting; and this they repeated every day, or let the patient reſt three or four days, according to the caſe: for they were of opinion, that in the digeſtion of all food, the greater part was ſuperfluous, and loading nature, cauſed diſeaſes [u]; for which reaſon thoſe who lived in the corn country uſed to vomit and purge themſelves every month, three days ſucceſſively, to preſerve health, though otherwiſe they were by nature one of the moſt healthful people in the world [w]. The better to promote the operation of their medicines, the phyſicians, together with their proper art, alſo ſtudied aſtrology and their ritual myſteries [x]; for the *Egyptian* practice of phyſic depended much on aſtrological and magical grounds, either the influence of ſome particular planet, or ſome tutelar dæmon were ſtill conſidered [y]; which precarious foundations muſt needs depreciate their ſkill, and ſtop any encreaſe of knowledge which might be made on other principles. However, we cannot wholly aſſent to the opinion of a modern writer, who thence imagines the antient *Egyptian* preſcriptions were not medicinal, but religious purifications only; and that their pharmaceutic books were filled, not with *recipes* for

[r] Diodor. ubi ſupr. p. 74. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid, p. 73. [w] Herod. ubi ſupr. [x] Scholiaſt. in Ptolem. Tetrabibl. l. 1. [y] Vid. Conringium de Hermetica. Ægyptior. vetere, & Paraceliſica novâ medicina, and Wotton's Reſl. on antient and modern learning, p. 119, &c.

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ſickneſſes and diſtempers, but with meats and drinks, unguents, lotions, and purgations, proper to be uſed in the ſeveral ſervices of each deity [z]. What we have already obſerved from good authority, cannot agree with this notion.

Chymiſtry. THERE ſeems much leſs foundation for the aſſertion of ſome moderns, who tell us, there was a particular medicine uſed only among the *Egyptian* prieſts, and kept ſecret from the *Greeks*, and the generality of the natives themſelves; which medicine was of ſuch efficacy, that it could do any thing but reſtore life to the dead. This, they ſay, was the grand *elixir*, a chymical preparation made with the philoſopher's ſtone, the invention of *Hermes*; by the help of which the *Egyptian* kings were enabled to build the pyramids with the treaſures their furnaces afforded them [a]. But ſuch fancies are ſufficiently confuted by the profound ſilence of antient authors in the matter, and the weak arguments of thoſe who contend for this antiquity of chymiſtry, built on ſuſpicious authorities, uncertain conjectures, and allegorical interpretations of the fabulous ſtories of the *Greeks*, which they will have to be chymical ſecrets diſguiſed; fancying the golden fleece, which *Jaſon* fetched from *Colchis*, was only a receipt to make the philoſopher's ſtone; and that *Medea* reſtored *Æſon*, his father, to his youth again, by the grand *elixir* [b].

Anatomy. AS they began to cultivate anatomy in *Egypt* very early, if credit may be given to what is ſaid above, and their kings ordered dead bodies to be diſſected for the perfection of this part of phyſic, it might be preſumed they made greater progreſs therein than we can allow, if two inſtances that are given of the accuracy of the *Egyptian* anatomiſts be genuine. One of their obſervations was, that there is a particular nerve which goes from the heart to the little finger of the left hand; for which reaſon the *Egyptians* always wore rings upon that finger, and the prieſt dipped that finger in their perfumed ointments [d]. And the following reaſon is given, why a man cannot live above one hundred years; becauſe the *Alexandrian* embalmers obſerved a conſtant encreaſe and diminution of the hearts of thoſe found perſons whom they opened, whereby they judged of their age; finding that the hearts of infants of a year old weighed two drachms, and this weight encreaſed annually by two drachms every year till men came to the age of fifty; from which time they as gradually decreaſed

[z] SHUCKFORD's Connection, Vol. II. p. 408, &c. [a] Vid. BORRICHIUM de ortu & progreſſu Chemiæ. [b] Vid. WOTTON, ubi ſupr. p, 120, &c. [c] PLIN. l. 19. c. 5. [d] A. GELLIUS Noct. Attic. l. 10. c. 10. MACROB. Sat. l. 7. c. 13.

till

till they came to an hundred; when, for want of a heart, they must necessarily die [e].

Natural philosophy.

Of the physiology of the old *Egyptians* (to consider it here distinctly from their theology, which two the antients constantly joined together) we have not much to say. Their opinion as to the origin of things, and the mundane revolutions, we have considered elsewhere [f]. Their philosophical doctrines, as it seems, may best be known by looking into that of the antient *Greeks*, who were their scholars, and travelled into *Egypt* for instruction in these higher parts of learning; from whence it was, in all probability, that *Pythagoras* brought home the knowledge of that antient system of the world which bears his name, and is now so generally received; though it seems to have been part of the secret doctrine of the *Egyptians*, and not revealed to the vulgar. It may not be amiss to observe, that the antient *Barbarian* philosophers did not employ their studies in the explication of this or that particular phænomenon, or direct their enquiries to the examination of things taken singly; it being in vain to expect from them, for example, the cause of the attractive power of the loadstone, or of the colours of the rainbow; what is the substance of fire, and what the particles of water, or how great the force of compressed air: but their speculations were about the mundane phænomena, or those which affected universal nature; such as the first beginning of things, their revolutions, periods, and final catastrophe [g].

Magic.

But the science for which the *Egyptians* were particularly famous, and the attainment whereof was esteemed the highest pitch of knowledge [h], was magic. Some, imagining the invention of this art to exceed human capacity, pretend, the angels, who fell in love with the antediluvian women, first taught it; that *Ham* preserved the principal rules of it from being lost at the deluge; and that *Mizraïm* learned those secrets of his father [i]. But others ascribe the invention to *Hermes* [k]; though it is said to have been much improved by *Nechepsos*, a king of *Egypt* [l]. However, the art was certainly very antient in *Egypt*; they had magicians who pretended to the interpretation of dreams, and a way of divining by a cup in the time of *Joseph* [m]; and very extraordinary instances were given of the power of inchantments in the days of *Moses* [n].

[e] Plin. l. 9. c. 37. Censorin. de die natali, c. 17. [f] Introd. p 25, &c. [g] Burnet Archæol. l. 1. p. 78. Vid. Strabon. l. 17. [h] Plin. l. 30. c. 1. [i] See before, p. 265, and 166 in the notes. [k] Vid. Philastrium Brixiens. Hæres. n. 3. [l] Auson. Ep. 19. [m] Gen. xli. 8. xliv. 5. 15. [n] Exod. vii. 11, &c.

The

The profeſſors of magic, among the *Egyptians*, were the prieſts and ſacred ſcribes, two of which order, named *Jannes* and *Jambres*, were pitched upon to withſtand that prophet [o]. Nor was this ſcience confined to that nation in thoſe early times: from the caution given by *Moſes* to the *Iſraelites* againſt them [p] it is evident, there were pretenders to it under various denominations, among moſt of the idolatrous people; and *Balaam*, in particular, ſeems to have been a conſiderable proficient therein [q]. The claim of *Zoroaſtres*, and the *Babylonians*, to the honour of the firſt practiſing and teaching magic, ſhall be conſidered in another place.

WHAT were the real grounds of this ſcience we cannot ſay; there is an innocent kind of *magic*, which conſiſts only in an excelling knowledge of nature, and its various powers and qualities in its ſeveral productions, and the application of certain agents to certain patients, which, by force of ſome peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar obſervation and comprehenſion [r]; but the magical wiſdom of the *Egyptians* muſt have been ſomething very different from this, or have gone much beyond what we are now maſters of, notwithſtanding thoſe vaſt and various diſcoveries which have been lately made in the properties of natural bodies; there being no one, as we preſume, who will now pretend to do thoſe wonderful things, which *Pharaoh*'s magicians did when they contended with *Moſes*, not to inſiſt on the improbability, that that law-giver would forbid the practice of an art which he muſt know to be not only innocent, but valuable.

IT is therefore ſuppoſed, that theſe antient magicians formed the rules of their art, either from their ſuperſtitious belief of the great influence the heavenly bodies had on this lower world; or, from that other, though more late opinion, that the world was governed by inferior intelligences, or dæmons, and the ſpirits of heroes and extraordinary men deceaſed. As to the firſt foundation of this ſcience, we have already obſerved, that the *Egyptians* aſſigned each month and day to a particular god: they imagined, that the ſeven planets governed the ſeven days of the week [s]; and pretended, that, by the obſervation of the motion of the celeſtial bodies, through a long ſeries of years, they had obtained the art of foreſeeing future events [t]. They alſo

[o] 2 Tim. iii. 8. NUMENIUS apud Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l. 8. c. 8. ARTAPANUS apud eund. ibid. l. 9. c. 27. [p] Deut. xviii. 10, &c. [q] Ibid. c. xxiii. 4. Num. xxii. 5. [r] Vid. Sir W. TEMPLE's Eſſay on the wiſdom of the antients. [s] DION CASSIUS, l. 36. p. 37. [t] CICERO de divin. l. 1. c. 1.

thought

thought the influence of thoſe heavenly bodies on the elements cauſed ſuch effluxes, as might affect the mind of thoſe who were duly prepared to receive them, ſo as to enable them to deliver oracles; and even that they might, by a proper diſcipline, make them capable of working wonders, and procuring prodigies [u]. For they believed the ſun, moon, ſtars, and elements were endued with intelligence, and appointed by the ſupreme Deity to govern the world [w]; and though they acknowledged, that God might [x], upon extraordinary occaſions, work miracles, reveal his will by audible voices, divine appearances, dreams, or propheſies; yet they imagined alſo, that, generally ſpeaking, prodigies were cauſed, oracles given, and viſions occaſioned in a natural way, by the obſervation, or influence of the courſes of heavenly bodies, and by the operations of the powers of nature: and they conceived, that their learned profeſſors could work miracles, obtain oracles and omens, and interpret dreams, by a deep ſtudy of, and profound enquiry into, natural knowledge, and, aſſiſted by a proper temper and diſpoſition of mind, attainable by the uſe of ſuch means as they thought had a natural power to raiſe warm conceptions, produce enthuſiaſtic fury, and fetter their reaſon, which they fancied averted the divine inſtinct, ſuch as inebriating liquors, muſic, and the like [y]; and in all theſe things they ſuppoſed the Deity not immediately concerned, but that they were the natural effects of the influence of the planets and elements, ſeeming ſtrange and unaccountable to the vulgar and unlearned, but fully underſtood by perſons of ſcience and philoſophy [z]. The other foundation of magic was built on an opinion which was ſomething later than the former, *viz.* that ſpirits or dæmons, of a nature ſuperior to men, were employed in the government of the world, and had their ſeveral provinces appointed them by God [a]; and to this honour they imagined the ſouls of departed *heroes* and extraordinary men were alſo admitted: for which reaſon they ſuppoſed, they had not only powers far exceeding thoſe of mortal men, but aſcribed oracles, viſions, and omens to the miniſtry of ſuch ſpirits. And theſe notions are not greatly different from the almoſt unanimous opinion of *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, who acknowledge the ſuperintendence of angels over human affairs, the malicious intermeddling of evil ſpirits

[u] Plutarch. de defect. orac. l. 2. c. 15. & Acad. quæſt. l. 4. c. 34, 37. [w] Vid. Cicer. de nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 55. [x] Vid. eund. de divinat. l. 1. c. 55. [y] Vid. Plut. ubi ſup. p. 432. [z] Vid. Shuckford, ubi ſupr. p, 391, &c. [a] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 418.

therein, and the great knowledge and abilities of both [b]. Whether, by the law of nature all kind of commerce with theſe inviſible agents was prohibited, or not, has been thought not ſo clear; though it be plainly forbidden to *Chriſtians*, either becauſe the government of the intellectual world was changed at the coming of CHRIST [c]; or rather becauſe of the miſchiefs that ill-deſigning men might thereby be enabled to do, and the door it might open to idolatry and ſuperſtition. That ſuch a commerce is, or at leaſt formerly was, poſſible, we cannot but confeſs; and we conceive it very difficult to account for ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, without allowing it to have been practiſed; as we may obſerve hereafter: however much the greater part of what has been attributed to this ſort of magic, was undoubtedly the effect of impoſture and deluſion, which have been ſo apparent in ſeveral inſtances, as to tempt one almoſt to believe the ſame of all the reſt.

And other arts.

SOME of the other arts of the *Egyptians*, which were leſs conſiderable, we have already occaſionally taken notice of. The *Greek* writers tell us, that all trades and profeſſions in *Egypt*, even the moſt inferior, were not reckoned ignoble; huſbandmen, and thoſe who fed cattle, in particular, were much conſidered [e]; though theſe latter, in ſome parts of the country, were not ſuffered, but counted an abomination [f]; the reaſon of which was chiefly the difference in religion. For the ſkill of the *Egyptians* in architecture, mechanics, painting, and ſculpture, we need only refer to what we have ſaid in the preceding ſection: yet, as to the laſt, we may add, that their ſtatuaries worked by the moſt methodical rules of proportion, and not by the eye, as the *Grecians* did; and they judged of the exactneſs of the ſymmetry by the ſame. For they divided the whole body into twenty one parts and one fourth; and after the artiſts, who were employed, had come to a reſolution as to the ſize of the ſtatue, they went home, each taking his taſk, which they performed with ſuch ſingular ſkill, and made the ſeveral parts ſo accurately proportionable to one another as was wonderful. It is ſaid, the moſt famous ſtatuaries among the antients lived ſometime in *Egypt*; particularly *Telecles* and *Theodorus*, the ſons of *Rhœcus*, who made the famous ſtatue of *Apollo Pythius* in *Samos*, after the *Egyptian* manner; for it was divided into two parts, from the head to the groin; *Telecles* cutting one half in *Samos*, and his brother the other half at *Epheſus*; which being

[b] See before, p. 103, 104.
[c] See before, p. 301, 313.
[d] Geneſ. xlvi. 34.
[e] See BURNET Archæol. l. 1. p. 103.
[f] DIOD. Sic. l. 1. p. 67, &c.

joined

joined together, fitted ſo exactly, that they ſeemed to have been made by one hand: and this ſeemed the more admirable, conſidering the attitude of the ſtatue, which had its hands ſtretched out, and its legs at a diſtance from each other, in a moving poſture [g].

Of their navigation on the Nile.

We had almoſt forgot to ſpeak of the extraordinary conſtruction of the veſſels which the old *Egyptians* made uſe of on the *Nile*. Their ſhips of burthen were made of the *acantha*, or *Egyptian* thorn [h]; from which they cut ſmall planks about two cubits ſquare: theſe pieces of timber they ſet together like tiles, and faſtened with a great number of long pins; and when the whole was thus well compacted, they erected benches for the rowers. For they uſed no kind of ribs, or bent timber in their work, but ſecured the joints of the inſide with bands of *papyrus*. They had but one rudder, which paſſed quite through the keel, a maſt of *acantha*, and a ſail made of the *papyrus*. Theſe veſſels were very unfit to mount the river againſt the ſtream, and therefore were always towed up, unleſs the wind proved very freſh and favourable. But when they came down with the current, they faſtened a hurdle of *tamariſk* with a rope to the prow of the veſſel; which hurdle they ſtrengthened with bands of reeds, and let it down into the water: they alſo hung a ſtone, pierced through the middle, and of a conſiderable weight, by another rope to the poop. By this means the ſtream bearing on the hurdle, carried down the boat with great expedition, the ſtone at the ſame time balancing and keeping it ſteady. Of theſe veſſels they had great numbers on the river, and ſome very large [i]. The *Egyptian* navigation by ſea we ſhall mention by and by, when we come to ſpeak of their trade.

How the Egyptians preſerved their knowledge.

The manner wherein the old *Egyptians* preſerved their knowledge, and tranſmitted it to poſterity, deſerves to be particularly conſidered. Their prieſts, as we have already intimated, were the depoſitaries of all their learning; they had the care of their philoſophy and other ſciences, as well as of their religion and ſacred rites [k]; and were the perſons to whom thoſe who deſired to be inſtructed therein were obliged to apply themſelves [l]; for which purpoſes they had divers colleges, or academies, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom: one of which, at *Heliopolis*, is mentioned by *Strabo*, who viſited the apartments where *Eudoxus* and *Plato* had ſtudied for ſeveral years [m]. The *Egyptian* learning was partly inſcribed on

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. p. 88. [h] See before p. 401. [i] Herod. l. 2. [k] Vid. Porphyr. de Abſtin. Strab. l. 17. p. 1159 [l] Clem. Alex. Str. 1. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 86. [m] Strabo, ubi ſupr.

columns, and partly committed to writing in the ſacred books. Not only the *Egyptians*, but ſeveral other antient nations uſed to preſerve the memory of things by inſcriptions on pillars: to ſay nothing of thoſe which *Seth*, as it is pretended, erected before the flood for the ſame purpoſe [n]; we are told, the *Babylonians* kept their aſtronomical obſervations engraven on bricks [o]; and *Democritus* is ſaid to have tranſcribed his moral diſcourſes from a *Babyloniſh* pillar [p]. But the moſt famous of all others were the columns of *Hermes* in *Egypt*, mentioned by ſeveral valuable authors: upon them he is reported to have inſcribed his learning, which was afterwards explained more at large by the ſecond *Hermes* in ſeveral books. It is certain, at leaſt, that from theſe pillars the *Greek* philoſophers and *Egyptian* hiſtorians took many things. *Pythagoras* and *Plato* both read them, and borrowed their philoſophy from thence [q]: *Sanchoniatho* and *Manetho* likewiſe made uſe of the ſame monuments [r], which were ſtill remaining in the time of *Proclus*, or not long before [s]. They ſtood in certain ſubterraneous apartments near *Thebes* [t]. To theſe inſcriptions ſucceeded the *ſacred books*, ſomewhat more recent, but not leſs famous; to which *Sanchoniatho* [u] and *Manetho* [w] are alſo ſaid to have been beholden for the perfecting of their hiſtories. For theſe books did not only contain what related to the worſhip of the gods, and the laws of the kingdom, but hiſtorical collections, nay, even all kind of miſcellaneous and philoſophical matters of conſiderable moment. For it was part of the buſineſs of the prieſts, or ſacred ſcribes, to inſert in thoſe public regiſters whatever deſerved to be recorded and tranſmitted to poſterity, as well as carefully to preſerve what had been delivered down to them from their anceſtors [x].

THESE were the literary monuments of the *Egyptians*. Of each kind there were ſome that were obvious and plain to be underſtood by the common people and ſtrangers; and others more dark and myſterious, which were laid up in the inner receſſes of the temples, and communicated but to a very few. For there were two ſorts of learning among the antients, and particularly the *Egyptians*, the *vulgar* and the *ſe-*

[n] See before, p. 163. [o] PLIN. l. 7. c. 56. [p] CLEM. ALEX. ubi ſupr. [q] IAMBLICH. de Myſt. § 1. c. 2. PROCLUS apud Burnet, ubi infra. [r] EUSEB. Præp. Ev. l 1. c. 9 & 10. & Chron. Gr. p. 6. [s] PROCLUS ubi ſupr. [t] PAUSAN. l. 1. p. 78. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. 22. p. 232. [u] EUSEB. Præp. Ev. l 1. c. 9. [w] JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. 1. [x] Vid. eund. ibid. PLAT. in Tim. STRAB. l. 17. p. 139.

cret; the difference between which consisted not so much in the matter, as in the manner of delivering it [y]. The first was open to all, who might be instructed therein by the public monuments, and the ordinary masters; but the other, lest it should grow cheap, or be corrupted by passing through vulgar hands, was vailed and disguised by more methods than one. For the monuments of this superior sort of learning, besides being hidden in the private apartments of the temples, were written in a character not commonly understood, and guarded by the priests, who were extremely difficult of access, and could not be prevailed on to explain them, but after abundance of preparation and initiatory ceremonies [z]; a memorable instance of which was their usage of *Pythagoras*. This person, designing to travel into *Egypt*, desired *Polycrates*, the tyrant of *Samos*, to recommend him, by letter to *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, who was his particular friend, that he might have the freer admission to the secret learning of the priests; and when he came to *Amasis*, he obtained also of him letters to the priests, ordering them to communicate their knowledge to him. Thence he went, first to those of *Heliopolis*, who referred him to the college at *Memphis*, as their seniors; and from *Memphis* he was sent, under the same pretext, to *Thebes*: after much tergiversation, not daring to disobey the king's command, by any farther dilatory excuses, they endeavoured to deter *Pythagoras* from his purpose, by the infinite labour and trouble he was to expect, injoining him, in his noviciate, things that were very hard, and contrary to the religion of the *Greeks* [a]. And when he had undergone all this with invincible courage, he obliged them at length, against their wills, to admit him to a participation of their sacred mysteries, and profoundest learning [b].

The last method, which the *Egyptians* took to conceal their doctrines from popular conception, was, by wrapping them up in hieroglyphics, symbols, ænigmas, and fables. Of the hieroglyphic figures we shall take notice immediately. As to the rest, it is well known, that the antients in general used to deliver their instructions under those dark vails of allegory and fiction; instances of which are too frequent, both in sacred and prophane writers, to need quotation: there being few, or none, in the most early times, either among the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who taught any part of philosophy

[y] See before, p. 120, Strab. l. 17. p. 1159. Phyr. de vita Pythag.

[z] Plutarch de Isid. & Osir, p. 354.

[a] See before, p. 463.

[b] Por-

plainly

plainly and intelligibly[c]; as if they thought, that to expreſs things in a familiar and eaſy manner argued want of acuteneſs; or elſe imagined, that modeſty forbad them to ſhew truth naked to the vulgar. The *Egyptians* ſeem to have excelled other nations in the obſcurity of their fictions; wherein the footſteps of truth were often ſo faint, that they required a ſagacious tracer, and one able to diſcern things of moment from trifles[d].

IN their inſcriptions and writings, the *Egyptians* made uſe of three ſeveral ſorts of characters; the firſt and moſt antient was that of hieroglyphical figures of various animals, the parts of human bodies, and mechanical inſtruments; of which three things the hieroglyphics, both of the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians*, conſiſted[e]: though there is reaſon to think, the *Egyptians* had alſo another ſort of characters, called *hieroglyphical*, and made uſe of by the prieſts, ſomething reſembling the preſent *Chineſe* characters[f]. They are ſaid to have been the invention of *Hermes*; and a ſpecimen of his performance therein is given us by *Sanchoniatho*[g]. The conjecture of Sir *John Marſham* is by no means improbable, that the uſe of theſe hieroglyphical figures of animals introduced the ſtrange worſhip which was paid them by that nation[h]; for as thoſe figures were made choice of according to the reſpective qualities of each animal, to expreſs the qualities and dignities of the perſons they repreſented, which were generally their gods, princes, and great men; the people became gradually accuſtomed to theſe figures, which they uſed to place in their temples as the images of their deities; whence it is not abſurd to imagine, that they came at length to pay a ſuperſtitious veneration to the living animals themſelves. And this opinion we rather approve, than the contrary one of a late learned writer, who ſuppoſes the ſacred animals were firſt appointed and conſecrated to each god, and the hieroglyphics afterwards formed from them[i].

THERE are large collections among the antiquaries of hieroglyphical inſcriptions, images, and pictures, which they have taken a great deal of pains to explain, but with very little ſucceſs[k]; for if we except a few of theſe characters,

[c] Vid. DIOG. LAERT. in proœm. PHORNUT. cap. de fab. antiq. trad. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. l. 5. p. 556, &c.
[d] PLUT. Erotic. p. 762. [e] DIOD. SIC. l. 3. p. 145.
[f] Vid PORPHYR. de vita Pythag. p. 12. [g] See before, p. 307.
[h] MARSH. Can. Chron. p. 38. [i] SHUCKFORD. Connect. Vol. II. p. 331, &c. [k] Vid. KIRCHER. Oedip. MONTFAUCON, Antiq. expliq PIGNORII Menſ. Iſiac. &c.

the meaning of which has been preſerved by old writers (L), there is great reaſon to ſuſpect their conjectures are very ill founded; and particularly as to thoſe figures which they ſuppoſe to repreſent the old *Egyptian* gods; the greater part of them being in human form, with the head of ſome animal, or elſe diſtinguiſhed by ſome animal repreſentation ſet upon their heads, or near them; whereas images of human form, as we have obſerved, were not introduced among the *Egyptians* till later times; and why ſuch figures might not be made in memory of ſome of their moſt famous men, we cannot ſee, ſince it was the old *Egyptian* cuſtom to repreſent, not the man's perſon, but his manners, characters, ſtation, and honour [l]; and this they did by hieroglyphics.

Besides theſe the *Egyptians* alſo uſed literal characters, of which they had two ſorts, one of them they called the *ſacred letters*, in which their public regiſters, and all matters of a higher nature were written; and the other the *vulgar*, or *epiſtolographic*, made uſe of by every body in common buſineſs [m]. The *Egyptians* were not the only people who obſerved ſuch a diſtinction in their writing; ſeveral of the eaſtern nations, particularly the *Ethiopians* and *Babylonians*, had two different kinds of letters [n]; and the modern *Bramins* among the *Indians*, have not only a ſacred character, but a ſacred language alſo, in which they are very ſhy of inſtructing ſtrangers [o].

When, and by whom letters were invented, we ſhall not now enquire; it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that

[l] Vid. Plut. ubi ſup. See Shuckford, Connect. Vol. II. p. 348, &c. [m] Herod. l. 2. Diodor. l. 1. p. 72. Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 555. Porphyr. de vita Pythag. p. 185. [n] Vid. Diodor. l. 3. p. 144. Diog. Laert. in Democrito, Lucian. de Macrob. [o] Vid. Burnet Archæol. l. 1. cap. 8.

(L) Thus we are told, they repreſented the ſupreme Deity, by a ſerpent with the head of a hawk (1). The hawk itſelf was the hieroglyphic of *Oſiris*; the river-horſe of *Typhon*; the dog of *Mercury*; the cat of the moon, or *Diana*; the beetle of a couragious warrior; a new-born child of the riſing ſun, and the like (2).

(1) Euſeb. *de præp. Ev. l.* 3. *c.* 10. *p.* 41. (2) Vid. Plut. *de Iſid. & Oſir.* Diod. *l.* 3. *p.* 145. Clem. Alex. *Strom. l.* 5 *p.* 566.

though

though moſt other nations are ſuppoſed to have received them from the *Egyptians*, yet themſelves poſſibly learned them of their neighbours the *Ethiopians*, among whom letters were in uſe very early, and whoſe vulgar character became the ſacred one of the *Egyptians* [P]. Both theſe ſorts of old *Egyptian* letters are now loſt, or if the forms of them remain in any old inſcriptions, they are unintelligible, and cannot be decyphered. All that we know of them is, that the alphabet conſiſted of twenty five letters [q], and that they wrote from the right hand to the left [r], as moſt of the oriental nations ſtill do. We can by no means come into the opinion of thoſe who imagine the preſent *Coptic* letters to have been thoſe of the antient *Egyptians* (M); for the *Coptic* alphabet

[P] DIODOR. ubi ſup. [q] PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 374. [r] HERROD. ubi ſup.

(M) *Della Valle* thinks the modern *Coptic* letters were the vulgar letters of the antient *Egyptians*, and not taken by them from the *Greeks*; becauſe, 1. the *Greeks*, when they expreſs numbers by letters, according to the order of the alphabet, for the number 6, uſe ϛ, which is ſuppoſed to be not a ſingle letter, but the compound character *Sigma-tau*; for which they are not able to give any reaſon; where s by the *Coptic* alphabet it appears to have been originally the ſixth letter, though it be wanting in the *Greek*. 2. The *Copts* pronounce the vowels and dipthongs, not according to the corrupt pronunciation of the modern *Greeks*, but after the antient manner. 3. He found ſome *Coptic* letters on a mummy among hieroglyphics; which ſhews they were in uſe before that way of writing was loſt (3). But it may be anſwered, that the *Greek* numeral ϛ, and the *Coptic So*, are really no other than the *Samaritan Waw* ſet backwards, or the *Æolic Digamma*, which the *Greeks* afterwards threw out of their common alphabet, as they did the *Koppa* and *Sampi* (the *Samaritan Koph* and *Sade*), they being alſo uſed as numerals only; but the *Copts* have retained the figure of the *Waw*, calling it *So*, or *Sou* (which ſignifies *ſix*, the number it ſtands for) though they never uſe it, we believe, otherwiſe than as a numeral; nay in ſome *Coptic* alphabets, the *Koppa* and *Sanpi* are ſtill inſerted (4). Which joined with the other two arguments of *della Valle*, may prove the *Greek* letters to have been uſed very early in *Egypt*, but not that they were originally *Egyptian*.

Kircher (5) goes ſomething farther. He endeavours to prove the *Coptic* letters were invented by *Hermes*, and moſt of them form-

(3) Della Valle, *Viag. let.* II. (4) *Vid.* Ed. Bernardi *Tab. alphabetor. n.* XXVI. (5) *In Oedip. Egypt. Tom.* 3. *p.* 42, &c. & *in Turr. Babel. p.* 177, &c.

alphabet is manifeſtly nothing elſe but the *Greek*, with the addition of ſome few letters, to expreſs ſounds which the *Grecians* had not, and probably came to be uſed in *Egypt* after the time of *Alexander*, though we know the *Greek* language, and perhaps their letters alſo, was taught there long before, in the reign of *Pſammitichus* [f]. That the reader may judge of this affinity, we have here inſerted the *Coptic* alphabet.

The

[f] Idem. ibid. Diodor. l. 1. p. 61.

ed from ſome of the ſacred animals, as the *ibis*, the ſerpent, the bull, the ram, and the hawk. And to ſuch as have not pertinent names, he gives others, which have an apt ſignification in *Coptic*: *Zida*, for example, he calls *Zeuta*, i. e. *life*, of which the ſerpent, whoſe form this letter bears, is the ſymbol; & *Xi* he calls *Xanuti*, i. e. *a chain*, the links of which it ſeems to reſemble. *Plutarch* indeed tells us, that the firſt *Egyptian* letter was the *ibis* (6); that bird with its legs divaricated, and bill inſerted between them, making the figure of an equilateral triangle (7), which comes ſomething near the *Coptic Alpha*; but we know not how this can be carried farther with any certainty. *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions four golden images of gods, *viz.* two dogs, a hawk, and an *ibis*, which uſed to be carried in proceſſion at a certain ſolemnity, and that they called them *four letters* (8). Now though *Kircher* has derived ſeven letters from the *ibis*, and one from the hawk, yet he could find none that ſeemed to have any affinity with the dog; which ſhews how precarious theſe conjectures are, though we confeſs them to be ingenious. It is not improbable, that the *Egyptians* in later times, when they had loſt their antient letters and learning, and had for ſome centuries made uſe of the *Greek* alphabet only, the introduction of which they had forgotten, might imagine their preſent letters to be thoſe antient ones uſed by their anceſtors, and thereupon endeavour to find myſteries in them, which it is eaſy for men of warm conceptions, and a peculiar way of thinking, to do in the moſt trivial things.

Another learned author ſeems alſo to have been once of opinion, that the *Greek* alphabet was derived from the *Coptic*; for he ſays, the letters uſed by *Moſes*, and throughout all *Aſia*, have not the leaſt affinity with the *Greek* (contrary to the ſentiments of almoſt all learned men beſides); but that the *Coptic*, or *Egyptian*, letters have the utmoſt reſemblance to them, and, which he thinks more obſervable, the manner of writing in all *Aſia* is from the right hand to the lef; but the manner of writing in *Egypt* and *Greece*, is from the left hand to the right; and this he wonders Sir *Iſaac*

(6) Plut. *Sympoſ. l.* 4. *quæſt.* 5. (7) *Ibid. l.* 9. *quæſt.* 3.
(8) Clem. Alex. *Strom. l.* 5. *p.* 567.

Newton

The COPTIC ALPHABET.

Figure.	Name.	Power.	Figure.	Name.	Power.
Ⲁ ⲁ	*Alphe*	*A.*	Ⲡ ⲡ	*Pi*	*P.*
Ⲃ ⲃ	*Bita*	*B. V.*	Ⲣ ⲣ	*Ro*	*R.*
Ⲅ ⲅ	*Gamma*	*G.*	Ⲥ ⲥ	*Sima*	*S.*
Ⲇ ⲇ	*Delde*	*D*	Ⲧ ⲧ	*Tau*	*T.*
Ⲉ ⲉ	*Ei*	*E.*	Ⲩ ⲩ	*Ypſilon*	*Y. U.*
Ⲋ ⲋ	*So*	*S.*	Ⲫ ⲫ	*Phi*	*Ph.*
Ⲍ ⲍ	*Zita*	*Z.*	Ⲭ ⲭ	*Chi*	*Ch. Grat.*
Ⲏ ⲏ	*Hita*	*I. Æ.*	Ⲱ ⲱ	*O*	*O long.*
Ⲑ ⲑ	*Thita*	*Th.*	Ⲯ ⲯ	*Shei*	*Sh.*
Ⲓ ⲓ	*Iaude*	*I.*	Ⲫ ⲫ	*Fi*	*F.*
Ⲕ ⲕ	*Kappa*	*K.*	Ⲭ ⲭ	*Khei*	*Kh.*
Ⲗ ⲗ	*Laula*	*L.*	Ⲍ ⲍ	*Hori*	*H.*
Ⲙ ⲙ ⲛ	*Mi*	*M.*	Ⲋ ⲋ	*Janja*	*J.*
Ⲛ ⲛ	*Ni*	*N.*	Ⲥ ⲥ	*Shima*	*Sh.*
Ⲝ ⲝ	*Xi*	*X.*	Ⲧ ⲧ	*Dhei*	*Dh.*
Ⲟ ⲟ	*O*	*O ſhort.*	Ⲯ ⲯ	*Epſi*	*Pſ.*

THE *Egyptian* language is certainly one of the moſt antient in the world, and in all probability an original, or mother tongue, formed at the confuſion of *Babel*[t]. It was certainly a diſtinct tongue, at leaſt ſo early as the time of *Joſeph*, who, when he was made governor of *Egypt*, had a new name given him of *Egyptian* derivation[u], and ſpeaking to his brethren in that language, was obliged to make uſe of an interpreter[x]: and yet this very language is in great meaſure preſerved to our own times in the preſent *Coptic*, though, by reaſon of the almoſt continual ſubjection of that nation to foreigners, ever ſince their conqueſt by *Cambyſes*, a conſiderable part of it has been loſt; in return for which it has received a great number of *Greek*, and ſome *Perſian*, *Latin*, and *Arabic* words, during the long time they were under the ſucceſſive government of thoſe people. The *Arabic* at preſent prevails ſo univerſally in *Egypt*, that the *Copts*, or native *Egyptians* themſelves, generally ſpeak no other, the common people having utterly loſt the knowledge of their antient tongue, which few, even of their prieſts, underſtand to any degree of perfection[y].

Of their language.

THE *Coptic* tongue at preſent conſiſts chiefly of the old *Egyptian* and *Greek*; ſtill bearing evident marks of primitive antiquity in its ſtructure and conſtitution, wherein it differs ſo widely from all the oriental and *European* languages, that it is impoſſible to conceive it derived from any of them. For the *Copts* neither decline their nouns, nor conjugate their verbs, (not even thoſe of foreign extract) otherwiſe than by prefixing

[t] See before, p. 346. [u] Geneſ. xii 45. [x] Geneſ. xlii. 23. [y] Vid. SICARD. dans les Memoires des Miſſions, Tom. II. p. 61.

Newton could not diſtinguiſh (1). We agree, that the manner of writing in *Egypt*, is now as this gentleman ſays, (we mean when they write *Coptic*) but that it *was* ſo antiently he would have been much in the wrong to affirm, *Herodotus* expreſly teſtifying the contrary (2); and the derivation of the *Greek* alphabet from the *Samaritan* is ſo apparent, that this writer himſelf, in a later work of his, ſeems to make no doubt of it; and goes a little too far, as we apprehend, on the other ſide, in aſſerting the *Samaritan* Characters to have been the old *Egyptian* (3); which may poſſibly be true, but is more, we believe, than he is able to prove.

We will not deny however, but that the ſeven letters added by the *Egyptians* to the *Greek* alphabet, may be the remains of their antient character; though we are rather of a contrary opinion.

(1) Bedford's *Animad. on Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chronol.* p. 27, 68. (2) *See before, page* 485. (3) Bedford's *Script. Chronol.* p. 494.

particles sometimes of one or more syllables, and sometimes of a single letter, which denote the case, gender, number, and person; several of them being often joined together in one word, and the primitive word usually placed last. So that the difficulty of this tongue consists in the incredible combination of the words and particles, in the change of the vowels, and in transposing the middle part of the word, and adding of superfluous letters; to distinguish which requires great labour and skill [z].

Of their trade and navigation.

As *Egypt* is excellently situated for commerce, the trade of the western parts of *Asia*, all *Europe*, and the north lying open to it by the *Mediterranean* sea, and that of *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, and the southern and western coasts of *Africa* by the *red* sea; the eastern merchandises being commodiously brought into *Egypt* on camels by the *Isthmus* of *Sues*; it is to be presumed so industrious and sensible a people were not long without making use of those advantages; which they might be induced to, not only by the prospect of gain, but also to supply themselves with those things which their country wanted, such as metals, wood, pitch, rosin, and the like; which they might do, by disposing of their own many and rich productions and manufactures, such as corn, linen, paper, glass, and several other valuable commodities. Sir *John Marsham* [a] supposes, that the *Egyptians* did not apply themselves to merchandise till the time of the *Ptolemies*; but in this he seems to be mistaken; for though those princes did very much encourage trade, recovering that of the east of their subjects, by building of *Berenice*, *Myos hormos*, and other ports on the *Arabian* gulph, so that *Alexandria* became the greatest mart in the world; yet the *Egyptians* certainly traded very considerably with foreigners long before. For, not to insist on their claim to the first invention of commerce, which they say was found out by *Osiris*, and their *Mercury* [b], *Diodorus* does not only tell us, that *Psammitichus* gained great riches by trade before he was king of all *Egypt* [c]; but we learn from scripture, that the *Midianites* and *Ismaelites* traded thither so early as the time of *Jacob* [d]; and it is presumed, that they had antiently the sovereignty of the *red* sea, by which means they engrossed all the trade of the *Indies*, and other parts which were then carried on that way [e]. They seem indeed to have been dispossessed of it, if what *Philostratus* [f] re-

[z] Vid. Wilkins, Dissert. de ling. Coptica, p. 120, &c. [a] Canon Chron. Sec. 14. p. 367. [b] Vid. Huet. Hist. du Commerce & de la Navig. des anciens, c. 7 [c] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 60. [d] Genes xxxvii. 25, 36. [e] Vid. Huet. ubi supr. c. 48. [f] De vita Apollonii, l. 3. c. 35.

lates

lates be true, by a certain prince named *Erythras* (whom ſome imagine to be the ſame with *Eſau*, or *Edom*); for he, being maſter of the *red* ſea, made a law, or regulation, that the *Egyptians* ſhould not enter that ſea with any ſhips of war, and with no more than one merchant ſhip at a time. To evade which, the *Egyptians* built a veſſel ſo large and capacious, that it might ſupply the place of ſeveral. However, afterwards *David*, becoming maſter of *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, two ports on the *red* ſea belonging to *Edom*, which he had conquered, built ſhips there, as ſome ſay, and fetched gold from *Ophir* [g]; but whether that be true or no, *Solomon* his ſon certainly eſtabliſhed a very great trade there [h], which it is not improbable he might do by permiſſion, or connivance of the *Egyptians*, to whoſe king he was ſon-in-law. And this trade the *Jews* continued to ſhare with them, with ſome little interruption, till the time of *Ahaz*, when they entirely loſt it, and it fell into the hands of the *Syrians* [i], and after of the *Tyrians* [k], till the *Ptolemies* recovered the whole again to their own ſubjects, as has been ſaid.

SOME writers [l] have indeed expreſly aſſerted, that *Pſammitichus* was the firſt king of *Egypt* who opened the ports to ſtrangers, and granted foreign traders ſecurity in his dominions; and that the antient princes, being content with the abundant riches of their own country, permitted ſtrangers to have no acceſs to it, fortifying the frontiers againſt them, and particularly againſt the *Greeks*. But this cannot be underſtood of any other commerce than that which was driven by the *Mediterranean* ſea, where the *Greeks* exerciſed their piracies along the coaſts of *Egypt* [m], and being themſelves excluded thence on that account, complained of ſuch treatment as a great injuſtice, and an attempt againſt the law of nations, repreſenting the *Egyptians* as a barbarous nation, which had renounced all humanity and hoſpitality; whence aroſe the fable of the cruelty of *Buſiris*: for that the *Egyptians* did before this trade with other nations, is evident from the above-mentioned inſtance of the *Midianites* and *Iſmaelites*, the eaſy acceſs which *Abraham* and the ſons of *Jacob* had to *Egypt* [n], and from *Solomon*'s having horſes from thence [o].

[g] EUPOLEM, ap. Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 30. [h] 2 Chron. viii. 17. 18. 1 Kings ix. 26, &c [i] 2 Kings xvi. 6. [k] Vid. Strab. l. 16. [l] STRAB. l. 17 p. 1142. DIOD SIC. l. 1. p. 61. [m] Vid. STRAB. ubi ſupr [n] Geneſ. xii. 10. xlii. 1. &c. [o] 2 Chron. IX. 28. 1 Kings x. 28.

TOWARD

Toward the *Greeks* indeed they behaved themſelves with ſome caution and reſerve, even after they were admitted; for, after the time of *Pſammitichus*, though *Amaſis*, who was their great friend, ſuffered them to build the city of *Naucratis* for the ſettlement and reſidence of their merchants; yet that was the ſole place in the whole kingdom where he allowed them to have a factory. They ſailed up to it by the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile* (N); and if by any accident a veſſel entered any other mouth of that river, the owners, after making oath that they were forced in there againſt their will, were obliged to go back to that channel; or, if the winds were contrary, to unlade, and ſend up their goods to *Naucratis* by the river veſſels [p].

Though the *Egyptians*, on a religious account, bore a great averſion to the ſea, which they called *Typhon*, becauſe it ſwallows up their *Nile*, and hated ſailors ſo much that they would not ſpeak to them [q]; and though they were not fond of going out of their own country, for fear of introducing foreign luxury and cuſtoms [r], yet were they not ignorant of ſea affairs, having an order of men among them who followed nothing elſe; nay, the *Grecians* confeſs, they learned navigation from them [s]. *Seſoſtris* built a formidable navy of four hundred ſhips of war for his expedition to the ſouthern ſeas; and alſo a very large veſſel of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits long (O), gilt without, and beautified with ſilver within, which he dedicated to *Oſiris* [t]. And it is to be preſumed, they improved in this art in ſucceeding times.

We ſhall here conclude this account of the antient *Egyptians*, and hope we may be excuſed, if we have been ſomewhat prolix in ſpeaking of ſo extraordinary a people.

[p] Herod. l. 2. ſub finem. Sympoſ. l. 8. p. 729.
[q] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 363.
[r] Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 302.
[s] Euripid. in Troad.
[t] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 50, 52.

(N) Yet others make this city of *Naucratis* to be a colony of the *Mileſians*, and to ſtand on the *Bolbitic*, or *Heracleotic* mouth of the *Nile* (4). But this we ſhall examine hereafter.

(O) This ſhip muſt vaſtly exceed any modern veſſels in bulk, being near twice as big as one of our largeſt firſt rates; the length of the *Royal Sovereign* being no more than 175 feet on the middle gun-deck; and the breadth about 70 feet by the beam.

(4) *See* Bayle *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Naucratis Rem. A. B.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the Egyptian *chronology to the time of* Alexander the Great.

BEFORE we enter on ſo intricate a ſubject as the *Egyptian* chronology, it will be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding of what ſhall be ſaid, to exhibit the ſeries of the kings of *Egypt*, according to the ſeveral authors who have recorded their ſucceſſions.

I. *A* TABLE *of the laſt ſixteen of the thirty Dynaſties, according to the old* Egyptian *chronicle* [a], *the fourteen firſt Dynaſties being wanting.*

Dynaſty.	Generations.		Years.
XV.	15	Of the Cynic circle reigned	443
XVI.	8	*Tanites*	190
XVII.	4	*Memphites*	103
XVIII.	14	*Memphites*	348
XIX.	5	*Dioſpolites*	194
XX.	8	*Dioſpolites*	228
XXI.	6	*Tanites*	121
XXII.	3	*Tanites*	48
XXIII	2	*Dioſpolites*	19
XXIV.	3	*Saïtes*	44
XXV.	3	*Ethiopians*	44
XXVI.	7	*Memphites*	177
XXVII.	5	*Perſians*	124
XXVIII.	* * *	* * * * *	
XXIX.	* * *	* * * * *	39
XXX.	1	*Tanites*	18
		The Sum of the thirty Dynaſties is,	36525

[a] See before p. 188. SYNCELL. chronogr. p. 51, 52. EUSEB. chron. Græc. ap. SYNCELL. p. 55. *&c.*

II. *A*

II. *A* Table *of the* Egyptian *Dynasties from* Manetho.

TOME I.

According to *Africanus*.	Years.	According to *Eusebius*.	Years.
The I. *Dynasty of* Thinites, *or kings of* This; *consisting of eight princes.*		*The* I. *Dynasty of* Thinites, *or kings of* This; *consisting of eight princes.*	
1. *Menes* (A), reigned	62	1. *Menes* reigned	60
2. *Athothis* (B)	57	2. *Athoſtis*	27
3. *Cencenes*	31	3. *Cencenes*	39
4. *Venephes* (C)	23	4. *Venephes*	42
5. *Uſaphædus*	20	5. *Uſaphaes*	20
6. *Miebidus*	26	6. *Niches*	26
7. *Sememphſis*	18	7. *Simenpſes*	18
8. *Bienaches*	26	8. *Ubienthes*	26
	253		252
The II. *Dynasty of* Thinites, *consisting of nine kings.*		*The* II. *Dynasty of* Thinites, *consisting of nine kings.*	
	Years.		Years.
1 *Boethus* reigned	38	1 *Bochus* reigned	-
2 *Cæachos* (D)	39	2 *Choüs* (D)	-
3 *Binothris*	47	3 *Biophis*	-
4 *Tlas*	17	4	-
5 *Sethenes*	41	5	-
6 *Chœres*	17	6	-
7 *Nephercheres*	25	7	-
8 *Seſochris* (E)	48	8 *Seſochris*	48
9	-	9 *Cheneres*	30
	297		302

(A) This prince, they ſay, was the firſt *man* who reigned in *Egypt*, and ſucceeded the demi-gods; he was killed by a *Hippopotamus* (1).

(B) *Athothis*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Thoth*, or *Hermes*, practiſed phyſic, and wrote ſome books of anatomy. He alſo built the palace at *Memphis* (2).

(C) He built the pyramids at *Cochame* (3)

(D) In his reign the ox *Apis* began to be worſhipped at *Memphis*, *Mneuis* at *Heliopolis*, and the goat at *Mendes* (4).

(E) This prince is ſaid to have been of very large ſtature, that is, five cubits high, and three broad (5).

(1) Syncell. *p.* 54, 55. (2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.* (5) *Idem*, *p.* 56, 57.

The III.

According to *Africanus*.			According to *Euſebius*.		
The III. *Dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of nine kings.*			*The* III. *Dynaſty of* Memphites *conſiſting of eight kings.*		
		Years.			Years.
1	*Necherophes* reigned	28	1	*Nacherochis*	-
2	*Toſorthrus* (F)	29	2	*Seſorthus*	-
3	*Tyris*	7			
4	*Meſochris*	17			
5	*Soiphis*	16			
6	*Toſertaſis*	19	* * * * * *		
7	*Achis*	42			
8	*Siphuris*	30			
9	*Cerpheres*	26			
		214			198
The IV. *Dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of eight kings.*			*The* IV. *Dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of* 17 *kings.*		
		Years.			Years.
1	*Soris* reigned	29		- reigned	-
2	*Suphis* (G)	63			
3	*Suphis*	66	3	*Suphis* (G)	-
4	*Mencheres*	63			
5	*Rhatœſes*	25			
6	*Bicheres*	22			
7	*Sebercheres*	7	* * * * * *		
8	*Thamphthis*	9			
		274			448
The V. *Dynaſty of* Elephantines.			*The* V. *Dynaſty of* Elephantines, *conſiſting of* 31 *kings.*		
		Years.			Years.
1	*Uſercheris* reigned	28	1	*Othoes* reigned	-
2	*Sephres*	13			
3	*Nephercheres*	20	* * * * * *		
4	*Siſiris*	7	4	*Phiops*	- 100
5	*Cheres*	20			
6	*Rathuris*	44	* * * * * *		
7	*Mercheres*	9			
8	*Tarcheres*	44			
9	*Obnus*	33			
		248			

(F) *Toſorthrus* was the *Egptian Æſculapius*, excelling in the art of phyſic. He firſt found out the manner of building with hewn ſtones, and improved letters (6).

(G) This king is reported to have ſeen the gods, and repenting of it, to have wrote a ſacred book, greatly eſteemed by the *Egyptians*. It is alſo ſaid he built the largeſt pyramid near *Memphis*, attributed by *Herodotus* to *Cheops* (7). According

(6) *Ibid.* (7) *Ibid.*

According to *Africanus*.		According to *Eusebius*.	
The VI. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of six princes.*		*The* VI. *Dynasty of* Memphites.	
	Years.		Years.
1 *Othoes* reigned -	* * * *	* * * *	
2 *Phius* - -	53		
3 *Methusuphis* -	7		
4 *Phiops* - -	94		
5 *Mentesuphis* - -	1		
6 *Nitocris* (H) - -	12	*Nitocris* - -	3
	203		203
The VII. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of seventy kings, who reigned* 70 *days.*		*The* VII. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of five kings, who reigned* 75 *days.*	
* * * *		* * * *	
The VIII. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of twenty seven kings, who reigned* 146 *years.*		*The* VIII. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of five kings, who reigned* 100 *years.*	
* * * *		* * * *	
The IX. *Dynasty of* Heracleots, *consisting of nineteen kings.*		*The* IX. *Dynasty of* Heracleopolites, *consisting of four kings.*	
	Years.		Years.
1 *Achthoes* (I) reigned - -		1 *Achthus* - -	
* * * *		* * * *	
	409		100
The X. *Dynasty of* Heracleots, *consisting of nineteen kings, who reigned* 185 *years.*		*The* X. *Dynasty of* Heracleopolites, *consisting of nineteen kings, who reigned* 185 *years.*	
* * * *		* * * *	

(H) A most illustrious and beautiful woman, who built the third pyramid near *Memphis*, which *Herodotus* attributes to *Mycerinus* (8).

(I) *Achthoes* was a most inhuman prince: after several cruelties by him exercised on his subjects, he fell into madness, and was slain by a crocodile (9).

(8) *Idem*, p. 58. (9) *Ibid.* p. 59.

According to *Africanus*.

After whom *Ammenemes reigned* 16 *years*.

According to *Eusebius*.

After whom *Ammenemes reigned* 16 *years*.

TOME II.

The XII. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of seven kings*.

		Years.	
1	*Geson Goses*, or *Sesonchoris* reigned	46	
2	*Ammanemes*	38	
3	*Sesostris*	48	
4	*Lachares* (K)	8	
5	*Ammeres*	8	
6	*Ammenemes*	8	
7	*Sceniophris*, his sister	4	
		160	

The XII. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of seven kings*.

		Years.	
1	*Sesynchoris* reigned	46	
2	*Ammenemes*	38	
3	*Sesostris*	48	
4	*Labaris* (K)	8	
5			42
6			
7			
			245

The XIII. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of sixty kings, who reigned* 184 *years*.

The XIII. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of sixty kings, who reigned* 453 *years*.

The XIV. *Dynasty is wanting*.

The XIV. *Dynasty of* Xoïtes, *consisting of seventy six kings, who reigned* 184, *or* 484 *years*.

(K) This prince made choice of the labyrinth at *Arsinoe* for his sepulchre (10).

(10) *Ibid.* & p. 60.

According

According to *Africanus*.

The XV. *Dynasty of* Phœnician *shepherds, consisting of six kings.*

Years.

1	*Saïtes* reigned	- -	19
2	*Byon*, or *Beon*	- -	44
3	*Pachnan*, or *Apachnas*		61
4	*Staan*	- - -	50
5	*Archles*	- - -	49
6	*Aphobis* (L)	- -	61
			284

The XVI. *Dynasty of* Greek *shepherds, consisting of thirty two kings, who reigned* 518 *years.*

* * * * *

The XVII. *Dynasty, consisting of forty three other pastor kings, and forty three* Thebans, *who reigned together* 153 *years.*

* * * * *

According to *Eusebius*.

The XV. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *who reigned* 250 *years.*

* * * * *

The XVI. *Dynasty of* Thebans, *consisting of five kings, who reigned* 190 *years.*

* * * * *

The XVII. *Dynasty of* Phœnician *shepherds.*

Years.

1	*Saïtes* reigned	- -	19
2	*Beon*	- - -	43
3	*Aphophis* (L)	- -	14
4	*Archles*	- - -	30
			106

(L) This prince is supposed by some to be the *Pharaoh* who advanced *Joseph* (11).

(11) *Ibid.* p. 69.

According

According to *Africanus*.

The XVIII. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixteen kings.*

		Years.
1	*Amos* (M), called alſo *Amoſis* and *Tethmoſis*, ſon of *Aſſeth*, reigned	
2	*Chebros*	13
3	*Amenophthis*	21
4	*Amerſis*	22
5	*Miſaphris*	13
6	*Miſphragmuthoſis*, or *Amoſis* II.	26
7	*Tuthmoſis*	9
8	*Amenophis*, or *Memnon*	31
9	*Horus*	37
10	*Acherres* I.	32
11	*Rathos*	6
12	*Chebres*	12
13	*Acherres* II.	12
14	*Armeſes*	5
15	*Rammeſſes*	1
16	*Amenoph*	19
		263

The XIX. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſix kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sethos* reigned	51
2	*Rhapſaces*	61
3	*Ammenephthes*	20
4	*Rameſes*	60
5	*Ammenemnes*	5
6	*Thuoris*, the *Polybus* of *Homer*	7
		209

According to *Euſebius*.

The XVIII. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixteen kings.*

		Years.
1	*Amoſis* reigned	25
2	*Chebron*	13
3	*Ammenophis*	21
4	*Miphris*	12
5	*Miſphragmuthoſis*	26
6	*Tuthmoſis*	9
7	*Amenophis*	31
8	*Horus*	36
9	*Achencherſes*	12
10	*Athoris*	39
11	*Chencheres*	16
12	*Acherres*	8
13	*Cherres*	15
14	*Armes*, or *Danaus*	5
15	*Ammeſes*, or *Ægyptus*	68
16	*Memophis*	40
		348

The XIX. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of five kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sethos*	55
2	*Rhapſes*	66
3	*Ammenephthes*	40
4	*Ammenemmes*	26
5	*Thuoris*	7
		194

(M) Under *Amoſis* it is ſuppoſed, by *Africanus*, that the *Iſraelites* departed out of *Egypt*; but *Euſebius* places the *Exodus* under *Chencheres* the eleventh of this Dynaſty (12).

(12) *Ibid.* p. 62, 72, &c.

According to *Africanus*.

According to *Eusebius*.

TOME III.

The XX. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of twelve kings, who reigned* 135 *years.*

The XX. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of twelve kings, who reigned* 178 *years.*

* * * * * * * * * *

The XXI. *Dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of seven kings.*

		Years.
1	*Smedes* reigned	26
2	*Psusenes*, or *Psuneses*	46
3	*Nephelcheres*	4
4	*Amenenophthis*	9
5	*Osochor*	6
6	*Pinaches*	9
7	*Susennes*	30
		130

The XXI. *Dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of seven kings.*

		Years.
1	*Smendis*	26
2	*Psusennes* I.	41
3	*Nephercheres*	4
4	*Amenophthis*	9
5	*Osochor*	6
6	*Psinaches*	9
7	*Psusennes* II.	35
		130

The XXII. *Dynasty of* Bubastites, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sesonchis* reigned	21
2	*Osoroth*	15
3	-	}
4	-	} 25
5	-	}
6	*Tacellothis*	13
7	-	}
8	-	} 42
9	-	}
		120

The XXII. *Dynasty of* Bubastites, *consisting of three kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sesenchosis* reigned	21
2	*Osorthon*	15
3	*Tacellothis*	13
		49

The XXIII. *Dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of four kings.*

		Years.
1	*Petubates* reigned	40
2	*Osorcho*, or *Hercules*	8
3	*Psammus*	10
4	*Zet*	31
		89

The XXIII. *Dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of three kings.*

		Years.
1	*Petubastes* reigned	25
2	*Osorthon*, or *Hercules*	9
3	*Psammus*	10
		44

According

According to *Africanus*.

The XXIV. *Dynasty of one* Saïte.

		Years.
	Bochchoris reigned - -	6

The XXV. *Dynasty of* Ethiopians, *consisting of three kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sabbacon* reigned - -	8
2	*Seuechus* - - -	14
3	*Tarcus* - - -	18
		40

The XXVI. *Dynasty of* Saïtes, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Yrs.	Mths.
1	*Stephinates* reigned	7	
2	*Nerepsos* - -	6	
3	*Nechao* I. - -	8	
4	*Psammitichus* -	54	
5	*Nechao* II. - -	6	
6	*Psammuthis* - -	6	
7	*Uaphris* - -	19	
8	*Amosis* - -	44	
9	*Psammacherites* -	0	6
		150	6

The XXVII. *Dynasty of* Persians, *consisting of eight kings.*

		Yrs.	Mths.
1	*Cambyses* reigned	6	
2	*Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, -	36	
3	*Xerxes* the Great	21	
4	*Artabanus* - -	0	7
5	*Artaxerxes* -	41	
6	*Xerxes* II. -	0	2
7	*Sogdianus* - -	0	7
8	*Darius*, the son of *Xerxes*, - -	19	
		124	4
		0	0 2

According to *Eusebius*.

The XXIV. *Dynasty of one* Saïte.

		Years.
	Bochchoris, or *Bonchoris*, reigned - - -	44

The XXV. *Dynasty of* Ethiopians, *consisting of three kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sabbacon* reigned - -	12
2	*Seuechus* - - -	12
3	*Taracus* - - -	20
		44

The XXVI. *Dynasty of* Saïtes, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Ammeris* reigned - -	12
2	*Stephanathis* - - -	7
3	*Necheptos* - - -	6
4	*Nechao* I. - - -	8
5	*Psammitichus* -	45
6	*Nechao* II. - -	6
7	*Psammuthis*, or *Psammitichus* II. - -	17
8	*Uaphris* - -	25
9	*Amosis* - -	42
		168

The XXVII. *Dynasty of* Persians, *consisting of eight kings.*

		Yrs.	Mths.
1	*Cambyses* reigned	3	
2	The *Magi* - -	0	7
3	*Darius* - -	36	
4	*Xerxes* I. - -	21	
5	*Artaxerxes Longimanus* -	40	
6	*Xerxes* II. - -	0	2
7	*Sogdianus* -	0	7
8	*Darius*, the son of *Xerxes*, -	19	
		120	4

According

According to *Africanus*.

The XXVIII. *Dynasty of one* Saïte.

	Years.
Amyrteos reigned - -	6

The XXIX. *Dynasty of* Mendesians, *consisting of four kings.*

	Yrs.	Mths.
1 *Nepherites* reigned	6	
2 *Achoris* - -	13	
3 *Psammuthis* -	1	
4 *Nephorotes* - -	0	4
	20	4

The XXX. *Dynasty of princes of* Sebennytus, *consisting of three kings.*

	Years.
1 *Nectanebes* I. reigned	18
2 *Teos* - - -	2
3 *Nectanebes* II. -	18
	38

III. *A* Table *of* Egyptian *kings from* Manetho, *according to* Josephus [b].

	Yrs.	Mths.
Timaus reigned - - -		

The pastor kings.

1 *Salatis* - -	19	
2 *Bæon* - -	44	
3 *Aphachnas* - -	36	
4 *Aphophis* - -	61	
5 *Janias* - -	50	
6 *Assis* - -	49	

According to *Eusebius*.

The XXVIII. *Dynasty of one* Saïte.

	Years.
Amyrtanus, or *Amyrtæus* reigned - -	6

The XXIX. *Dynasty of* Mendesians, *consisting of five kings.*

	Yrs.	Mths.
1 *Nepherites* reigned	6	
2 *Achoris* - -	13	
3 *Psammuthis* -	1	
4 *Anapherites* -	0	4
5 *Muthis* - -	1	
	21	4

The XXX. *Dynasty of princes of* Sebennytus, *consisting of three kings.*

	Years.
1 *Nectanebes* reigned -	10
2 *Teos* - - -	2
3 *Nectanebes* - -	8
	20

Egyptians.	Yrs.	Mths.
Halisphragmuthosis - -		
Tethmosis - -	25	4
Chebron - -	13	
Amenophis - -	20	7
Amesses, a woman	21	9
Mephres - -	12	9
Mephramuthosis, or *Misphragmuthosis*	21	10
Thmosis - -	9	8
7 *Amenophis* - -	30	10
Orus - -	36	5
1 *Acenchres* - -	12	1
2 *Rathosis* - -	9	

[b] Contra Apion l. 1.

Acencheres

	Yrs.	Mths.
Acencheres I.	12	5
Acencheres II.	12	3
Armaïs	4	
Rameſſes	1	4
Harmeſſes Miamun	66	2
Amenophis	19	6
	393	

IV. *A* TABLE *of the* Theban *kings from the Laterculus of* Eratoſthenes[c].

		Years.
1	*Menes*, or *Mines*, reigned	62
2	*Athothes* I.	59
3	*Athothes* II.	32
4	*Diabies*	19
5	*Pemphos*	18
6	*Tægar Amachus Momchiri*, or *Tægaramus*	79
7	*Stœchus*	6
8	*Goſormies*, or *Eleſipantus*	30
9	*Mares*	26
10	*Anoyphes*	20
11	*Sirius*	18
12	*Chnubus Gneurus*	27
13	*Rauoſis*	13
14	*Biyris*	10
15	*Saophis*	29
16	*Senſaophis*	27
17	*Moſcheris*	31
18	*Muſthis*	33
19	*Pammus Archondes*	35
20	*Apappus* the Great	100
21	*Echeſcus Caras*	1
22	*Nitocris*	6
23	*Myrtæus*	22
24	*Thyoſimares*	12
25	*Thyrillus*, or *Thinillus*	8
26	*Semphucrates*	18
27	*Chuther Taurus*	7
28	*Meres*, or *Meures*, the philoſopher	12
29	*Choma Ephtha*	11
30	*Anchunius Ochy*, or *Scunioſochos*	60
31	*Penteathyris*	16
32	*Stamenemes*	23
33	*Siſtoſichermes*	55
34	*Maris*	43
35	*Siphoas Hermes*	5
36		14
37	*Phruron*, or *Nilus*	5
38	*Amurthæus*, or *Amythantœus*	63

V. *A* TABLE *of the* Egyptian *kings according to the ſeries of* Syncellus[d].

		Years.
1	*Meſtraim*, or *Menes*, reigned	35
2	*Curudes*, or *Cudrus*	63
3	*Ariſtarchus*	34
4	*Spanius*	36
5		
6		72
7	*Serapis*	23
8	*Seſonchoſis*	49
9	*Amenemes*	29
10	*Amaſis*, or *Amoſis*	2
11	*Aceſephthres*	13
12	*Achoreas*	9
13	*Amiyſes*, or *Armiyſes*	4
14	*Chamoïs*	12
15	*Ameſiſes*	65
16		14
17	*Uſe*	50
18	*Rhameſes*	29
19	*Rhameſſomenes*	15
20	*Thyſimares*	31
21	*Rhameſſeſeos*	23
22	*Rhameſſemeno*	19
23	*Rhameſſe*, ſon of *Baëtes*	39
24	*Rhameſſe*, ſon of *Uaphres*	29
25	*Concharis*	6
26	*Silites*	19
27	*Bæon*	44
28	*Apachnas*	

[c] Apud. SYNCELL. p. 92, &c.

[d] 1 Chronog. p. 91, &c.

		Years.			Years.
28	*Apachnas* - -	36	62	*Suſſacim* - -	34
29	*Aphophis* - -	61	63	*Pſuenus*, or *Senipſuerus*	25
30	*Sethos* - -	50	64	*Ammenophes* - -	9
31	*Certus* - -	29	65	*Nephecheres* - -	6
32	*Aſeth* - -	24	66	*Saïtes* - -	15
33	*Amoſis*, or *Tethmoſis*	22	67	*Pſinaches* - -	9
34	*Chebron* - -	13	68	*Petubaſtes* - -	44
35	*Amephes* - -	15	69	*Oſorthon* - -	9
36	*Amenſes* - -	11	70	*Pſammus* - -	10
37	*Miſphragmuthoſis* -	16	71	*Concharis* - -	21
38	*Miſphres* - -	23	72	*Oſorthon* - -	15
39	*Tuthmoſis* - -	39	73	*Tacelophes* - -	13
40	*Amenophthis* -	34	74	*Bocchoris* - -	44
41	*Horus* - -	48	75	*Sabacon* - -	12
42	*Achencheres* -	25	76	*Sebechon* - -	12
43	*Athoris* - -	29	77	*Taraces* - -	20
44	*Chencheres* -	26	78	*Amaes* - -	38
45	*Acheres* - 8 or	30	79	*Stephinathes* -	27
46	*Armæus*, or *Danaus*	9	80	*Nacepſus* - -	13
47	*Rhameſſes*, or *Ægyptus*	68	81	*Nechaab* I. - -	8
48	*Amenophis* - -	8	82	*Pſammitichus* -	14
49	*Thuoris* - -	17	83	*Nechaab* II. - -	9
50	*Nechepſos* -	19	84	*Pſammuthis*, or *Pſammitichus* II. - -	17
51	*Pſammuthis* -	13	85	*Uaphres* - -	34
52	- - - -	4	86	*Amaſis* - -	50
53	*Certus* - -	20	87	*Amyrtæus* - - -	6
54	*Rhampſis* - -	45	88	*Nepherites* - -	6
55	*Amenſes*, or *Amenemes*	26	89	*Achoris* - -	13
56	*Ochyras* - -	14	90	*Pſammuthis* - -	2
57	*Amedes* - -	27	91	*Menas* - -	4
58	*Thuoris*, or *Polybus*	50	92	*Nectanebes* - -	8
59	*Athothis*, or *Phuſanus*	28	93	*Teos* - - -	2
60	*Cencenes* - -	39			
61	*Uennephes* -	42			

VI. *A* Table *of the kings of* Egypt.

According to *Herodotus*.	According to *Diodorus Siculus*.
Menes - - -	*Menas*, or *Mneves* - -
* * * * *	- - - 52 of his deſcendants
	1400 years.
* * * * *	*Buſiris* - - - -
* * * * *	- - 7 of his deſcendants,
Nitocris - - -	*Buſiris* the 8th of them.
* * * * *	* * * * *

Accordin

According to *Herodotus.*	According to *Diodorus Siculus.*
* * * * *	*Oſymanduas* - - -
* * * * *	- - 8 of his deſcendants,
* * * * *	*Uchoreus* the 8th of them.
* * * * *	- - 12 generations.
Mœris - - - -	*Myris* - - -
* * * * *	- - 7 Generations, one of
	theſe *Saſyches*, the law-
	giver.
Seſoſtris - - -	*Seſooſis* I. - - -
Pheron - - -	*Seſooſis* II. - - -
* * * * *	- - ſeveral generations.
* * * * *	*Amaſis* (*Amnoſis*) - -
* * * * *	*Actiſanes* the *Ethiopian* -
* * * * *	*Mendes*, or *Marus* - - -
	- - 5 generations, an In-
	terregnum.
Proteus - - -	*Proteus* - - - -
Rhampſinitus - - -	*Remphis* - - - - -
	- -
* * * * *	*Nilus* } 6 generations. -
* * * * *	- -
Cheops - - -	*Chemmis*, or *Chembes* - -
Cephrenes - - -	*Cephren*, or *Chabryis* - -
Mycerinus - - -	*Mycerinus*, or *Cherinus* -
Aſychis - - -	*Gnephachthus* - - -
Anyſis - - - -	*Bocchoris* - - -
Sabaco - - - -	*Sabaco* - - -
Anyſis again - -	- - Interregnum 2 years
Sethon - - -	* * * *
- - - 12 kings - -	- - 12 kings - -
Pſammitichus - -	*Pſammitichus* - - -
Necus - - -	- - 4 generations - -
Pſammis - -	* * * *
Apries - - -	*Apries* - - -
Amaſis - - - -	*Amaſis* - - -
Pſammenitus - -	* * * *

THE diſagreement between theſe ſeveral ſucceſſions of *Egyptian* kings, both in their names and the years of their reſpective reigns, is ſo great, and there are ſuch chaſms, and ſuch apparent corruptions and miſtakes therein, that it ſhould ſeem loſt labour to go about to reduce them into a chronological ſeries, ſo as to agree with one another, much leſs with ſcripture, and the chronological obſervations of other

historians. However we shall say something of each of the preceding tables.

Of the numbers of the old chronicle.

And, to begin with the first of them, the sum total of the thirty dynasties, according to the old chronicle, is not only an immense number, vastly exceeding the age of the world, but appears to be an astronomical calculation, by which the *Egyptians* would have their dynasties to have run through a whole periodic revolution of the zodiac [e]; and therefore we shall not offer to make any use of it. It may only be observed, that though this sum be said to be the amount of the thirty dynasties, yet therein must be included the 30,000 years which the *Sun* reigned, the 3984 years reign of *Saturn*, and the other twelve gods, and the 217 years reign of the eight demi-gods, making together 34,201 years. As to the fourteen first dynasties, which we conceive to be omitted in the fragment we have remaining of this chronicle, the meaning of the original may perhaps be, that the fifteen generations of the cynic circle, which are placed in the table in the fifteenth dynasty, and reigned 443 years, do make up the first fifteen dynasties: and this seems to be confirmed by the sum total of the years of the sixteen last dynasties, as in the table, which is 2140 years, and with the said 34,201 years, makes 36,341; to which, if we add 184 years, for the duration of the twenty eighth dynasty, the number of which is ommitted, we shall have the complete sum of 36,525. And consequently deducting thence the sum of the reigns of the gods and demi-gods, the remainder will be 2324 years, for the duration of the succeeding dynasties, according to this chronicle; which is a number reasonable enough, though it cannot be reconciled to those of *Manetho*.

Of the Dynasties of Manetho.

The successions of *Manetho*, which are given in the second table, have this additional corruption, that their order has been disturbed by transcribers; and as in their present disposition they cannot possibly be reduced to any one system of chronology, some have altered that disposition according to their various hypotheses, while others make short work with them, and absolutely reject these dynasties, or great part of them as fabulous.

The credit of *Manetho* has been called in question by several writers [f], not only because of the incredible antiquity to which his history is supposed to have ascended, but from the account which, it is said, he himself gave of the records

[e] See before, p. 183, in the notes. [f] Vid. Jac. Cappell. in Hist. Sacr. & Exot. ad Ann. M. 2269. Stillingfleet Orig. Sacr. Book I. c. 2. § 10, &c.

from

from whence he took it, pretending to have extracted it from certain pillars in the *Syriadic* land, on which inſcriptions had been made in the ſacred dialect and letters, by *Thoth*, the firſt *Hermes*, and were tranſlated, after the flood, out of the ſacred dialect into the *Greek* (N) tongue in ſacred letters (O), and laid up in books by *Agathodæmon*, the ſon of the ſecond *Hermes*, the father of *Tat*, in the inner receſſes of the *Egyptian* temples [g]. Now it is abſolutely impoſſible, that the firſt *Hermes*, who lived in the earlieſt ages of the *Egyptian* monarchy, could write a hiſtory of ſo many generations which came into the world after his death, unleſs he did it by inſpiration; and if *Manetho* could be ſo ſtupid as to aſſert this, it muſt neceſſarily have overthrown the credit of his whole work. But we do not think that writer could mean any ſuch thing; the words cited from him do not ſay he took his *whole* hiſtory from thoſe pillars; though he might probably quote thoſe records to ſupport the antient hiſtory, which preceded the time of *Thoth*; and ſuch pillars, or at leaſt ſome pillars which were of great antiquity, and by the prieſts attributed to *Thoth*, muſt have been extant in the days of *Manetho*,

[g] SYNCELL. p. 40. See before, p. 163, and the note there.

(N) Dr. *Stillingfleet* (13), with great reaſon thinks this abſolutely incredible, the *Greek* language being not known in *Egypt*, at leaſt not in requeſt there, ſo early as this; for the *Grecians* had little or no commerce with the *Egyptians* till the time of *Pſammitichus*, as we have obſerved more than once. It ſeems alſo very unlikely that *Manetho* ſhould aſſert this; for, beſides the improbability above-mentioned, the *Egyptian* hiſtory was ſo far from being tranſlated to his hand, that he himſelf was obliged to tranſlate it into *Greek* from the ſacred regiſters (14); for which reaſon we ſuſpect ſome corruption in this paſſage; and, if it be not too bold a conjecture, we ſhould gueſs that, inſtead of ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν, the *Greek tongue*, it ought to be read ἐλλισχὴν φωνὴν, the *vulgar tongue*; but we dare not dictate in ſo dubious a point.

(O) The original words are γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς, which the learned writer named in the preceding note, tranſlates *hieroglyphic characters*, and very juſtly wonders, how any tranſlation can be made into ſuch characters, which repreſent things, and not words (15). But as theſe characters are plainly called *letters*, we conceive they could not be *hieroglyphical* in the common acceptation of the word, but rather ſuppoſe them to be the ſame with the *hierographic*, or ſacred letters above-mentioned.

(13) *Orig. Sacr. Book* I. *c.* 2. *p.* 1336. (14) Joſeph. *cont. Apion. l.* 1. (15) Stillingfl. *ubi ſupr.*

netho,

netho, or he could never have appealed to them in ſo public a manner, eſpecially in writing to his prince. It may alſo be anſwered, that though *Thoth* made the firſt inſcriptions on thoſe pillars, yet it is not impoſſible, but in ſucceeding times other inſcriptions might be added to thoſe of *Thoth*; for the pillars might be in common phraſe aſcribed to him, though the hiſtorical inſcriptions were continued after his death by others. But after all it may be queſtioned, whether *Manetho* really intended to ſupport his hiſtory by the authority of thoſe pillars; for the paſſage wherein he mentions them, ſeems to have been taken out of another book of his, called *Sothis*, or *Seth*, which was not hiſtorical, but prophetical; for, in his dedication of that work to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, he ſays, that his interpreting the ſacred books of *Hermes* was in obedience to that prince's command, who enquired of him concerning the future events that were to happen in the world [h]. And as to the records from whence he took his hiſtory, we are elſewhere aſſured, it was from the ſacred regiſters [i] which were kept by the prieſts, and written in the *Egyptian* language, ſince he tranſlated them into *Greek*.

The ſtronger prejudice therefore againſt the credit of this writer ariſes from his chronology. The *Egyptians*, it is true, pretended to an exceſſive antiquity, and to have certain records for a prodigious length of time paſt. This appears not only from the old chronicle above-mentioned, but from the extravagant numbers of years their prieſts impoſed on *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and *Diodorus* (P); but *Manetho* ſeems to have

[h] Vid. Syncell. p. 40. [i] Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. 1. p. 1336. Euseb. præp. Ev. l. 2. in procem.

(P) Some of theſe random accounts are as follow:

	Years.
From *Vulcan* to *Alexander* (16)	48,863
From the reign of the *Sun* to *Alexander* (17)	23,000
From *Oſiris* to *Alexander* (18) above	10,000
Or almoſt	23,000
From *Hercules* to *Amaſis* (19)	17,000
From *Bacchus* to *Amaſis* (20)	15,000
The gods and heroes reigned (21)	18,000
From *Orus*, the laſt of them, to the 180th *Olympiad* (22)	15,000
Kings of *Egypt* before *Amaſis* reigned (23)	13,000
From their firſt mortal king to *Setbon* (24)	11,340
There were chronicles at *Laïs* (25) of	8,000

(16) Diog. Laert. *in Proœm.* (17) Diodor. Sic. *l.* 1 *p.* 22. (18) *Idem, ibid. p.* 20. (19) Herod. *l.* 2. (20) *Idem ibid.* (21) Diodor. *ubi ſup. p.* 41. (22) *Idem, ibid* (23) Pomp. Mela. *l.* 1. *c.* 9. (24) Herod. *ubi ſup.* (25) Plato *in Tim.*

been

been much more modeſt. The ſum of his thirty one dynaſties from *Menes* to fifteen years before *Alexander* (without taking the reigns of the gods and demi-gods into the account), if caſt up, will amount to above 5300 years, which will reach higher than the creation of the world; and *Joſeph Scaliger* [k] has accordingly ſettled their chronology in ſuch a manner, that, by his own way of reckoning, it exceeds the epoch of the creation 1336 years. But there is a leſſer number mentioned by *Syncellus*, who ſays the account of the years of all the dynaſties was 3555, which is much more reaſonable than the other, and yet will agree with no ſyſtem of chronology, unleſs we take part of this number for the reigns of the antediluvian princes of *Egypt*. *Manetho*, as we have already obſerved, began his hiſtory with ſeven gods, and nine demigods [l], who reigned 1985 years; and then ſucceeded mortal kings, the firſt of whom was *Menes*. Theſe three races ſeem to be the ſame with thoſe called in the old chronicle *Auritæ*, *Meſtræi*, and *Egyptians* [m]. Now, if we allow (as is moſt reaſonable, in caſe there be any ſhadow of truth in this part of the hiſtory), that the gods, or *Auritæ*, were antediluvians; the demi-gods, or *Meſtræi*, the poſtdiluvians of the race of *Mizraïm*; and the *mortal men*, or *Egyptians*, *Menes* and his ſucceſſors; and, if we allow 1200 years part of the 1985 for the reigns of the firſt [n], the remainder, 785, will be the years of the reign of *Mizraïm* and his deſcendants. And deducting the whole 1985 out of the ſaid 3555, there will remain 1570 years, the diſtance from *Menes* to the fifteenth year before *Alexander*; from which time, if we compute backwards, the beginning of *Menes*'s reign will fall about eleven years before *Abraham* went into *Egypt*, according to the *Samaritan* chronology; and that of *Mizraïm* about 298 years after the flood. This way of computing would be plauſible, were it not that the epoch of the *Egyptian* kingdom will by this means precede the diſperſion of mankind 103 years, which can hardly be ſuppoſed, unleſs it be allowed, that the *Egyptians* reckoned the years of the government of their firſt anceſtors over their deſcendants, before they left *Shinaar*, and arrived in *Egypt*. But the great objection of all is, that *Manetho*'s number of 3555 appears to belong wholly to the ſucceſſors of *Menes*, and we have no manner of warrant to make any deduction from it.

SOME chronologers therefore, particularly father *Petau* [o], (who took delight in contradicting *Scaliger*) reject the whole

[k] Canon Iſagog. l. 2. p. 228. [l] See before, p. 190. [m] See p. 188.
[n] See before, p. 191, 193. [o] De Doctr. Tempor. l. 9. c. 15.

ſcheme

ſcheme of *Manetho*'s dynaſties as fabulous, and of no manner of value or credit. And others[p], to whom *Euſebius* led the way in his canon[q], omit the firſt ſixteen dynaſties only, and begin their chronology with the ſeventeen; though they differ among themſelves in their computations. The firſt who, without rejecting any, earneſtly ſet about reducing the entire ſeries to the ſcripture chronology, was the learned Sir *John Marſham*[r], who firſt gueſſed that theſe dynaſties were not ſucceſſive, but collateral. He ſuppoſes, that *Egypt*, immediately after the death of *Menes*, was divided into four diſtinct kingdoms, of *Thebes*, *This*, *Memphis*, and the lower *Egypt*, beſides ſome of leſſer note which aroſe afterwards, and whoſe epochs are more difficult to be ſettled; and that it continued ſo divided for almoſt ſeven centuries, till the paſtors made themſelves maſters of all, except that of *Thebes*; after whoſe expulſion, in about 500 years after, *Egypt* became ſubject to one prince. By this means the duration of the whole empire, from *Menes* to the end of the reign of *Amaſis*, is reduced to 1819 years. This gentleman's work is full of uncommon learning and curious obſervations; but his great misfortune ſeems to have been his adhering ſo very ſcrupulouſly to the *Hebrew* chronology; whereby he is obliged to make *Menes* the ſame with *Ham*, and not *Mizraïm*, (as almoſt all other writers imagine) and abſurdly to begin the date of his reign immediately from the flood. He follows *Diodorus*[t] in reckoning 1400 years from *Menes* to *Seſoſtris*, whom therefore he aſſerts to be the *Shiſhak* of the ſcriptures, though *Diodorus* plainly reckons a much larger interval between them. In which laſt particular, as he has been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral writers[s], ſo he has been followed by others[u]. It muſt be obſerved, that Sir *John Marſham* makes great uſe of the table of the *Theban* kings given us by *Eratoſthenes*, of which we ſhall ſpeak by and by.

The next who undertook to model this *Egyptian* chronology is father *Pezron*, who, by following the larger chronology of the *Septuagint*, has more latitude, and allows the duration of the *Egyptian* empire 2619 years from *Menes* to *Nectanebus*. This author likewiſe goes on the ſame foundation with Sir *John Marſham*, in making the firſt ſeventeen

[p] Calvisius, Usserius, Jac. Capellus & Perizonius eſteem the firſt fourteen or fifteen to be fabulous. [q] Chron. Græc. p. 89. [r] In his Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, &c. [t] Lib 1. p. 42. [s] Pezron, Perizonius, Whiston, Bedford, &c. [u] Sir Isaac Newton, Shuckford, Bossuet, Le Clerc, &c.

dynaſties

dynasties not successive but collateral. He is of opinion, that the *Mestræans*, or offspring of *Mizraïm*, the first inhabitants of *Egypt*, were those whom their posterity honoured with the titles of gods and demi-gods; and that, though they began to people the country, yet they formed no kingdom there till *Menes* who began his reign 648 years after the deluge, and 117 years after the dispersion. *Sesostris* he places in the time of the judges of *Israel*, *Deborah* then presiding over that people [x].

FROM the plans of these two great men, several other chronological writers have formed systems of their own, differing in some respects from them, as well as from each other. The chief care of them all is to fix the times of *Menes* and *Sesostris*; which when they have done, they imagine the rest follows almost of course. The opinions, as to these two princes, are so various, that it would lead us into too great a detail to mention them all in this place; and what we judge most curious and worthy notice in such disquisitions, will be more properly introduced, when we give their histories. What is generally to be observed in all these writers, and especially in one of them, *Perizonius* by name, is, that they are much oftener in the right in refuting and detecting the errors and mistakes of one another, than in settling or adjusting any thing that may be safely relied on.

THE fundamental hypothesis which all these writers go upon, that there were, in the most early times, several kingdoms in *Egypt* at once, seems to be very probable, the scripture mentioning the kings of the *Egyptians* in the plural, even so late as the time of *Jehoram* [y]. The kingdoms of *Thebes* and *Memphis* divided *Egypt* between them for several centuries; and it is certain, from *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, that there were, at least, two kings in that country at the time of the invasion of the *Ethiopians* under *Sabbaco*. But it does not appear, that *Manetho* himself, though he wrote the history of five *Egyptian* nations [z], did make any of the dynasties he has given us collateral or contemporary; on the contrary, unless his transcribers have done him more wrong than we have reason to suspect, he placed them all in a continual succession [a]; and it is taking the utmost liberty with *Manetho* to alter it, unless we charge the fault on the records of which he made use.

AFTER *Cambyses* had carried away their records, the *Egyptian* priests, in all probability, to supply their loss, and

[x] PERON, Antiq. des temps retablie. c. 13. [y] 2 Kings vii. 6.
[z] SYNCELL. p. 40. [a] See PERIZON. Orig. Ægypt. p. 62, &c.

keep

keep up their pretences to antiquity, began to write new records, wherein they not only neceſſarily made great miſtakes, but added a good deal of their own invention, eſpecially as to diſtant times. From theſe materials, for want of better, *Manetho* collecting his hiſtory, muſt have intermixed a good deal of fable, as there is indeed in the antiquities of all nations (the *Jews* excepted); for it cannot be expected, that people in the circumſtances of theſe early nations could have begun to keep records till ſome ages after their ſettlement. it is unjuſt therefore, to lay the whole blame of the confuſion and uncertainty we find in the *Egyptian* hiſtory, at the door of *Manetho*: he collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the records he had, and we have ſo little genuine remains of him, and what we have, has been ſo mangled by tranſcribers and pretenders to correct him, that *Iſis* found leſs difficulty in gathering the diſperſed remains of her dead huſband, than it muſt be to patch up a figure which might bear ſome reſemblance of that hiſtorian. Several antient writers of good judgment, as *Joſephus*, *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, and *Euſebius*, looked on him as a writer whoſe authority was to be depended on; and the curious fragment tranſcribed from him by *Joſephus*, before his copies had been corrupted, ſeems to confirm this good opinion, being the moſt valuable and authentic piece of *Egyptian* hiſtory, of ſo great antiquity, that is extant; and the ſeries of kings we have exhibited thence, in the third table, is a pretty exact record, connecting, if there be any credit in *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* hiſtories, by acquainting us that *Sethoſis* was *Ægyptus*, and his brother *Armaïs Danaus*.

Of the catalogue of Eratoſthenes.

THE liſt of *Theban* kings given by *Eratoſthenes* has had a very favourable reception among the learned, not only as a ſupplement to *Manetho*, who has entirely omitted that ſucceſſion, but as a certain foundation for fixing the *Egyptian* chronology (Q). His authority has been preferred to that

(Q) Beſides the obſervation of *Dicæarchus*, mentioned hereafter, there is another affixed to *Mares*, the ninth king of this catalogue in *Scaliger*'s edition of *Euſebius*'s *Greek* chronicle (26), purporting, that he was contemporary with the ſixteenth dynaſty of *Thebans* in the lower *Egypt*; which obſervation may be of uſe to thoſe who have a mind to frame a table of the dynaſties, though *Goar*, in his edition of *Syncellus*, has omitted it, and taxes *Scaliger* with adding it of his own invention (27).

(26) *Pag.* 18. *l.* 34. (27) Goar, in *Not. ad Syncell, p.* 521.

of

of *Manetho* [b], in regard he was no *Egyptian* prieſt, but a *Cyrenæan*, a man of eminent learning, and keeper of the *Alexandrian* library, and took his catalogue from the ſacred records of *Thebes*, or had it from the ſacred ſcribes there [c]. Together with the *Egyptian* names of the kings, he has given their interpretation in *Greek*, which thoſe ſkilled in the *Coptic* tongue allow to be juſt in ſome inſtances; but ſeveral of them being corrupted and unintelligible, we have choſen to omit them.

THIS *Eratoſthenean* ſeries is ſuppoſed to be connected with a known epoch in the *Grecian* hiſtory, by a remark of *Dicæarchus*, *Ariſtotle*'s ſcholar, who ſays, that from the reign of *Seſonchoſis*, who ſucceeded *Orus*, the ſon of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, to the reign of *Nilus*, are 2500 years; and from *Nilus* to the firſt *Olympiad* 436 years [d]. Who *Seſonchoſis* was is very uncertain; the firſt king of the twelfth dynaſty of *Manetho* ſeems to have born this name, or one very near it; but he muſt have lived too late to be the perſon here meant; and if he be taken to be the immediate ſucceſſor of *Orus*, he muſt have been one of the demi-gods, and the ſame with *Ares*, or *Mars*; which carries us back into fable. The firſt of theſe obſervations therefore can be of no great uſe, for the time of *Seſonchoſis*, after this way of reckoning, will precede the deluge, even according to the *Samaritan* chronology, near 700 years. But the other king, named by *Dicæarchus*, is found in the catalogue of *Eratoſthenes*, the laſt king but one, in which is *Phruron*, or *Nilus*; and therefore his time being known, the years of all the preceding kings are eaſily adjuſted to any ſyſtem of chronology. This ſeems plauſible enough; yet we are afraid, it will not altogether agree with the account of *Diodorus*. It is plain, *Dicæarchus* ſuppoſed *Nilus* reigned at the time of the *Trojan* war; for his calculation will carry us up thither; but according to *Diodorus*, *Nilus* muſt have been ſeveral generations later than *Proteus*, who reigned in *Egypt* at the time of the *Trojan* war, by the joint teſtimony of him and *Herodotus* [e]; ſo that *Dicæarchus* ſeems only to have given a tolerable gueſs at his age, and not fixed it with ſuch certainty as to enable us to determine it within a century at leaſt. Beſides, it is more than probable, that this table of *Eratoſthenes* has ſuffered by time and tranſcribers, as well as the dynaſties of *Manetho*; and there are

[b] Vid. MARSH. Can. Chron. p. 8, 26, 297. CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 416, &c. [c] Vid. SYNCELL. p. 147. [d] DICÆARCH. apud Scholiaſt. Apollon. Argon. l. 4. ver. 272. [e] DIODOR. Sic. l. 1. p. 56. Herod. l. 2.

doubtleſs ſeveral miſtakes in the numbers as well as names; the ſum total, for example, which *Syncellus* reckons to be 1075, will not agree with the particulars; for, if carefully caſt up, they amount to no more than 1055.

However, according to this calculation of *Dicæarchus*, the table of *Eratoſthenes* will ſuit well enough with the *Samaritan* chronology; for if to the year before Christ 776 (the epoch of the firſt *Olympiad*) we add 436, the reign of *Nilus* will end in the year before Christ 1212; to which, if we again add 992, the number of years between the laſt year of *Nilus* and the firſt of *Menes*, this laſt king's reign began 794 years after the flood; that is, 393 years after the diſperſion, and about 300 years before *Abraham*'s deſcent into *Egypt*. But if we abate three or four generations in this calculation, it will ſtill better agree with *Diodorus*, and allow more time for the riſing of the kingdom of *Egypt*.

Of the ſeries of Syncellus.

As to the ſeries of *Syncellus*, given in the fifth table, on which Sir *John Marſham* built much [f], we have a worſe opinion of it than of any of the other, eſpecially in the more early ages, where it is ſupported by no concurring evidence at all. He ſeems to have compoſed it by picking here and there ſuch names and numbers, and ſometimes adding both out of his own head, as he fancied, in order to accommodate it to the ſacred chronology [g], and therefore we ſhall take no further notice of it.

Of the ſucceſſions according to Herodotus *and* Diodorus.

We need not ſpend many words to ſhew that it is next to impoſſible to frame a conſiſtent chronology, as ſome have attempted [h], from the ſucceſſions of kings in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. For, beſides their irreconcileable diſagreement in ſeveral inſtances, they confeſſedly omit a great number of princes, and mention no years of the reigns of others; whereby ſuch chaſms are left, that no body can tell how to fill up; and their manner of reckoning by deſcents, or generations, is too viſibly uncertain. Before *Pſammitichus* the *Egyptian* chronology is very dark; and though after that prince's time it begins to clear up, yet the variations between all the hiſtorians ſince his reign are conſiderable, as appears by the tables.

We ſhall not therefore waſte our time in compoſing a hypothetical ſcheme of theſe kings of *Egypt*; of ſuch performances there are choice already; and they are much more eaſy to frame, than to ſupport; calculations by numbers of years, which are ſo liable to miſtake and corruption, muſt needs be

[f] Vid. Can. Chron. p. 7. [g] Vid. Perizon. Orig. Æg. p. 53, &c. [h] Vid. Conring. Adv. Chronol. c. 17, 18. Stillingfl. Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 5.

very precarious; and it seems much more reasonable to rely on the coincidence of facts and historical synchronisms, from which chiefly we shall, in the course of our history of *Egypt*, endeavour to fix the times of such events as we judge capable of it, and shall represent them accordingly in the general chronological tables. And this, we think, is the most that can be done with any degree of certainty: considering, which is amazing to us, that men should pretend to adjust the *Egyptian* chronology, from the most early times, to so great a nicety as a few years, and dictate dogmatically in a matter of such absolute uncertainty and confusion.

BEFORE we conclude, we will only observe, as to the *Hebrew* chronology, the imperfection of which we have mentioned more than once, that if there be any dependence to be made on the foregoing accounts of the *Egyptian* affairs, the beginning of that kingdom must be placed much earlier than that computation will allow. For according to the most moderate calculation, which is that of *Eratosthenes*, as fixed by the observation of *Dicæarchus*, the reign of *Menes* must begin within two centuries of the flood; which is, in our opinion, improbable in the highest degree[1]; even though we should admit, that *Menes* was the same with *Mizraïm*, as the patrons of that chronology generally suppose; the contrary of which we believe to be true, and shall endeavour to prove hereafter.

SECT. IV.

The History of Osiris, Isis, Typhon, *and* Orus.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of the mortal kings of *Egypt*, we are in some sort obliged to insert the following dark and antient fiction. *Osiris* and *Isis* were said by some to be the son and daughter of *Saturn* and *Rhea*; but according to others their grandson and granddaughter being descended from *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had a deity born to them on each of the five intercalary days of the *Egyptians*. These five deities were called *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Typhon*, *Apollo*, and *Venus*[2]. We have their origin and generation again differently, and, with the several particulars, related as follows: *Sol* surprizing *Rhea* in a private congress with *Saturn*, prayed that she might not be delivered in the space of any one month, or of the year. Soon after *Mercury*, smitten with love of

[1] See before p. 511, &c.

[2] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 13.

the goddeſs, embraced her alſo; and, beating *Luna* at dice, took from the *Lunar* year the ſeventy ſecond part of every day, and thereof compoſed five days, and added them to the year of 360 days, that ſhe might bring forth in them: and theſe they celebrated as the birth-days of *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Typhon*, *Orus*, and *Nephthe*. On the firſt day *Oſiris* was born, and at his birth a voice was heard crying out, *The lord of all things is come into the world*: or, according to others, a damſel called *Pamyles*, going to fetch water from the temple of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, heard a loud voice commanding to proclaim, *The great and beneficent king* Oſiris *is born*. He was delivered to this damſel, who was directed to nurſe him, which ſhe did with all the veneration due to him, performing the myſteries called *Pamylia*, like thoſe ſtiled *Pallephoria*, in honour of him. On the ſecond day *Arueris* was brought forth, whom ſome called *Apollo*, and others the elder *Orus*. The third was the birth-day of *Typhon*, who came not into the world in proper time and place, but by a violent eruption leaped out of his mother's ſide. On the fourth day *Iſis*, and on the fifth *Nephthe*, or *Nephthys*, took birth; which laſt was alſo called *Finis*, and *Venus*, and *Victoria*. *Sol* was the father of *Oſiris* and *Arueris*; *Mercury* was the father of *Iſis*; and *Saturn* was the father of *Typhon* and *Nephthe*. The third being the birth-day of *Typhon*, was counted inauſpicious, or unlucky; ſo that the kings thereon ſuſpended all buſineſs, and abſtained from eating and drinking. *Nephthe* married *Typhon*, and *Iſis* married *Oſiris*. As for theſe laſt it is ſaid, that impelled by a mutual love, they embraced whilſt yet in their mother's womb; and it was thought, that *Arueris*, the elder *Orus* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*, ſprang from that early conjunction (R). *Oſiris* had no ſooner obtained

(R) *Herodotus* gives them a daughter, *Bubaſtis*, or *Diana*; and ſeems to have heard the ſtory of theſe fabulous princes, with ſome variation from what is related by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, the only authors we have, who have written this fiction at length. And particularly, ſpeaking of the floating iſland *Chemmis*, near the city of *Butis*, he writes, that, by an *Egyptian* tradition, *Latona*, one of the primary deities, reſiding at *Butus*, had *Orus* committed to her care, at a time when *Typhon* was in ſearch after him to deſtroy him; and ſhe accordingly concealed him in the aboveſaid iſle. Now, according to *Plutarch*, *Typhon* was kept within bounds by the prudence of *Iſis*, during all the expedition of *Oſiris*; with which account this violent proceeding cannot conſiſt; and *Herodotus* does not in the leaſt hint at this ſearch afterwards. *Diodorus* ſays, *Orus* accompanied his father in his travels; he was therefore out of the reach

tained the kingdom of *Egypt* than he reclaimed the inhabitants from their ſavage and brutal way of living, ſhewed them the fruits of the earth, and inſtituted divine worſhip [b]; building the city of *Thebes*, as is (with great uncertainty) ſaid, and erecting ſeveral temples, and, amongſt the reſt, one to *Jupiter Uranius*, and another to *Jupiter Ammon*, his father, who reigned before him [c]. But, that his beneficence might not be confined to the bounds of his own country, he undertook to viſit the ſeveral nations on the earth, all which he civilized and brought into order; not by the forcible conſtraint of arms, but by dint of perſuaſion, and by the allurements of muſic and poetry [d]. His outſet, and the more remarkable particulars of his travels are thus told.

HAVING in view the vaſt and beneficial deſign above-mentioned, he raiſed a great number of followers, amongſt whom was his brother *Apollo*, who claimed the *laurel* as ſacred to him, juſt as the *ivy* was to *Oſiris*. He took alſo his two ſons with him, *Anubis* (which will be ſeemingly contradicted by and by) and *Macedo*. Theſe two wore coats of mail, and over them the ſkin of ſuch a beaſt as correſponded with the nature of their courage; ſo *Anubis* had a dog's ſkin, and *Macedo* the ſkin of a wolf; and hence, ſaid they, the dog and the wolf were worſhipped in *Egypt*. *Pan* alſo was of the company; he was afterwards highly revered over all the country, inſomuch that he had not only ſtatues and temples erected to him, but alſo the city of *Chemmis*, which ſignified *Pan*'s city. Add to theſe *Maro*, famous for planting and dreſſing of vines; and *Triptolemus* for ſowing of corn, and gathering in the harveſt. Finally, *Oſiris* took with him nine virgins, proficients in muſic, who being committed to the care of *Apollo*, he thence obtained the title of maſter of the *nine ſiſters*, or *muſes*; as alſo ſome *ſatyrs* he met as he went towards *Æthiopia*, who were acceptable for their jocund diſpoſition, and diverting by their antic behaviour, ſkipping, and dancing.

BUT before he left *Egypt* he provided againſt any diſturbances that might ariſe in his abſence, by committing the ad-

[b] PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid, p. 355. [c] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupra. [d] PLUT. ubi ſupr.

reach of his enemy; and after his father's murder, this author ſays, he was ſo far from flying from *Typhon*, that he made head againſt him, overcame him in battle, and ſlew him. It appears then, that *Herodotus* heard this fiction related in a third and different manner (*t*).

(*t*) Herodot. *lib.* II.

miniſtration to truſty and ſagacious perſons. For he inveſted *Iſis* with the regency, in which he left his friend *Hermes* to aſſiſt her. *Hermes* was alſo called *Mercury*, *Thoth*, *Theyth*, *Taautes*, *Triſmegiſtus*, and by other names. It is a common opinion, that there were two perſons or more who bore theſe ſeveral appellations; but leaving the diſcuſſion of ſo dark a point, we will here ſpeak as of one perſon, and enumerate the inventions and books aſcribed to him. He, ſaid they, invented articulate ſounds, appellatives, letters, religion, aſtronomy, muſic, wreſtling, arithmetic, ſtatuary, the three-ſtringed lyre, and the uſe of the olive, and not *Minerva*, as the *Greeks* miſtakenly aſſerted. He was ſtiled the father of eloquence, and thence he derived his name of *Hermes*, the interpreter, or ſpeaker [e]. Now as to the books he wrote, *Seleucus* reckoned them at no leſs than 20,000 [f]; and *Manetho* exceeds him, computing them at 36,525 [g]. Theſe numbers are ſo enormous, that it has been a ſtumbling block to the learned, to conceive how one perſon could be the author of ſuch myriads of tracts. Therefore ſome have ſuppoſed theſe computations to refer to verſes, others to leaves of the *Papyrus*; and others again to ſuccinct diſcourſes and proverbs. But *Clement* of *Alexandria* will lead us out of this labyrinth, by the following account of an antient *Egyptian* proceſſion: The *firſt* that advanced, ſays he, was a *Chanter*, or ſinger, who bore ſome ſymbol or other of muſic: his buſineſs it was to receive two of the books of *Mercury*, or *Thoth*; of which the one contained hymns to the gods, and the other rules for the king to obſerve. *Secondly*, an *Aſtrologer*, bearing a dial and a palm, which were ſymbols of aſtrology: he was obliged to have the four aſtrological books of *Mercury* by heart; the firſt of which contained the places of the fixed ſtars, and the three others treated of the ſun and moon, their eclipſes, illuminations, riſing and the like. *Thirdly*, an *Hierogrammateus*, or *ſacred ſcribe*, with a feather on his head, bearing a book and a rule, in which were ink and a reed to write with: he was verſed in the ſubjects of ten books, the 1. of hieroglyphics; 2. of coſmography; 3. of geography; 4. of the order of the ſun and moon; 5. of the five planets; 6. of the chorography of *Egypt*; 7. a deſcription of the *Nile*; 8. a deſcription of the ſacred utenſils, and of the places conſecrated to them; 9. treated of meaſures; and the 10th of whatever was neceſſary in their worſhip. *Fourthly*, a *Stoliſtes*, a kind of ſolemn marſhal, holding the cubit of juſtice

[e] Diod Sic. l. 1. p. 14, &c. [f] Seleuc. apud Jamblich. de Myſt. Ægypt. § 8. cap. 1. [g] Manetho, apud eund. ibid.

and

and a cup for libations: he knew whatever concerned the inſtitution of youth, and the ſealing of victims. The whole *Egyptian* religion was comprehended in ten books; the 1. related to the ſacrifices; the 2. to firſt-fruits; 3. to hymns; 4. to prayers; 5. to proceſſions; 6. to feſtivals; and the other four on the like ſubjects. *Fifthly*, and laſt of all came the *Prophet*, bearing a water-pot openly in his boſom, and followed by thoſe who carried the proceſſional bread: he, as preſiding over the temple, ſtudied the ten books called ſacerdotal, which ſpoke of the laws, the gods, and the whole diſcipline of the prieſthood. Here we have an account of thirty ſix books of *Hermes*; beſides which he wrote ſix more, which treated of anatomy, diſeaſes, medicaments, and the like; ſo that he was author of forty two in all [h]. This is ſome rational account of the matter. But to return from whence we digreſſed; this ſagacious perſon or one ſuch was left behind to aſſiſt *Iſis* in the government of the kingdom.

MOREOVER, *Hercules* was appointed over the forces at home, and *Antæus*, *Buſiris*, and *Prometheus* were conſtituted governors over ſeveral provinces. *Oſiris* having thus ſettled affairs in *Egypt*, began his progreſs, moving firſt towards *Æthiopia*. In this country he raiſed the banks of the *Nile*, and dug ſeveral canals, thereby to prevent the too frequent inundations, and to abate and diſtribute the waters of the *Nile*. Whilſt he was thus employed in *Æthiopia*, the *Nile* broke down its banks in *Egypt*, and overflowed a great part of the country; and this it did with ſo furious a tide, and ſo ſudden a ſpread, as ſwept away all before it, and drowned great multitudes of people, doing particular damage in *Prometheus*'s juriſdiction, whereat he was grieved almoſt to deſpair. But *Hercules* ſoon drained off the waters, and thence is ſaid to have ſhot through the eagle which preyed on *Prometheus*'s heart; for the ſuddenneſs of this flood was compared to the flight of an eagle, and the river from thence was ſometimes called after that bird. But to return to *Oſiris*; he inſtructed the *Ethiopians* in all rural matters, and built them ſeveral cities; which done he departed, leaving ſome behind him to act as his governors, and others to gather in his tribute. From *Æthiopia* he went into *Arabia*, and ſo continued his travels till he got beyond *India*. In *India* he built ſeveral cities, and particularly *Nyſa*, which he ſo called from the place where (according to ſome) he was bred up. Here he planted the ivy which was no where elſe to be found in *India*, and left ſo many monuments of himſelf behind him as after-

[h] CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. 6. p. 635.

wards gave room to dispute, whether he was not originally of this part of the world. Having surveyed all *Asia*, he crossed the *Hellespont*, and landing in *Thrace*, killed *Lycurgus*, the king of the country, who opposed his progress. Here he left *Maro* to cultivate the land, and commanded him to build a city, and call it, in derivation from his own name, *Maronea*. Afterwards he bestowed on his son *Macedo* the country of *Macedon*, which borrowed its name from him; and *Triptolemus* had charge of *Attica*. At length *Osiris* returned back into *Egypt*, laden with the choicest productions of the earth; and with the blessings of the whole race of mankind, who consented to his deification.

But his brother *Typhon* slew him soon after his arrival, and cut his body into twenty six pieces, giving one to each of his accomplices[i]. It was thus that some spoke concerning the death of *Osiris*; but the story was also told after the following manner: *Typhon*, hearing that his brother was on his return, entered into a conspiracy with seventy two others, exclusive of the queen of *Æthiopia*, called *Aso*, to kill him. And privately taking measure of *Osiris*'s body, he ordered a very magnificent coffin to be made, and contrived that it should be brought home to him as he was entertaining his friends. This was done, and his guests failed not to take notice of the coffin and admire it. Whereupon *Typhon*, in a jesting way, told them, that the person amongst them whom it best fitted should have it. Several of the company tried, but to no purpose, till *Osiris* went into it, which he had no sooner done, than they shut the lid on him, and locked it. Then, pouring melted lead over it they conveyed him to the *Tanitic* mouth of the *Nile*, and there threw him into the sea; wherefore that entrance of the river was abhorred by the *Egyptians*. This cruelty was transacted on the seventeenth day of the month *Athyr*, in which the sun went through the *Scorpion*, and in the twenty eighth year of the reign of *Osiris*; though, according to some, not of his reign, but of his life. When the *Pans* and *Satyrs* told it to the men, they were seized by those sudden consternations as have ever since born the name of *Panic* fears. And *Isis*, hearing it, cut off a lock of her hair, and putting on mourning, set out from the city of *Coptus*, where she received the doleful news, and went in quest of the body of *Osiris*. As she went along, she asked all she met, if they had seen, or heard of the coffin; but she enquired in vain, till some children, who had seen *Typhon*'s friends carrying it, gave her some information. Hence the *Egyptians* held chil-

[i] Diod. Sic. ubi supra, p. 15, &c.

dren

dren to have been endued with a predictive faculty, and drew conjectures from what they said whilst playing in temples.

ISIS knowing that *Osiris* had, by mistake, lain with his sister *Nephthe*, and that she had exposed a son she had by him, through fear of *Typhon*, resolved now to seek after him; and after much fatigue, she was guided by dogs to the place where he was. Having found him, he afterwards served her for a guard and companion, and was called *Anubis*. He was thought to have guarded the gods in the same manner as dogs take care of men. At length she came to understand that the coffin was thrown up by the sea, and lodged in a tuft of broom, or heath, at *Byblus*, and that the broom had suddenly sprouted up with a large stalk, which inclosed and concealed it from sight. Therefore she repaired thither, and to pass over the methods she practised to possess herself of the coffin, she there obtained it. When she first cast eyes on it, she cried out with so loud a voice as struck the king of *Byblus*'s youngest son dead; for she had insinuated herself into his family, as the most ready means to obtain what she wanted, he having out of curiosity built over the broom which hid the coffin. With his eldest son and the coffin she straightways embarked; and, in her passage, dried up the river *Phædrus*, which displeased her, because of a ruffling breeze which issued from its mouth, as she passed by about break of day. Being now private, and at leisure, she opened the coffin, and laying her face to the face of the deceased, bathed it with her tears. As she was thus giving vent to her grief, the king's son she had brought away with her from *Byblus* came behind her, and saw what she was about; whereat enraged, she turned on him with so dreadful a countenance, as frighted him so that he died. Some said he jumped into the sea. This is supposed to be *Maneros* [k]. She brought the body to *Butus* and hid it; but *Typhon*, one night hunting by moonlight, fell on it, and tore it into fourteen pieces, which he scattered abroad. *Isis* then traversed the lakes and watery places in a boat made of the *Papyrus*, seeking after the limbs of *Osiris*. Whence it was held, that those who went on the water in boats made of that wood were in no danger from crocodiles, who either revered or dreaded the goddess. In whatever place she found a limb, she there buried it; for which reason there were many tombs ascribed to *Osiris*: but others said, she made several counterfeits of his body, and presented them to as many cities, pretending to each that they had the original, and so established the worship of him

[k] See before, p. 463.

in many places, and made it difficult for *Typhon*, to find out the right monument, in case he should ever get the superiority, and continue in his implacable malice against *Osiris* [l]. This burial was also related after a third, and almost quite different, manner. For the author, from whom we took the first account of his death, reports that *Isis* got together the twenty six pieces of his mangled carcass, joined them, and embalmed them; and afterwards prevailed on the *Egyptian* priests to consent to, and promote his deification, in consideration of a third part of *Egypt* which she gave them, and they buried him at *Memphis*. But the place of his burial was a matter of great dispute and controversy; though some produced the following inscription in sacred characters, which they said was on a pillar in *Arabia*.

> SATURN, *the youngest of all the gods, was my father. I am* Osiris, *that king who led an army as far as the deserts of* India, *and from thence northward as far as the springs of the river* Ister, *and thence quite to the ocean. I am the eldest son of* Saturn, *sprung from a noble stock, and of generous blood; cousin to the day. Nor is there a place where I have not been, I, who freely dispensed my benefits to all mankind.*

ISIS, after the most diligent search, could never recover the privities of *Osiris*, which being thrown into the river, were devoured by the *lepidotus*, the *squameus*, the *phagrus*, and the *oxyrynchus*, which four sorts of fish the *Egyptians* hated upon that account: but she made ample amends for this irreparable loss by instituting a kind of separate worship, which was devoutly, and universally paid to the image of that part afterwards.

THERE were various reports concerning the actions of *Isis* and *Orus* after the death of *Osiris*, as also relating to *Typhon*. And first it was affirmed, that they overcame him in battle, and slew him [m]. *Secondly*, he was said to have been thunderstruck by *Jupiter*, and plunged under the lake *Sirbon* [n] (S), where

[l] PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 357, 358. [m] DIOD. SIC. ubi supra, p. 79. [n] APOLLON. RHOD. Argo. lib. II.

(S) According to *Diodorus Siculus* the lake, or bog *Sirbon*, *Serbonis*, or *Selbonis*, under mount *Casius*, was two hundred furlongs in length, very narrow, but very deep. Many, mistaken in their road, nay, whole armies, misguided in their march, have been swallowed up

where being ſuppoſed to lie ſubmerſed, it was thence called *Typhon's exhalations* [o]. And thirdly it was aſſerted, that *Oſiris*, aſcending from the infernal regions, inſtructed *Orus*, and prepared him to war with *Typhon*; and that after a battle, which continued ſeveral days, this laſt was made priſoner. But *Iſis*, reſtoring him to his liberty, ſo enraged *Orus*, that he tore off the royal attire from her head, when *Mercury* being preſent, clapped her on a helmet made of an ox's head inſtead thereof. *Typhon* after this renewed the war twice, and was both times vanquiſhed [p]; and being no longer able to withſtand, or make head againſt his enemies, concealed himſelf (as ſhould ſeem) under the above-mentioned lake *Sirbon* [q]. *Oſiris* moreover appeared to *Iſis*, and had a ſon by her, called *Harpocrates*, but he proved a weak and ricketty perſon. Here *Plutarch* breaks off, and, aſſuring us that his is the genuine ſtory, proceeds to explain away the whole into an allegory [r]. But ſeeing that *Diodorus* continues to the death of *Iſis* and *Orus*, we now turn to him. *Iſis*, having thus quelled her enemies, reigned with great prudence, juſtice, moderation, and beneficence. And becauſe of her great and conſtant affection towards *Oſiris*, which appeared in nothing more than in the vow ſhe made of widowhood, a law was enacted, which allowed of the marriage contract between brother and ſiſter: and from the ſame ſource ſprang the cuſtom of preferring the queen before the king, and the wife before the husband [s]. At laſt ſhe died, and was buried at *Memphis*, as the common opinion was; but this alſo was diſputed. And particularly thoſe who laid a ſtreſs upon the

[o] PLUTARCH. in vita Antonii, p. 916. [p] Idem Iſid. & Oſirid. ubi ſupra. [q] HERODOT. lib. 3. [r] PLUT. ubi ſupr. [s] See before, p. 443.

up in it. The ſhore all round it was heaps of ſand, which the winds blowing over the ſurface of the bog, the lower particles lighted thereon, and by degrees formed a looſe ſkin, or cruſt, over it; which, though weak, was ſufficient to deceive the eye of the wandering traveller, who no ſooner ſet foot upon it, than he felt it give way under him, and was irrecoverably loſt, and this even at the very brink of it. It was alſo called *Barathra*, or the profound gulphs (2) But it has from time to time decreaſed in extent; for *Pliny* ſpeaks of it as a ſmall place to what it had formerly been (3); and it is now thought to be quite choaked up, its place being no more to be found (4).

(2) Diodor. Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 26. (3) Plin. *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* 5. *c.* 13. (4) *Voyage de* P. Lucas, *tom.* III. *p.* 306.

above-

above-inserted inscription, affirmed, there was another pillar near to the former in *Arabia*, and that the following words in sacred characters were legible upon it.

> *I*, Isis, *am the queen of this country, and was tutored by* Mercury. *What I have ordained, no one may make void. I am the eldest daughter of* Saturn, *the youngest of the gods. I am the sister, and wife of king* Osiris. *I am she who first found corn for the use of man. I am the mother of king* Orus. *I am she who ariseth in the dog-star. The city of* Bubastus *was built in honour of me. Farewel! rejoice, O* Egypt, *my nursing mother---!* This was all, said they, that was to be distinguished of this inscription [t].

She had a most stately temple erected to her at the city of *Busiris*, situate near the middle of the *Delta* [u], some remains of which are thought to be still standing (T).

There

[t] Diodor. Sic. ubi supra. [u] Herodot. lib. 2.

(T) Take the Description and account of these ruins in the author's own words: "I here saw the remains of one of the finest, "vastest, and most antient temples of *Egypt*. All the stones are of "enormous length and thickness, and all of granate. They are, "for the most part, adorned with sculptures in *Relievo*, which re-"present men and women, and all sorts of hieroglyphics. Many "of these stones bear the image of a man standing upright, with a "long peeked cap on his head, and holding a goblet, or bowl, in "each hand, which he presents to three or four young women, "which stand also upright, one behind another. These young "women have each of them a javelin in one hand, and a staff, "shorter than the javelin, in the other; and on each of their "heads is a ball between two long taper horns. Others of these "stones are embellished with hieroglyphical representations of "birds, fishes, and terrestrial animals. A lofty and very substan-"tial pillar of fine granate, having each of the four faces of its up-"per part wrought with four angular flutings, or notches, seems to "have been erected to support the arcades and vaults of this sump-"tuous edifice. On each face of this pillar there is also carved the "head of a woman bigger than the life. These sculptures have not "been in the least injured by time, nor by the sun, nor by the "*Arabs*. . . . It seems to be more than probable, that this temple, "whose remains I have here described, was the very temple of the "goddess *Isis*, and that the city of *Busiris*, mentioned by *Herodo-*"*tus*, is now the very town of *Babâbeit*, situated in the middle "of the *Delta*, near *Sebennytus*, or *Sammanûd*. My opinion is the

"more

THERE is nothing ſaid of *Orus* any farther than that he was the laſt of the gods and demi-gods [x]; and therefore we here conclude this fabulous, or myſterious, ſection.

[x] Idem, ibid.

" more rational, in that throughout all the iſland it was never " heard, nor known, that any monument of marble, or ſtone, ei- " ther little or big, was ever found there, that could ſuit with any " other deity than the goddeſs *Iſis*. . . . Theſe ruins which are " near to *Babâbeit* are about 1000 paces in circumference. They " are about a league from the *Nile*, about two or three leagues " from *Sammanûd*, and about twenty five or thirty leagues north " of *Kâbira*. There is neither brick, nor plaiſter, nor mortar, nor " common ſtone amongſt theſe reliques; there is nothing to be " ſeen but great blocks of granate (5).

(5) *Nouv. Mem. des Miſſion de la Comp. de Jeſ. dans le Levant, Tome* II. *p.* 117. *& ſeq.*

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The End of the Firſt Volume.

A N

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. II.

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THE

AN

Univerſal Hiſtory.

FROM THE

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BOOK I.

The ASIATIC *Hiſtory to the Time of* ALEXANDER the Great.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of Egypt *to the time of* Alexander *the Great.*

SECT. V.

The reigns of the kings of Egypt.

MENES, or *Menas*, is univerſally agreed to have been the firſt man that reigned over *Egypt* (A). In his time the whole country, except *Thebaïs*, was a moraſs; and no land appeared between the lake *Mœris* and the *Mediterranean* ſea, which was ſeven Days paſſage Menes, *or* Menas.

(A) It is on all hands agreed, that *Menes* was the firſt king of *Egypt*; but all are not of one mind concerning him in any other reſpect. And though we have reſolved to follow no particular hypotheſis in the arrangement of the *Egyptian* affairs, as thinking them all pretty dubious and exceptionable; yet we ſhall in the moſt ſummary way (ſo as to be conſiſtent with perſpicuity) entertain you, from time to time, with the diſcordant notions and conjectures of ſome of the moſt noted chronologers, that have laboured in the un-

passage on the river. He diverted the course of the *Nile*, which was wont to wash the feet of the sandy mountain towards

grateful work of settling the *Egyptian* antiquities. In conformity to what we now propose, we shall take notice, that, according to Sir *John Marsham*, this *Menes* was the *Cham*, or *Ham*, the son of *Noah* in scripture, the *Jupiter Hammon*, or *Ammon*, of the *Egyptians*, the *Thamus*, or *Adonis*, of the *Phœnicians*, the *Saturn* of *Sanchoniatho*, and the first that taught the *Egyptians* to fare sumptuously; which alone, as it is reported of him, were a sufficient inducement to think, that he could not have lived in the early and simple times which were immediately successive to the deluge. But we shall have no need to contradict him, seeing that will be done presently by one of no mean fame, who wrote professedly with that intent. in a word, he lays it down, that he was king of all *Egypt*, and the father of the *Egyptian* god *Mercury*, or *Athothes* (1).

It will now be worth while to hear what *Perizonius* has to object in answer to this gentleman. He says, that the first that reigned in *Egypt* were the *Mestræi*, or *Semigods*. Then comes *Menes*, whom he denies to have been either *Ham* or *Mizraïm*, or that *Hammon* is properly the same with the *Egyptian Jupiter*, or that *Menes* was the father of the *Egyptian Mercury*. We will now give you an argument of his in proof of these several heads separately, and then conclude with his conjectures concerning the age and family of *Menes*, and of this remote period of the *Egyptian* affairs. 1. *Menes* succeeded the *Mestræi*: this he proves by very ample testimony, and then observes, that he could not be the founder of their race, but their successor; and since it is said, that he first taught the *Egyptians* to feed deliciously and to adorn their beds, it must follow, that there had been *Egyptians* before his time, who were used to a coarser and more simple way of living. 2. For the same reason it is very improbable, that he was either *Ham* or *Mizraïm*. 3. *Hammon* is not properly the *Egyptian Jupiter*; for that *Ham*, or *Hammon*, was, by the *Greeks*, in after-times dignified with the name of *Jupiter*, was owing to their being so solicitous after foreign gods, to whose original or proper name they prefixed that of *Jupiter*; so *Jupiter Belus*, *Jupiter Hammon*, *Jupiter Casius*, and many more; wherefore this had no affinity with the antient *Egyptian* genealogy, which knew nothing of the *Grecian Jupiter*. In a word, he thinks, he was stiled *Dionius*, or *sprung from Jupiter*, by *Eratosthenes*, because he was the first that reigned after the *Mestræi*, or *Semigods*, as is related by the same author. It is his opinion, that *Menes* lived somewhat about the days of *Abraham*, but does not lay it down for certain; and though *Eratosthenes* calls him the father of *Athothes*, or *Mercury*, he can by no means admit it (2).

(1) *Vid.* Marsh. *Can. Chron.* *Temp. Antiquissimorum Invest.*

(2) Perizon. *Ægypt. Orig.* &

Father

wards *Libya*, and built the city of *Memphis* within the antient bed of the river. On the north and weſt ſide of it, without the walls, he made a lake, both which were fed by the *Nile*, which flowed along on the eaſt ſide of the town: and in the city itſelf he built the ſtately and famous temple of *Vulcan* [a]. He was the firſt that inſtructed the *Egyptians* in religious matters, that introduced domeſtic magnificence and luxury, and that inſtituted the pomp of feaſts; on which account his memory was loaded with the execrations of one of his ſucceſſors, as will be obſerved hereafter [b].

AFTER this *Herodotus* declares, that the *Egyptians* produced a catalogue of 130 kings, extending from *Menes* to

[a] HERODOT. lib. 11. [b] DIOD. SIC. lib. 1. p. 42.

Father *Pezron*, who wrote before *Perizonius*, brings the reign of *Menes* much later down than the days of *Ham*, or *Mizraïm*. According to his hypotheſis *Menes* began to reign 2904 years after the creation, and 648 after the flood. This he endeavours by all means to prove, and ſeems to be pretty confident that he is in the right: but it would be endleſs to enter into the arguments of the chronologers we ſhall from time to time reſort to, and we ſhall avoid it as much as poſſible, except when their reaſoning is very clear and important, or their notions very ſingular (3)

We will now conſult the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*. As this chronologer is of opinion, that *Seſoſtris* was *Oſiris*, he places *Menes* after him, and in conſequence thereof, and for other cogent reaſons, he tranſpoſes the ſeries of the kings of *Egypt* mentioned by *Herodotus* after this manner; *Seſoſtris*, *Pheron*, *Proteus*, *Menes*, *Rhampſinitus*, *Mœris*, *Cheops*, *Chephren*, *Mycerinus*, *Nitocris*, and the reſt in the ſame order as they ſtand in *Herodotus*. He ſuppoſes *Menes* to be the ſame with *Amenophis* and *Memnon*, and that by corruption he was called *Menes*, *Mines*, *Minæus*, *Mixies*, *Mineuis*, *Enephes*, *Venephes*, *Phamenophis*, *Oſymanthyas* [*Oſymandyas*] *Oſimandes*, *Iſmandes*, *Imandes*, *Memnon*, *Arminon*. According to his hypotheſis *Menes* is about 300 years older than *Pſammitichus*. He holds it irrational to ſuppoſe, that there was any king of all *Egypt*, till after the expulſion of the *Shepherds*; and obſerves, that the miracles of *Memphis* were not ſpoken of, or known in *Greece* till ſome ages after the *Trojan* War; for *Homer* celebrates *Thebes* as the glory of its days, and makes no mention of *Memphis*; which, and the temple of *Vulcan*, that ſtood in the midſt of it, he grants to have been built by *Menes*. In a word, this hypotheſis reduces the antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, of which *Menes* was the firſt king, much lower than any other (4).

(3) Pezron. *Antiq. des temps retab. & defend.* (4) *Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chron. of the antient kingdoms amended, p.* 354.

Mœris, who was the laſt of the number; and that there was nothing worth notice recorded of any of them, except one *Ethiopian* woman called *Nitocris*. On the other hand *Diodorus* writes, that *Menes*'s family enjoyed the throne to the fifty ſecond deſcent, and that their ſeveral reigns took up a ſpace of 1400 years. Since therefore there is ſo vaſt a chaſm in both of them, we think, we may ſafely venture to fill it up in part with what we find concerning the ſhepherds who ruled over *Egypt*; and the rather, becauſe this whole tranſaction ſeems to belong to ſome very remote period of the *Egyptian* hiſtory.

The irruption of the Paſtors *or* Shepherds

It happened in the reign of *Timaus* king of *Egypt*, that God being diſpleaſed with the *Egyptians*, they ſuffered a great revolution; for a multitude of men, ignoble in their race, took courage, and pouring from the *Eaſt* into *Egypt*, made war with the inhabitants, who ſubmitted to them without trying the event of a battle. Having reduced the princes, they inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and behaved in the moſt cruel and inſulting manner over the antient inhabitants, putting them to death, and carrying away their wives and children into captivity. At length they made one of their own number king, whoſe name was *Salatis*. He uſually reſided at *Memphis*, and leaving garriſons in the moſt proper places, kept both the upper and lower region under tribute. But particularly he fortified the eaſtern parts, fearing an invaſion of the *Aſſyrians*, who were at that time moſt powerful. Finding therefore a convenient city in the *Saïtic* nome, which was ſeated on the eaſtern banks of the river *Bubaſtis*, and which was called *Abaris* in the antient theology, he rebuilt it, and ſurrounded it with a very ſtrong wall, and kept a garriſon of 24,000 ſoldiers therein. It was his cuſtom, about the time of harveſt, to come hither to gather in his corn, and to pay and exerciſe his ſoldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for action, and be a conſtant terror to any who ſhould attempt an invaſion. *Salatis* died, and was ſucceeded by 5 others [c], who did their utmoſt, as well as their predeceſſor, to root out the whole nation of the native *Egyptians* [d]. This people was called *Hycſos*, or *King Shepherds* (B), *hyc*, in the ſacred dialect, ſignifying a *king*,

They ſet up Salatis *for their king.*

[c] See before, Vol. I. p. 496. [d] Manetho apud Joſ. contra Apion, l. 1. p. 1039.

(B) We will barely tranſcribe the opinions of the above-cited chronologers as to the time of this irruption, as it is repreſented, of

king, and *ſos*, in the common dialect, ſignifying a *paſtor*, or *ſhepherd*; and of theſe two came the compound *Hycſos*. Some would have it, that theſe people were *Arabians*. They held *Egypt* 511 years. This is all the genuine account we have of the irruption of the ſhepherds, their expulſion may occur hereafter.

WE now return to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; and this laſt making mention of ſeveral princes between *Menes* and *Myris*, let us hear what he ſays concerning them.

BUSIRIS (C) in proceſs of time became king, and was ſucceeded by 8 princes of his line, the laſt of which was called alſo *Buſiris*, and was the founder of the city of *Thebes*, which he made the capital of the kingdom [e]. Buſiris I. *and* II.

OSYMANDYAS (D) appears next. It is uncertain whom, or when, he ſucceeded. The *Bactrians* revolting from him, Oſymandyas.

he

[e] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

of the *Shepherds* into *Egypt*. Sir *John Marſham* places it 157 Years before the *Exodus* of the children of *Iſrael* (1). *Perizonius* drawing a very circumſtantial parallel between what is recorded of the *Shepherds* by *Manetho*, and what is ſaid of the obſcurity of the *Iſraelites*, the power and dignity of *Joſeph*, and the miraculous works of *Moſes*, which almoſt utterly deſtroyed the country; upon the cloſe, pronounces the *Shepherds* ſo heinouſly ſpoken of, to have been the *Iſraelites* themſelves (2). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes the *Paſtors* to have been the *Canaanites* which fled from *Joſhua* and went into *Afric*, but in their flight ſeized on the kingdom of the *Lower Egypt* in the reign of *Timaus*, whom the ſame author calls *Thamus*, or *Thammuz* (3). *Greaves*, after a parallel drawn by him between the hiſtory of the *Shepherds* and of the *Iſraelites*, which ſeems as natural and as plauſible as that of *Perizonius*, will by no means allow them to have been the ſame (4).

(C) Sir *John Marſham* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* think, that no ſuch king ever reigned, and that what is ſaid concerning his cruelty is merely fabulous (5). *Perizonius*, on the contrary, that there was ſuch a king of *Egypt*, but who was not ſo antient as *Diodorus* makes him; taxing that hiſtorian with too great indulgence towards the *Egyptian* vanity (6).

(D) If we rely on Sir *John Marſham*, we ſhould call *Oſymandyas* *Amenophis*, and *Memnon*; as alſo *Imandes*, *Iſmandes*, and *Oſimandes*: this perhaps, ſays he, derived from *Oſiris*, and that from *Iſis*. What ſeems to be his chief argument in ſupport of this opinion,

(1) *Vid.* Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (2) Perizon. *ubi ſupr.* (3) Sir Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.* (4) Greaves's *Pyramid. p.* 21, 22. (5) Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (6) Perizon. *ubi ſupr.*

he reduced them, as is ſaid, with an army conſiſting of
His tomb. 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe. Of all the antient monuments of the kings, for which the city of *Thebes* was ſo renowned, his was of the greateſt note. It conſiſted of vaſt courts, porticos, ſhrines, temples, a library, his own tomb, and other buildings. The firſt court, which was of various kinds of ſtone, was 200 foot in extent, and 45 foot high. Next to this was a ſquare portico, each of whoſe ſides was 400 foot long; and, inſtead of pillars, ſupported by repreſentations of animals 15 cubits high, all of one ſtone, and adorned with figures after the antient manner. The cieling was blue, and beſpangled with ſtars. From this portico they went into a ſecond court, in all reſpects like the firſt, except that it was more enriched with various ſculptures. In the entrance thereof were three ſtatues, all of one ſtone, the workmanſhip of *Memnon* the *Syenite*: one of them was in a ſitting poſture, and the largeſt in all *Egypt*, the length of its foot exceeding 7 cubits. This was his own ſtatue; the other two, which ſtood one at each knee, repreſented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece was not ſo admirable for the exquiſite art of the carver, as for the beauty of the ſtone, which was free from the leaſt flaw or blemiſh. It had this inſcription; *I am* Oſymandyas, *king of kings: he that would know my grandeur, or where I lie, let him ſurpaſs me in any of my works.* Here was alſo another ſtatue of his mother, ſtanding by herſelf, of 20 cubits high, and cut out of one ſtone: ſhe had three queens on her head, ſignifying that ſhe had been the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. This court led to a ſecond portico or piazza, far exceeding the firſt. On the

is, that in the deſcription of the city they pretend he beſieged, it is ſaid to have been ſurrounded by a river, which he will have to have been the river *Eulæus*, and the city itſelf *Suſa*; for *Pliny* ſays, that river ſurrounded the fortreſs of the *Suſiaks*, and obſerves, that *Suſa* was commonly called, by the *Greeks*, *Memnonia*. He obſerves moreover, that *Memnon*'s expedition into *Aſia*, was more celebrated by the *Greeks* than that of *Seſoſtris*, which he attributes to the poets who ſprang firſt up in, or near, his time: and concludes, that he dwelt ſome time in *Suſa*. All this, according to his cuſtom, he endeavours to prove from antient teſtimony (7).

Perizonius uſes much argument upon this king's reign, and who he was; but comes to no poſitive deciſion, and ſcarce offers a conjecture, ſo dark this period appears to him (8). We have already told you, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* takes *Oſymandyas* and *Menes* to be the ſame.

(7) *Vid.* Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (8) Periz. *ubi ſupr.*

firſt

firſt wall of this the king was repreſented with his army beſieging a town encompaſſed by a river, and fighting in the front of the battle accompanied by a lion: concerning which, ſome ſaid he always fought with a tame lion at his ſide; and others, that the figure of that beaſt was purely emblematical of his extraordinary courage. On the ſecond wall were the captives, with their hands and privities lopped off, to expreſs their cowardice. On the third were all ſorts of ſculptures and paintings, which repreſented his ſacrifices and triumph. In the middle of this piazza was an altar in the open air, built of the moſt ſhining marble, of excellent workmanſhip, and wonderful proportion. On the fourth ſide, or wall, were two gigantic ſtatues, all of one ſtone, in a ſitting poſture, and 27 cubits high. Near unto theſe were three paſſages which gave admiſſion into a great hall, ſupported by columns, after the manner of a muſic theatre, and 200 feet ſquare. In this place were many wooden ſtatues, repreſenting parties engaged in law, and the judges hearing the cauſes. Theſe laſt, to the number of thirty, were carved on one ſide, with their preſident in the midſt of them, at whoſe neck hung an image with its eyes ſhut to repreſent truth, and with many books about him. By this they choſe to ſignify, that judges ought to be proof againſt bribery, and reſpect nothing but truth and equity. From hence they went into a gallery, or walk, in which were apartments ſtored with the moſt delicious eatables. Here the king was moſt curiouſly wrought, and painted with the moſt lively colours, as preſenting to GOD the gold and ſilver annually dug out of the mines in *Egypt*, the amount whereof was 3,200,000,000 minas, or 96,000,000 of pounds ſterling. Next was the ſacred library with this inſcription; *The diſpenſary of the mind.* Contiguous thereunto were the images of all the *Egyptian* gods, with the king paying the offerings due and peculiar to each of them; that *Oſiris*, and the reſt of the deities placed beneath him, might know that he had paſſed his life with piety towards the gods, and with juſtice towards men. Next to the library was an edifice of curious architecture, wherein were twenty couches to feaſt on, and the ſtatues of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the king; who was thought to be here intombed. Around this were ſeveral pavilions, in which moſt curious pictures of the conſecrated animals were ſeen. From hence was the aſcent to the ſepulchre, which being ſurmounted, you ſaw a ring, or circle of gold 365 cubits in circumference and one in thickneſs, ſurrounding the monument. This ring was divided by the days of the year, and ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and their ſignifications or portents, according to the *Egyptian* aſtrology.

This circular border was carried away by *Cambyſes* the *Perſian*. Such was the tomb of *Oſymandyas*, whoſe deſcendants reigned after him to the eighth generation. The laſt of them was called *Uchoreus* f.

Uchoreus. The building and fortifying of *Memphis*, which have already been aſcribed to *Menes*, are attributed to this Uchoreus (E) alſo. He is ſaid to have given that city a circuit of 150 *ſtadia*, or near 20 miles, and by mounds and trenches to have ſecured it from the inſults either of the *Nile*, or of the invader. He adorned it with palaces, which, though they ſurpaſſed thoſe in any other country, yet fell ſhort of what had been done in that way by his predeceſſors. For the inhabitants held this tranſitory life in no eſtimation, if compared with the joys the virtuous were to poſſeſs hereafter; and were proportionably leſs ſplendid in the lodgings they prepared for the former, than in the repoſitories they founded for the latter. This king tranſlated the imperial ſeat from *Thebes* to *Memphis* g.

Saſychis. After him, uncertain when, reigned Sasychis, the ſecond *Egyptian* legiſlator.

Nitocris. We have now brought *Diodorus* down to *Myris*; and that we may do the ſame with *Herodotus*, we muſt relate what he has recorded concerning Nitocris (F). She ſucceeded her brother, an *Ethiopian*, whom the *Egyptians* murdered, but afterwards conferred the ſucceſſion on her. She, meditating revenge for her brother's untimely end, put many of the *Egyptians* to death privately and by ſtratagem; and is particularly ſaid to have contrived a ſubterraneous building, whither ſhe invited the principal actors againſt her brother to partake of a

f Diodor. l. 1. p. 44. g Idem ubi ſupr. p. 46.

(E) The laſt mentioned chronologer thinks the works of *Uchoreus* and *Mæris* ſavour of the ſame genius, and therefore would willingly think them one and the ſame perſon (1).

(F) Her name ſignifies *Minerva victrix*. Sir *John Marſham* places her ſoon after the *Iſraelites* came into *Egypt*. He thinks *Joſephus* means her by the name of Nic-aule, *queen of* Egypt *and* Æthiopia; but that he is miſtaken in alledging that the *Nitocris* of *Herodotus* was ſhe who viſited *Solomon*. According to this chronologer ſhe was queen of *This*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*; and much older than the *Babylonian Nitocris* (2). Father *Pezron* writes much to the ſame purpoſe (3). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes her the ſiſter and ſucceſſor of *Mycerinus* (4).

(1) *Vid. Sir* Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.* (2) Marſh. *ubi ſupr.*
(3) Pezron. *ubi ſupr.* (4) *Sir* Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.*

feaſt,

feaſt, and in the midſt of their mirth turned the river upon them by a private paſſage, and drowned them all. Then to ſcreen herſelf from the rage of the people, ſhe took refuge in a place well fortified with aſhes [h]. She was of a fair complexion, her hair was yellow, her perſon beautiful; but it appears, that though her mind was great, as is ſaid, ſhe was not a little inclined to cruelty. She is reported to have built the third great pyramid [i].

AFTER twelve generations MOERIS, or MYRIS (G) came to the throne. This was he who dug the famous lake which bore his name, and erected the two pyramids which ſtood in the midſt of it [k]: he alſo built a ſumptuous portico on the north ſide of *Vulcan*'s temple at *Memphis* [l]. According to *Herodotus* he was the 330th king from *Menes*, and the immediate predeceſſor to *Seſoſtris*.

SESOSTRIS, *Seſooſtris*, *Seſooſis*, *Seſonchis*, *Seſonchoſis*, *Sethoſis*, and ſeveral other appellations are by (H) ſome held to belong Seſoſtris,

[h] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [i] SYNCELL. p. 58. See before, Vol. I. p. 494. [k] See before, Vol. I. p. 427. [l] Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi ſupr p. 47.

(G) He recovered *Memphis* from the *Paſtors* ſays *Marſham* (5) *Perizonius* fixes upon nothing concerning him. *Mæris* was alſo called *Maris*, *Myris*, *Meres*, *Marres*, *Smarres*, and more corruptly, by changing *M* into *A*, *T*, *B*, Σ, ΥΧ, Λ, *&c. Ayres*, *Tyris*, *Byires*, *Soris*, *Uchoreus*, *Labaris*; ſo ſays Sir *Iſaac Newton* (6).

(H) Sir *John Marſham* allows him to have been called by theſe ſeveral appellations, and others beſides, which we may perhaps have occaſion to mention by and by. He is clearly of opinion, that the *Seſoſtris* of the prophane hiſtorians is the *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* of the ſacred: he takes notice, that the more antient kings of *Egypt*, with whom the patriarchs and *Iſraelites* were formerly concerned, are always ſtiled *Pharaoh*; whereas *Shiſhak* is the firſt *Egyptian* king in ſcripture called by his proper name; except *Rameſes* be rather the name of a king than a country. This famous chronologer thinks, that when *Seſoſtris*, or *Shiſhak* as he terms him, ſat out to invade *Aſia*, he could not well avoid falling upon *Judæa*, and accordingly took the capital thereof *Jeruſalem*, which he ſtripped of its riches, and reduced *Rehoboam* the king to ſerve him; for there is expreſs mention made in the LXX and vulgate verſions, that he was followed by multitudes of *Libyans*, *Troglodytes*, and *Ethiopians*, nations whom, according to prophane accounts, he had previouſly conquered. He then lays a ſtreſs upon *Joſephus*, who ſays, *That* Herodotus *through miſtake aſcribed the actions of* Seſac *to* Seſoſtris:

(5) Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (6) Sir Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.*

and

belong to one man, whoſe reign is eſteemed the moſt extraordinary

and again; *That* Herodotus *was only miſtaken in the king's name.* This does not ſeem to us ſo concluſive as it might appear to this gentleman; for we do not ſee how from thence it muſt naturally follow that *Seſoſtris* and *Shiſhak* are the ſame perſon. Let us, for example, ſuppoſe, that a foreign hiſtorian ſhould through miſtake aſcribe the great actions of our fifth *Henry* to our king *Stephen*; it would not thence be allowed that he meant king *Henry*, but it would be apparently putting back thoſe great actions a great length of time before they were undertaken, or perhaps even thought of. However this gentleman holds, that ſince *Herodotus* and *Joſephus* agree as to fact, there is no great matter in the difference of the names they uſe; and becauſe *Herodotus* profeſſes to have ſeen ſome of *Seſoſtris*'s ignominious pillars in the *Syrian Paleſtine*; and becauſe it is ſaid by the ſcripture and *Joſephus*, that *Rehoboam* gave up the city without the leaſt reſiſtance, he ſeems to be perfectly of opinion that *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* ſat them up upon that very account. We ſhall here leave him with this general obſervation, that to what is related concerning *Seſoſtris* by the prophane authors, which he grants, he adds what the ſcripture ſays of the reduction of *Judæa* by *Shiſhak*; and holds that his monarchy did not expire with himſelf (8).

Let us now ſee what *Perizonius* has to offer in contradiction to this; for we have already obſerved, that he makes it his chief buſineſs to confute the foregoing chronologer. He then lays it down with great poſitiveneſs, that *Seſac* and *Seſoſtris* are kings widely different and remote from each other. How he proves this, we ſhall give in the briefeſt and cleareſt order we are able.

1. He handles the expreſſions above cited from *Joſephus*: and after proving that ſeveral of the learned, as well as Sir *John Marſham*, have taken them wrong, he proceeds. *Firſt*, he inſiſts that, by the common conſent of the *Greeks*, *Seſoſtris* was much older than the *Trojan* war. So ſays *Herodotus*; and the ſame is reported by *Diodorus*, only with this difference, that he makes a much greater ſpace between this king and that war than *Herodotus* does. This alſo is evidently confirmed by *Strabo* (9); and by *Ariſtotle* (10), who places him before *Minos* the *Cretan* lawgiver: as alſo by the writers of the *Argonautic* expedition, the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* (11); by *Arrianus* (12), who makes him contemporary to *Tandaſis* the *Scythian*; by *Jornandes* (13), who ſays he flouriſhed before the *Amazons*; and laſtly, by *Juſtin* and *Ælian* (14); the former declaring, the *Seſoſtris* lived before the days of *Ninus*, and the latter, that he was inſtructed by *Mercury*, and ſo makes him equal to the *Egyptian Mercury*, who muſt certainly have been more antient than the time

(8) *Vid.* Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (9) *Vid. l.* i. *p* 38. & *l.* xvii. *p.* 824. (10) *Vid. Politic.* vii. 10. (11) *L.* 4. *v.* 272. (12) *Apud Photium cod* 53 (13) *Geticis c.* 6. (14) *L.* 1. *c.* 1. *Var. Hiſt. l.* 12. 4.

of

dinary part of the *Egyptian* hiſtory. He is repreſented as potent

of *Reboboam*. After theſe citations, he blames Sir *John Marſham* for making ſlight of ſuch abundant teſtimony, and for pronouncing the whole a miſtake which aroſe from the ignorance of the *Greeks*, and then proceeds. But could the *Greeks* be ſtrangers to the age of *Seſoſtris*, if he lived ſo late? it is certain, there was no very great interval between *Homer* and *Reboboam*: and who can conceive, that he who was born in *Aſia Minor*, and ſpent the greateſt part of his days there, or in the adjacent iſles, and who as *Marſham* allows, lived after the days of *Seſoſtris*; who, ſays he, can account for his not making mention of *Seſoſtris* in any of his poems, as he did of *Memnon*, who muſt have followed this conqueror very near? *Memnon* was celebrated, ſays *Marſham*, becauſe he lived nearer to the poetical times; but *Perizonius* will have it, that *Homer* wrote ſoon after the death of *Reboboam*, and therefore muſt have followed him near enough to have had perfect information and freſh records of the deeds of *Seſoſtris*: beſides *Aſia Minor* at that time was all *Greek*, by the *Æolic* and *Ionic* colonies which were tranſplanted thither ſomewhat before the reign of *Reboboam*; and the inhabitants muſt have principally been *Greeks* when *Seſoſtris* invaded *Aſia Minor*, if *Marſham* be right. What is here ſaid of the *Aſiatic Greeks*, is to clear the way for a further confutation of *Marſham*, who obſerves, that *if* Seſoſtris *had extended the war into* Greece, *we ſhould have had clearer lights concerning him, nor would he have been involved ſo much in obſcurity*; *ſeeing that the* Athenians, Lacedemonians *and* Corinthians *had begun to preſerve the memory of things*; continuing, that *the* Greeks *were not at this time very regardful of foreign tranſactions, were unſkilful in letters, and that* Homer *was not yet born, who preceded any* Greek *hiſtoriographer very much*: and from hence concludes, that *we ought not to wonder that the* Egyptian *affairs are almoſt buried in ignorance.* To this it is anſwered, that the *Aſiatic Greeks* were more likely to tranſmit the hiſtory of *Seſoſtris* down to poſterity, as being ſuperior and ſenior in learning to the *European*; that if they did not immediately keep written records, they undoubtedly preſerved very faithful traditions of paſt occurrences, which they propagated from one generation to another, and particularly in the caſe of *Seſoſtris*, the monuments of whoſe conqueſts they had before their eyes; and if his monarchy deſcended to his ſucceſſors, as *Marſham* thinks it did to the firſt olympiad; and if *Homer* was not yet born, it is certain, that he muſt have been born ſoon after, and whilſt the fame and power of this monarchy muſt have ſubſiſted. In a word, *Perizonius* prefers the *Aſiatic* before the *European Greeks*, as to what concerns the remembrance of antient matters; and proves, that the latter received the greateſt part of the arts and ſciences, nay, of their alphabet, from the former; obſerving, that if not all, yet moſt of the antienteſt *Greek* writers were *Aſiatics*. He continues; Now if *Seſoſtris* invaded *Aſia Minor*, after the *Grecian* ſettlement there, the *Aſiatic Greeks*, who firſt of all delivered down the memory

tent at land, and on sea, wise, just, generous, valorous, magnificent,

mory of things both in prose and verse, must certainly have known something of this celebrated expedition, either from the writings or the traditions of their forefathers, and have given as just and accurate an account thereof as the *European Greeks* could have given. But nothing of this appears; for *Herodotus*, the most antient of the *Greek* historians we have, professes to have received the whole story of *Sesostris* from the *Egyptian* priests. He thinks moreover, that supposing *Marsham* to be in the right, the *European Greeks* must have had sufficient knowledge of *Sesostris*, seeing he carried on the war into *Thrace*, and that *Lycurgus*, within an hundred years afterwards, must have travelled into *Asia*, whence he brought over with him the works of *Homer*. He certainly would have also brought some account with him of so great a victory from the *Asiatic Greeks*, if it had been obtained only seventy years, or thereabouts, before.

2. But, says he, the *Greeks* alone did not put *Sesostris* many ages more backward than *Sesac*; the *Egyptians* did it also. *Manetho* expressly says, that *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* were only different names for *Sethosis*, [*Sesostris*] and his brother *Armaïs*: now *Danaus* came into *Greece*, as is said, three ages before the *Trojan* war; and he could borrow this from no *Greek* author at least that is extant; and therefore, that *Sesostris* and *Armaïs* were *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, seems to have been the opinion of the *Egyptians*, or at least of *Manetho*, who could not have borrowed this from the *Grecian* mythology.

3. The sacred history does not favour the opinion of *Sesostris*'s being *Sesac*: for by the prophane account *Sesostris*, in a continued expedition of nine years, ran over all *Asia*: but the scripture mentions no farther of *Sesac*, than that he spoiled the temple and the city, and returned back (14). *Josephus* says expressly, that he returned into his own country.

4. What *Marsham* says of the duration of *Sesostris*'s monarchy, as that it reached down to *Amaziah* and *Uzziah* kings of *Judah*, and down to the beginning of the first olympiad; by the scripture it appears, that the kings of *Judah* after *Rehoboam*, never served any foreign power, or paid any tribute, till the *Assyrians* came upon them. So that if *Sesostris* and *Shishak* be the same as *Marsham* would have them, it does not appear, that the *Egyptian* monarchy was of any duration; so that here he is also mistaken. So far we have given you the substance of *Perizonius* against *Marsham*. We will now insert his opinion as to the times when this conqueror lived:

And concerning this he speaks with great uncertainty and caution; but however, we will in brief give a general idea of his manner, of investigating this (as he thinks) dark period. He begins thus; *Herodotus* declares, that king *Mœris* had not been dead quite 900 years when he was in *Egypt*. Now the same historian makes *Se-*

(14) *L.* 1. *c.* 1. *Var. Hist. l.* 12 4.

sostris

magnificent, but ambitious almoſt beyond compare. Both the

ſoſtris the immediate ſucceſſor of *Mœris*, and moreover ſays, that the *Trojan* war was about 800 years older than when he wrote, and that *Hercules* the ſon of *Alcmena* was about 900 years before himſelf. By this chronology *Seſoſtris* lived about an age or century before the *Trojan* war, and was coetaneous to the above-ſaid *Hercules*, or a little later. So it follows from this computation; but in fact he muſt have been older, if he be the ſame with *Ægyptus*, whoſe brother *Danaus* was the ſixth predeceſſor of *Perſeus*, who was the great-grand father of *Hercules*: and from hence he conjectures, that *Seſoſtris* may be fixed in the days of the *Judges*. After a pretty long diſcuſſion of the point, continues he, but it may be objected, that there is not the leaſt mention made of *Seſoſtris* and what he did in holy writ. To this he anſwers, that the *Iſraelites*, when *Seſoſtris* came into *Paleſtine* were under ſubjection to the various nations which inhabited the country; for that *Paleſtine* bent under the incurſion of *Seſoſtris*, appears plain from *Herodotus*, who there ſaw the ignominious pillars which he uſed to raiſe in countries where he met with no reſiſtance. And ſince the *Iſraelites* were not principals in this calamity, they might imagine it not primarily to concern them, but accidentally to have fallen upon them in common with their maſters, and therefore took no notice thereof, as thinking it could be no immediate part of their own hiſtory. Add to this, that *Seſoſtris* could make no long ſtay there, conſidering that they voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and that he had no leſs a conqueſt in his eye than all the eaſtern parts of the world, if not the whole habitable earth, which required diſpatch: and thence he takes occaſion to ſpeak in the words of *Juſtin*, that though *Seſoſtris* gloried in his conqueſts, he abſtained from empire; and made no change in the government of any country. Finally he ſuppoſes alſo, that *Seſoſtris* might have come into *Paleſtine* when *Iſrael* was under the *Moabites*; and owns, that it is no way important, whether or no *Danaus* was the brother of *Seſoſtris*; deems what *Manetho* ſays on that head, to be calculated to pleaſe the *Greeks*; and in a word concludes, that he has deſtroyd Sir *John Marſham*'s hypotheſis, by proving that *Menes* is not *Ham*, or *Mizraïm*; or *Seſoſtris Shiſhak* (15).

We will now in general terms inſert the opinion of *Pezron*. He teaches, that *Sethoſis* and *Seſoſtris* are one and the ſame perſon, and that he was the *Ægyptus* brother to *Danaus*; that he was a prince widely diſtant from *Seſonchis*, whom he will have to have been the ſame with *Shiſhak*; and that neither *Seſoncheris*, or *Seſonchoſis* was *Seſoſtris*, but diſtinct both from him and from each other. We forbear entering into his reaſons, and proceed to another learned man, who has no one notion in common with what has entered into the heads of theſe three celebrated chronologers (16).

(15) *Vid.* Perizon. *ubi ſupr.*

(16) *Vid.* Pezron Antiq. des Temps retab.

We

the *Greeks* and *Egyptians* who recorded his actions, whether in proſe

We mean Mr. *Whiſton*, who becauſe he is pretty ſingular in that he takes this king for the very *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*, and the very *Typhon* of the *Mythologiſts*, we will give you his own words. And firſt he premiſes this propoſition. Harmeſſes Mi-Amôun, or *Rameſtes* the Great, *the grandfather of* Seſoſtris, *was king of the* Lower Egypt *when* Moſes *was born*: Amenophis III. *his ſon was there king after him, during* Moſes's *youth*; *and* Seth-os, *or* Sethoſis, *or* Seſoſtris the Great, *the ſon of* Amenophis III. *was ſo during the reſt of the ſervitude of the children of* Iſrael *in* Egypt; *and was that very* Pharaoh *who periſhed in the* Red-ſea. He then offers thirteen reaſons or arguments in demonſtration of this propoſition; but paſſing over to the tenth of them, he there ſays, that "the "preſervation of *Moſes*, and his education by *Pharaoh*'s daugh-"ter (17), are very agreeable to what her brother, *Amenophis* III. "did about, or ſoon after the birth of *Moſes*; I mean, when he "called together, and educated with his ſon *Seſoſtris* no fewer than "1700 boys (18), or all the male children that were born in "*Egypt* the ſame day with him: which might well be in imitation "of *Thermutis* [the daughter of this *Pharaoh*, who was otherwiſe "called *Harmeſſes Mi-Amôun*, or *Rameſtes the Great*] when ſhe "drew *Moſes* out of the river, and educated him for her own "ſon (19). And, by the way, if this *Thermutis* were but as ſaga-"cious and learned as her great niece *Athirtes*, the daughter of "*Seſoſtris*, is deſcribed by *Diodorus* (20), we ſhall have no reaſon "to wonder at what St *Stephen* informs us, that Moſes *was learned* "*in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians, *and was mighty in words and* "*in deeds*, even before he received any particular commiſſion from "God for the delivery of his people out of *Egypt*. Nay indeed, "theſe laſt words concerning *Moſes*, that he was ſo early mighty "*in words and in deeds*, ſeem to me to confirm thoſe accounts we "have in *Artapanus* an heathen, and *Joſephus* the *Jew*, conſidering "*Moſes*'s wiſe and valiant conduct under the king of *Egypt*, when "he was young, againſt the *Ethiopians*; who attempted the con-"queſt of that country at that time. Which ſucceſſes of theſe "*Egyptians*, under the conduct of *Moſes*, might probably enough "encourage king *Seſoſtris* to undertake thoſe other vaſt expeditions, "which raiſed the *Egyptian* monarchy, and ſpread his empire over "almoſt all the then known world. Nor is it impoſſible to ſuppoſe, "that the *Ethiopic* war, which is known to have been undertaken "both at ſea and land by this *Seſoſtris*, might be when he was "young; and might be that very *Ethiopic* war which was managed "by *Moſes* under the king of *Egypt*, as mentioned by *Artapanus* "and *Joſephus*.

(17) Exod. ii. (18) Marſh. *p.* 353. (19) Exod. ii. 10. (20) Marſh. *p.* 354.

Mr.

proſe or verſe, differed widely from each other; but they could

Mr. *Whiſton*'s eleventh argument runs thus; "There are evident "remains of this *Seſoſtris*'s periſhing in or near the *Red ſea*, as did "this *Pharaoh* at the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*. *Diodorus* aſſures us, that "*Seſoſtris* at laſt became blind; and that he was voluntarily the oc- "caſion of his own death; and that he deſervedly obtained the "admiration of the prieſts and people of *Egypt* on account of that "his magnanimous death. But what ſort of voluntary and magna- "nimous death this was, it ſeems the *Egyptian* prieſts did not inform "him. But then, if we conſider that *Seſoſtris*'s real or *Egyptian* "name was *Seth-os*, or *Seth-oſis*; and that there was an antient "famous *Egyptian* king, whoſe fictitious name among the *Greeks* "was *Typhon*, *the Proud*; but his real or *Egyptian* name was no "other than *Seth*, as *Plutarch* himſelf, a great maſter of old "*Egyptian* learning, more than once aſſures us; that *Typho*'s own "city *Peluſium* was peculiarly the city of this *Seſoſtris*, whither he "firſt came when he returned from his famous eaſtern expedition; "and where he and his queen received a ſort of miraculous deli- "verance from the murderous deſigns of his brother *Armaïs*, and "was by the *Egyptians* called according to his own name *Seth-ron*; "and the *Nomos* thereto belonging, the *Seth roite Nomos*; we ſhall "find, that what the *Egyptians* could not, or would not directly "inform *Diodorus* of in the way of plain hiſtorical fact, and there- "by concealed the true manner of his death from foreigners; yet "did ſome of thoſe *Egyptians* preſerve the memory of it under an- "other form; and that this *Seth*, or *Seth os*, or *Seth-oſis*, or *Typho*, "came to the ſame end that the *Egyptian Pharaoh* did, and was "drowned in, or near to the ſame *Red-ſea*. For as they, in ſome "places at leaſt, long kept the memory of *Oſiris*, the uſual name "of any beloved king of *Egypt* that was murdered; as was *Iſis* the "uſual name of ſuch a king's wife, or queen; and *Typho* the uſual "name of ſuch a murderer; ſo was it here. *Oſiris* ſeems to have "been ſome beloved king that *Seſoſtris* had ſlain [perhaps his own "brother *Ramaſſes*], and himſelf ſeems thence to have had the hateful "name of *Typho* given him by the other's ſubjects. And certainly this "name *Typho*, or the *Proud*, was never applied more fitly than to "this *Seſoſtris*; who after his conqueſt uſed ſometimes to take "his horſes out of his chariot, and to harneſs a certain number of "his captive kings, and to be drawn in ſtate by them inſtead of "the other. And as to the death of this *Typho*, the *Egyptian* re- "cords are plain and direct, and aſſure us, that he was *ſtruck by a* "*thunderbolt*, *and his blood ran out at* Heroopolis, a city very near "the place where the *Iſraelites* entered the *Red-ſea*; the very "ſame, I ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* calls by its elder name *Baalzephon*; "that the ſame city was called *Blood*, or *the bloody city*, from that "*firſt ſhedding of the blood of* Typho *there*; and that he *lies* "*drowned under the waters of the lake* Sirbon, which is not far from "the *Red ſea*; and was antiently ſuppoſed to communicate there-

"with

could never differ more, nor ſure ſo much as our modern chronologers

" with under ground. The city alſo itſelf ſeems to me to have " had its later name *Heroopolis*, or *the city of Heroes* on this very " account, that near thereto the moſt potent *Egyptian* king, and " his mighty commanders, with their entire army, theſe great " heroes, became martyrs for the *Egyptian* idols, idolatry, and " tyranny, in oppoſition to the God of *Iſrael* and his people: " nor do I meet with any other in hiſtory for that appellation. " And very remarkable it is, how exactly all this agrees to the o- " ther more direct *Egyptian* account already ſet down; *viz.* That *Se-* " *ſoſtris*'s death was voluntary and magnanimous, and ſuch indeed " as was highly extolled both by the prieſts and people of *Egypt*. " And what *Paulinus* in *Auſonius* could mean, when, in the diſtinct " mention of two of the moſt illuſtrious kings of *Egypt*, *Necepſus* " and *Seſoſtris*, he ſays of the latter, *Et qui regnavit, ſine nomine* " *mox*, Seſooſtris; *That he who had been ſo great a king, was by* " *and by without a name*; unleſs he refer to ſome ſuch ignomini- " ous death of his, as we have here deſcribed, is hard to ſay. " Nor is that *thunderbolt*, or *ſtorm of thunder and lightning*, men- " tioned in this account of *Typho*'s deſtruction, other than what " we have hinted at in the caſe of *Pharaoh*'s deſtruction in our " preſent copies of the *Pentateuch*; where we find, that God " looked through the pillar of fire, and of the *cloud*, and ſo " *troubled the hoſts of the* Egyptians, that *their chariot wheels* " *were taken off, and they drave heavily*; *and the* Egyptians *re-* " *reſolved to flee from the face of* Iſrael, *becauſe they* now perceived " that God *himſelf fought for them againſt the* Egyptians: while " with the *blaſt of his noſtrils the waters were gathered together*; " and directly ſet down by *Joſephus* and *Artapanus* in the hiſtory " itſelf; and alſo by the pſalmiſt in his celebration of this moſt " wonderful deliverance and judgment; who declares, that beſides " the pouring out of water from the *clouds* at that time, *the ſkies* " then *ſent* out a ſound, and God's arrows went *abroad*: that *the* " voice of his thunder was in the *heaven*; that *the* lightnings " lightned the *world*; and that *the* earth trembled and *ſhook*: " in exact agreement with the heathens account of the deſtru- " ction of *Typho*." To conclude; the ſame writer thinks it a plain ſolution to the queſtion *of, what became* of the famous *Egyptian* monarchy after the death of *Seſoſtris*? that he and his numerous hoſt was loſt in the *red* ſea, which together with the loſs of 600,000 ſlaves, as the *Hebrews* were no better in *Egypt*, he thinks muſt have given a great ſhock to the *Egyptian* power, and naturally ruin their newly acquired monarchy. In a word, it is his opinion, that the ſudden extinction of this vaſt monarchy, at the death of its founder *Seſoſtris*, is little elſe than a demonſtration,

chronologers and hiſtorians do in fixing his age, and in ſpeaking

ſtration, that he was that very *Pharaoh* who with all his hoſt periſhed in the *Red* ſea, and no other (21).

The great Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion that *Seſoſtris* is the *Oſiris* of the *Egyptians*, the *Bacchus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* of the ſcripture; towards the proof of which he produces the following arguments.

" 1. *Bacchus the Conqueror* loved two women, *Venus* and *Ariadne*, " by the laſt of theſe he had ſons who were *Argonauts*; therefore " the great *Bacchus* flouriſhed but one generation before the *Ar-* " *gonautic* expedition. This *Bacchus* was potent at ſea (22), " conquered eaſtward as far as *India*, returned in triumph, brought " his army over the *Helleſpont*, conquered *Thrace*, left muſic, dan- " cing, and poetry there; killed *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace*, and *Pen-* " *theus* the grandſon of *Cadmus*; gave the kingdom of *Lycurgus* to " *Tharops*, and one of his minſtrels, called by the *Greeks Calliope*, " to *Oeagrus* the ſon of *Tharops*; and of *Oeagrus* and *Calliope*, was " born *Orpheus*, who ſailed with the *Argonauts*: this *Bacchus* was " therefore contemporary to *Seſoſtris*; and both being kings of " *Egypt*, and potent at ſea, and great conquerors, and carrying on " their conqueſts into *India* and *Thrace*, they muſt be one and the " ſame man.

" 2. *Dicæarchus*, as he is cited by the *Scholiaſt* upon *Apollonius* " (23), repreſents *Oſiris* and *Orus*, two generations older than *Se-* " *ſoſtris*, ſaying, that after *Orus*, the ſon of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, reigned " *Seſonchoſis*. The people of *Naxus* made *Bacchus* two generations " older than *Theſeus*, and for that end feigned two *Minos*'s and two " *Ariadne*. Now, by the conſent of all antiquity, *Oſiris* and " *Bacchus* were one and the ſame king of *Egypt*: this is affirmed " by the *Egyptians* as well as by the *Greeks*; and ſome of the an- " tient mythologiſts, as *Eumolpus* and *Orpheus* (24), called *Oſiris* " by the names of *Dionyſius* and *Sirius*. *Oſiris* was king of all " *Egypt*, and a great conqueror, and came over the *Helleſpont* in the " days of *Triptolemus*, and ſubdued *Thrace*, and there killed *Lycur-* " *gus*; and therefore his expedition falls in with that of the great " *Bacchus*. *Oſiris*, *Bacchus* and *Seſoſtris* lived about the ſame " time, and by the relation of hiſtorians were all of them kings of " all *Egypt*, and reigned at *Thebes*, and adorned that city, and " were very potent by land and ſea: all three were great con- " querors, and carried on their conqueſts by land through *Aſia*, " as far as *India*: all three came over the *Helleſpont*, and were " there in danger of loſing their army: all three conquered *Thrace*, " and there put a ſtop to their victories, and returned back from " thence into *Egypt*. all three left pillars with inſcriptions in their

(21) *Vid.* Whiſton's *Appendix.* (22) *Vid.* Hermippum *apud* *num*, *l.* 1. (23) Argonaut. *l.* 4. *v.* 272. (24) Diod. *l.* 1. *p.* 7.

ing concerning him: However, we ſhall collect the beſt account we can of his reign.

Sesostris

" conqueſts: and therefore all three muſt be one and the ſame " king of *Egypt*; and this king can be no other than *Seſac*. All " *Egypt*, including *Thebaïs*, *Æthiopia* and *Libya*, had no common " king before the expulſion of the *Shepherds*, who reigned in the " *Lower Egypt*; no conqueror of *Syria*, *India*, *Aſia minor*, and " *Thrace* before *Seſac*; and the ſacred hiſtory admits of no *Egyp-* " *tian* conqueror of *Paleſtine* before this king.

" 3. *Bacchus* had *Libyan* women in his army, and they were com- " manded by *Minerva*, herſelf a *Libyan* (25). *Diodorus* (26) calls " her *Myrina*, and ſaith, that ſhe was queen of the *Amazons* in " *Libya*, and there conquered the *Atlantides* and *Gorgons*, and " then made a league with *Orus* the ſon of *Iſis*, ſent to her by his " father *Oſiris*, or *Bacchus*, for that purpoſe; and paſſing through " *Egypt* ſubdued the *Arabians*, and *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, and came " through *Phrygia*, *viz.* in the army of *Bacchus*, to the *Mediter-* " *ranean*; but paſſing over into *Europe* was ſlain with many of her " women by the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, under the conduct of *Si-* " *pylus*, a *Scythian*, and *Mopſus*, a *Thracian*, whom *Lycurgus* king " of *Thrace* had baniſhed This (ſays our moſt ſagacious author) " was that *Lycurgus* who oppoſed the paſſage of *Bacchus* over the " *Helleſpont*, and was ſoon after conquered by him and ſlain: but " afterwards *Bacchus* met with a repulſe from the *Greeks*, under " the conduct of *Perſeus*, who ſlew many of his women, as *Pau-* " *ſanias* (27) relates, and was aſſiſted by the *Scythians* and *Thra-* " *cians* under *Sipylus* and *Mopſus*; which repulſes, together with " the revolt of his brother *Danaus*, put a ſtop to his victories: " and in returning home, he left part of his men in *Colchis* and " at *Mount Caucaſus*, under *Æetes* and *Prometheus*; and his wo- " men upon the river *Thermodon* near *Colchis*, under their new " queens *Marthesia* and *Lampeto*; for *Diodorus* (28), ſpeaking of " the *Amazons* who were ſeated at *Thermodon*, ſaith, that they " dwelt originally in *Libya*, and there reigned over the *Atlantides*, " and, invading their neighbours, conquered as far as *Europe*: " and *Ammianus* (29), that the antient *Amazons*, breaking through " many nations, attacked the *Athenians*, and then receiving a " great ſlaughter retired to *Thermodon*: and *Juſtin* (30), that " theſe *Amazons* had at firſt, (he means at their firſt coming to " *Thermodon*) two queens, who called themſelves daughters of " *Mars*; and that they conquered part of *Europe*, and ſome cities " in *Aſia*, *viz.* in the reign of *Minerva*, and then ſent back part

(25) *Vid.* Diod. *l.* 3. p. 140. (26) *Lib.* 3. p. 131, 132. (27) Pauſan. *lib.* 2. *c.* 20. p. 155. (28) *Lib.* 3. *p.* 130. & Schol. *Apollonii*, *lib.* 2. (29) *Lib.* 22. *c.* 8. (30) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 4.

" of

SESOSTRIS then is by ſome thought to have been the ſon of *Amenophis*; but whether *Amenophis*, or any one elſe, it is ſaid

" of their army with a great booty under their ſaid new queens ;
" and that *Martheſia*, being afterwards ſlain, was ſucceeded by
" her daughter *Orithya*, and ſhe by *Pentheſilea* ; and that *Theſeus*
" captivated and married *Antiope* the ſiſter of *Orithya*. *Hercules*
" made war upon the *Amazons*, and in the reign of *Orithya* and
" *Pentheſilea* they came to the *Trojan* war : whence the firſt wars
" of the *Amazons* in *Europe* and *Aſia*, and their ſettling at *Ther-*
" *modon*, were but one generation before thoſe actions of *Hercules*
" and *Theſeus*, and but two before the *Trojan* war, and ſo fell in
" with the expedition of *Seſoſtris* : and ſince they warred in the
" days of *Iſis* and her ſon *Orus*, and were a part of the army
" under *Bacchus*, or *Oſiris*, we have here a farther argument for
" making *Oſiris* and *Bacchus* contemporary to *Seſoſtris*, and all
" one and the ſame king with *Seſac*.

" 4. The *Greeks* reckon *Oſiris* and *Bacchus* to be ſons of *Jupi-*
" *ter*, and the *Egyptian* name of *Jupiter* is *Ammon*. *Manetho* (31),
" in his eleventh and twelfth dynaſties, as he is cited by *Africanus*
" and *Euſebius*, names theſe four kings as reigning in order ; *Am-*
" *menemes*, *Geſangoſes*, or *Seſoncheris* the ſon of *Ammenemes*, *Amme-*
" *nemes* who was ſlain by his eunuchs, and *Seſoſtris* who ſubdued
" all *Aſia* and a part of *Europe* : *Geſongoſes* and *Seſoncheris* are cor-
" ruptly written for *Seſonchoſis*: and the two firſt of theſe four
" kings, *Ammenemes* and *Seſonchoſis* are the ſame with the two
" laſt *Ammenemes* and *Seſoſtris*, that is, with *Ammon* and *Seſac* ;
" for *Diodorus* ſaith, that *Oſiris* built a temple at *Thebes* to his
" father *Jupiter Ammon*, who reigned in that city (32): and
" *Thymæſtes*, who was contemporary to *Orpheus*, wrote expreſly,
" that the father of *Bacchus* was *Ammon*, a king reigning over
" part of *Libya* ; that is, a king of *Egypt* reigning over that
" part of *Libya* antiently called *Ammonia* : Πᾶσα ἡ Λιβύη οὕτως
" ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ Ἀμμῶνος (33). All *Libya* was called *Ammonia* from
" *Ammon* ; that is, that king of *Egypt*, from whom *Thebes* was
" called *No-Ammon*, and *Ammon-No*, the city of *Ammon*, and by
" the *Greeks*, *Dioſpolis*, the city of *Jupiter Ammon*. Here again
" our author ſeems to demonſtrate that *Seſoſtris* and *Oſiris* were
" the ſame perſon.

5. And to corroborate what is ſaid in the preceding article ;
" *Seſoſtris* upon his returning home divided *Egypt* by meaſure a-
" mongſt the *Egyptians* ; and this gave a beginning to ſurveying
" and geometry : and *Jamblichus* derives this diviſion of *Egypt*
and the beginning of geometry, from the age of the gods of *E-*
gypt. And becauſe *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſac*, to render the *Nile* more
uſeful, dug canals from it, and thereby made a general diſtribu-
bution of its water ; this chronologer is of opinion, that the river

(31) *See before*, *Vol.* I. p. 495. (32) *See before*, *Vol.* I. p. 515.
(33) Steph. *in* Ἀμμωνία.

ſaid that the god *Vulcan* appeared to him in a dream, and admoniſhed

was conſecrated to him, and he was called by its names, *Ægyptus Siris*, *Nilus*; and obſerves from *Plutarch*, that the ſyllable *O*, put before the word *Siris*, by the *Greeks*, made it ſcarce intelligible to the *Egyptians*.

6. He thinks it appears "That *Seſoſtris* was alſo *Shiſhak*, or "*Seſac*, becauſe the firſt conqueſts this king is ſaid to have made "were *Troglodytica*, *Libya*, and *Æthiopia*, and in the firſt year of "*Rehoboam*, *Seſoſtris* [*Seſac*] came out of *Egypt* with a great army "of *Lybians*, *Troglodytes*, and *Æthiopians*, and ſpoiled the temple; "and reduced *Judæa* into ſervitude, and went on conquering firſt "eaſtward towards *India*, and then weſtward as far as *Thrace*; for "God *had given him the kingdoms of the countries* (34).

7. There is no one argument on which this great chronologer lays a greater ſtreſs, for the proof of what he lays down concerning *Seſoſtris*, than the following: "*Solon* having travelled into "*Egypt*, and converſed with the prieſts of *Saïs* about their anti-"quities, wrote a poem of what he had learned, but did not fi-"niſh it (35); and this poem fell into the hands of *Plato*, who "relates out of it, that at the mouth of the *Straits*, near *Hercu-"les*'s *Pillars*, there was an iſland called *Atlantis*, the people of "which, nine thouſand years before the days of *Solon*, reigned "over *Libya* as far as *Egypt*, and over *Europe* as far as the *Tyrrhenean "ſea*; and all this force collected into one body invaded *Egypt* "and *Greece*, and whatever was contained within the pillars of "*Hercules*, but was reſiſted and ſtopped by the *Athenians* and o-"ther *Greeks*, and thereby the reſt of the nations not yet conquered "were preſerved: he ſaith alſo, that in thoſe days, the gods, ha-"ving finiſhed their conqueſts, divided the whole earth amongſt "themſelves, partly into larger, partly into ſmaller portions, and "inſtituted temples and ſacred rites to themſelves; and that the "iſland of *Atlantis* fell to the lot of *Neptune*, who made his eldeſt "ſon *Atlas* king of the whole iſland, a part of which was called "*Gadir*; and that *in the hiſtory of the ſaid wars mention was made "of* Cecrops, Erechtheus, Erichthonius, *and others before* The-"ſeus, *and alſo of the women who warred with the men, and of the "habit and ſtature of* Minerva, *the ſtudy of war in thoſe days being "common to men and women.* By all theſe circumſtances it is mani-"feſt, that theſe gods were the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, and "lived between the age of *Cecrops* and *Theſeus*; and that the wars "which *Seſoſtris*, with his brother *Neptune*, made upon the nations "by land and by ſea, and the reſiſtance he met with in *Greece*, "and the following invaſion of *Egypt* by *Neptune*, are here deſcrib-"ed; and how the captains of *Seſoſtris* ſhared their conqueſts a-

(34) 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3—8. (35) Plat. *in Timæo & Critia*.

"mongſt

monifhed him, that the ſon which was, or ſhould be born to-him, would be lord of the whole earth. Fraught with this viſion, he got together all the males in *Egypt* born on the ſame day with his ſon, and appointed nurſes and proper perſons to take care of them, and had them treated in all reſpects like his own child; perſuaded, that they who had been the conſtant and equal companions of his childhood and youth, would prove the moſt faithful miniſters, and moſt affectionate fellow ſoldiers. They were abundantly furniſhed with every thing needful, and as they grew up they were by degrees enured to laborious and manly exerciſes, and were in particular never permitted to taſte of any thing till they had performed a courſe of 180 furlongs, or upwards of 22 miles. By this exerciſe of the body, and by a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to command and to execute. *Amenophis*, after he had been at this vaſt expence and trouble in laying the foundation of his ſon's future grandeur, reſolved to give him and his companions an opportunity of diſplaying the good effects of their inſtitution; and therefore he

His father gathers in all the boys in Egypt *that were born on the ſame day with him.*

" mongſt themſelves, as the captains of *Alexander the Great* did " his conqueſts long after, and inſtituting temples and prieſts, and " ſacred rites to themſelves, cauſed the nations to worſhip them " after their death as gods: and that the iſland *Gadir*, or *Gades*, " and all *Libya* fell to the lot of him who after death was deified " by the name of *Neptune*. The time therefore when theſe things " were done, is by *Solon* limited to the age of *Neptune* the father " of *Atlas*; for *Homer* tells us, that *Ulyſſes* preſently after the " *Trojan* war found *Calypſo* the daughter of *Atlas* in the *Ogygian* " iſland, perhaps *Gadir*, and therefore it was but two generations " before the *Trojan* war. This is that *Neptune* who, with *Apollo*, or " *Orus*, fortified *Troy* with a wall, in the reign of *Laomedon* the fa- " ther of *Priamus*, and left many natural children in *Greece*, ſome " of which were *Argonauts*, and others were contemporaries to " the *Argonauts*; and therefore he flouriſhed but one generation be- " fore the *Argonautic* expedition, and by conſequence about 400 years " before *Solon* went into *Egypt*: but the prieſts of *Egypt* in thoſe " 400 years had magnified the ſtories and antiquity of their gods ſo " exceedingly, as to make them 9000 years older than *Solon*, and " the iſland of *Atlantis* bigger than all *Afric* and *Aſia* together, and " full of people; and becauſe in the days of *Solon* this great iſland " did not appear, they pretended that it was ſunk into the ſea with " all its people: thus great was the vanity of the prieſts of *Egypt* in " magnifying their antiquities." Theſe are the moſt obvious and direct arguments concerning *Seſoſtris*, which we meet with in Sir *Iſaac Newton*.

Sends him into Arabia *and* Afric.

sent him and them with an army into *Arabia*. In this expedition the young *Sesostris* surmounted all the dangers of serpents and venomous creatures, all the wants and hardships of a dry and barren country, and in the end subdued the *Arabians*, who till that time had never been conquered. His father then ordered him westward, and he subdued the greatest part of *Afric* [e], nor stopped his career (as should seem) till he saw the *Atlantic* ocean [f]. Whilst he was on this expedition his father died: and having now the reins in his own hands, and being elated by the success which had hitherto attended him, he grasped at no less an object than the whole earth. Or he called to mind the prediction of the god, and prepared for the enterprize. Some reported that his daughter *Athyrte*, a young lady of great wit and sagacity, excited him thereto by her counsel, representing it as an easy matter: others, that she obtained assurances of her father's success by divination, by dreams in temples, and prodigies in the air, and the like [g]; so that according to these, he could be no very young man at this time. Lastly, it was said that he was instructed by *Mercury*, who prepared him for the war [h].

Undertakes to conquer the whole world.

Having this view of a general conquest, and knowing that he must be long absent, and far remote from *Egypt*, he bethought him how he might retain the hearts and affections of his own people: wisely deeming it the most natural means of preparing those who followed him, to lay down their lives chearfully in his service; and of preventing those at home from attempting any innovations during his absence. He therefore, as much as was in his power, endeared himself to all his subjects, by largesses in money, by donations in land, or by the remission of punishments: he discharged all that were guilty of treason with impunity, and paid the debts of all that were thereby incumbered, of which last he had many in his army. In fine, he wrought upon the minds of all by fair speeches and a familiar deportment. In the next place he divided the whole kingdom into 36 nomes, or provinces; assigned a governor to each of them [i]; and constituted his brother *Armais* supreme regent, investing him with ample power; but forbad him the use of the diadem, and commanded him to offer no injury to the queen and her children, and to abstain from the royal concubines [k]. Having thus settled the government, he picked out the choicest of his subjects,

Divides Egypt *in* 36 *nomes*

[e] Diod lib. 1. p. 48 [f] Lucan. 10. v. 27. [g] Diod. ubi supr. p. 49. [h] Ælian. Var. Hist. l 2. c. 4. [i] Diod. ubi supr. p. 50. [k] Maneth. apud Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1. p. 1041.

and

and liſted an army equal to the vaſtneſs of his deſigns, and beſtowed the chief commands of it on his beloved companions, who were upwards of 1700 in number. As an earneſt of his benevolence, and beſides the favours he had beſtowed on them in common with the reſt of their countrymen, and that he and his ſucceſſors might always have a regular force ready at hand, he ſettled certain portions by lot, of the moſt fertile land in *Egypt*, on his whole army; whence a handſome income ariſing to them, neither they nor their poſterity might lie under the neceſſity of ſeeking a livelihood by mercantile or mechanic callings, but wholly apply themſelves to the military exerciſes. His army conſiſted of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horſe, and 27,000 warlike chariots. He firſt marched into *Æthiopia*, and reduced the inhabitants to a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory [l]. He is generally believed to have been the firſt that ſubdued *Ethiopia* and *Troglodytica*, and is ſaid to have reached the promontory of *Dira*, near the ſtraits of the *Red-ſea*, where he ſet up a pillar with a ſacred inſcription on it; and went on as far as the cinnamon country, or at leaſt ſome place from whence cinnamon was brought, where he raiſed monuments and pillars with inſcriptions, which were to be ſeen many ages afterwards [m].

He inſtitutes the military order.

Conquers Ethiopia.

HIS land forces alone were not anſwerable to the conqueſt he intended; and therefore breaking through the antient ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians*, he was the firſt of their kings that fitted out fleets of tall ſhips. He had two; the one of 400 ſail in the *Arabian* gulph, if we may add faith to *Diodorus* [n] who gives us this number, and to *Herodotus* [o] who mentions the ſame fleet in general terms; and the other in the *Mediterranean-ſea*, if we may believe *Manetho* [p] who by *Sethoſis* underſtands *Seſoſtris*. By theſe naval armaments, and by the great ſervices they are ſaid to have done, it ſhould ſeem, that *Seſoſtris* wiped away the averſion the *Egyptians* had to ſea affairs [q], at leaſt for a time, and inſtituted the marine claſs, as by what appears hitherto he did the military order. But to have done with this conjecture, we ſhall only add, that the ſpacious and magnificent ſhip he conſecrated to the ſupreme god of the *Thebans* [r], looks as if he deſigned to bring navigation into credit in *Egypt*. With the firſt of theſe fleets he ſailed out of the *Arabian* gulph into the *Red*, or *Indian-ſea*, and ſubdued the coaſts thereof, and continuing

His fleets.

He inſtitutes the the marine claſs or order.

[l] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [m] Vid. STRABO, lib. 16. p. 769, 770. Vid. etiam lib. 17. p. 790. PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 6. c. 29. [n] Ubi ſupr. [o] Ubi ſupra. [p] Apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſupr. [q] See before, Vol. I. p. 490. [r] See before, ibid.

his courſe till he was ſtopped by certain ſhoals and difficult places, returned back to *Egypt* [r]: or according to another author, he went not on board himſelf, but ſent them out againſt the iſlands and maritime places of the continent as far as *India* [s]. With his *Mediterranean* ſquadron he conquered *Cyprus*, the ſea coaſt of *Phœnicia* [t], and ſeveral of the *Cyclades* [u]. This is all we know concerning his exploits by ſea.

Continuation of his conqueſts and wars.

Now as to his further conqueſts on the land; it is by almoſt all antiquity agreed, that he over-ran and pillaged all *Aſia*, and ſome part of *Europe*. He croſſed the *Ganges*, on the banks of which river he erected pillars; and to uſe the poets expreſſion, did the ſame in the remoteſt mountains of *India* [w]; and indeed he is ſaid to have marched on till he was ſtopped by the main ocean eaſtward [x]. From thence returning he invaded the *Scythians* and *Thracians*; but the accounts of his war with the former do not all agree in giving him a complete conqueſt over them. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Agathias* [y], and others repreſent him victorious; but ſome relate, that he met with a repulſe, and fled from the *Scythians*, and was worſted by the *Colchians*. For *Juſtin* tells us, that *Vexores*, or *Seſoſtris* diſpatching ambaſſadors before him to ſummon the *Scythians* to ſurrender, they ſent back his meſſengers with contempt, and threats, and defiance, and immediately took up arms. *Seſoſtris*, being informed that they were advancing towards him by haſty marches, ſuddenly faced about, and fled from before them, leaving all his baggage and warlike apparel to the purſuers, who followed him till they came on the borders of *Egypt* [z]. *Pliny* relates, that he was overthrown by the king of *Colchis* [a]; and *Valerius Flaccus* inſinuates, that he was repulſed with great ſlaughter, and put to flight in theſe parts [b]. But whether he had good or bad ſucceſs in theſe countries, it is a common opinion, that he ſettled a colony in *Colchis*, though *Herodotus*, whom we chiefly rely on in this matter, does not decide, whether it was of his own planting, or whether part of his army tired out, loitered in the rear, and voluntarily ſat down on the banks of the river *Phaſis* in that kingdom. He ſays, from his own experience, that the inhabitants were undoubtedly of *Egyptian* deſcent, as was viſible from the perſonal ſimili-

Suppoſed to ſettle a colony in Colchis.

[r] Herod. ubi ſupr. [s] Diod. ubi ſupr. [t] Maneth. apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſupr. [u] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 51.
[w] Dionys. in Perieg. v. 625. [x] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 50.
[y] Lib. 2. p. 55. [z] Lib. 2. c. 3. [a] Lib. 33. c. 3.
[b] Argonaut. l. 5. v. 420.

tude

tude they bore to the *Egyptians*, who were ſwarthy and frizle-haired; but more eſpecially from the conformity of their cuſtoms, particularly circumciſion, and from the affinity of their language with that of *Egypt*. And many ages afterwards at *Æa*, the capital of *Colchis*, they ſhewed maps of their journies, and the bounds of ſea and land for the uſe of travellers [c], and hence came geography. This relation to each other was acknowledged on both ſides [d]. We now attend upon him into *Thrace*, the utmoſt boundary of his progreſs weſtward in *Europe*. Here he was in danger of loſing his army through want of proviſions and the difficulty of the paſſes; and therefore he here ſtopped his progreſs *. But the more probable opinion is, that his return was haſtened by advice he received from the high prieſt of *Egypt*, concerning his brother's revolt and diſobedience [e]. However this was, his pillars were no where to be ſeen in *Europe* beyond *Thrace* [f]. For it was his cuſtom to ſet up pillars in every country he conquered, with this inſcription, or one to the like effect; *and ſtatues.* Seſoſtris, *king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of his arms.* If the nation had ignobly crouched to him, he, beſides the inſcription, cauſed the privities of a woman to be carved, as a mark of their effeminacy and baſeneſs [g]; if they had defended themſelves bravely, their pillars bore the diſtinction of the contrary ſex, in teſtimony of their courage [h]. Beſides theſe he left ſtatues of himſelf behind him, two of which are ſtill to be ſeen, ſays *Herodotus*, the one on the road between *Epheſus* and *Phocæa*, and the other between *Smyrna* and *Sardis*: they were armed after the *Ethiopian* and *Egyptian* manner, were five palms high, and held a javelin in one hand, and a bow in the other. Acroſs the breaſt they had a line drawn from one ſhoulder to the other, on which there was this inſcription; *This region I obtained by theſe my ſhoulders.* They were miſtaken for images of *Memnon* [i]. *His pillars.*

UPON advice therefore of the rebellious proceedings of his brother, who, encouraged by his long abſence and great diſtance, had aſſumed the diadem, violated the queen, and made promiſcuous uſe of the royal concubines [k], he haſtened from *Thrace*, and at the end of nine years came to *Peluſium*, attended by an infinite multitude of captives of all nations, and laden with the ſpoils of *Aſia* [l]. *Return to Egypt.*

[c] APOLLON. Rhod. Argon. l. 4. v. 272. [d] HEROD. ubi ſupr. * DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 51. [e] MANETH. apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſupr. [f] HEROD. DIOD. ubi ſupr. [g] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [h] Vid. SYNCELL. p. 59, 60. [i] HEROD. ubi. ſupr. [k] MANETH. ubi ſupr. [l] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

Here

Here the rebel *Armaïs*, or *Danaus* received him with outward ſubmiſſion and joy, but with inward deſigns to take away his life, and root out his family. Accordingly he invited the king his brother, the queen, and her children to a banquet he had prepared for their refreſhment, which they accepting, and drinking very freely, were overcome thereby, and betook them to reſt. In the mean time he cauſed a great quantity of dried reeds to be laid all round the apartment where they ſlept, and ſetting fire thereto he hoped to burn them all together.

Is miraculouſly delivered from the murderous deſigns of his brother.

Seſoſtris perceiving the danger he was in, and that his guards, overcharged with liquor, were heavy and incapable to aſſiſt him, lifted up his hands, and imploring the gods in behalf of his wife and children ruſhed through the flames, and they followed him. In thankſgiving for this wonderful deliverance, and to perform the vows he had made in his extremity, he preſented donations to ſeveral gods, and particularly to *Vulcan* [m], as will be obſerved hereafter. *Herodotus* ſeems to have been miſinformed in the particulars of this happy eſcape; ſaying, that his wife perſuaded him to lay two of his ſons acroſs the fire, and to tread over them. He then took revenge on his brother *Armaïs* [n], who is ſaid to have been the *Danaus* of the *Greeks* [o], and is thought to have been now driven out from *Egypt*, and to have proceeded to *Greece*.

His brother's unnatural deſigns thus defeated, and himſelf in the quiet repoſſeſſion of his kingdom, he adorned all the temples with ſpoils and rich gifts, and rewarded his army in proportion to merit. His army was not only glorious in their return for the mighty actions they had performed, and the great riches they had acquired, but alſo for the great variety of conveniencies and neceſſaries they brought home with them, and with which they ſtored the whole kingdom. *Seſoſtris* now laying aſide all thoughts of war, diſbanded his forces, leaving every one to the undiſturbed enjoyment of what fortune had favoured him with. As for himſelf, he from henceforward applied his mind to ſuch ſtupendous works as might immortalize his name, and everlaſtingly contribute to the public good.

His works. His works were of three ſorts; religious, military, and civil. And firſt he erected a temple in every city in *Egypt*, which he dedicated to the peculiar and ſupreme deity of each place. In the courſe of ſo univerſal an undertaking as this, no *Egyptian* was ſet to work; wherefore upon all theſe temples there was this inſcription: *No one native laboured hereon* [*]. In

[m] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 53. [n] Ubi ſupr. [o] Maneth. ubi ſupr. [*] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 51, 52.

the

the city of *Memphis*, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he raiſed ſix gigantic ſtatues, which were each of one ſtone; two of them were 30 cubits high, and repreſented himſelf and his wife; the other four were 20 cubits, and reprefented his four ſons [p]. Theſe he dedicated to *Vulcan*, in remembrance of his and his family's preſervation at *Peluſium* [q]. Many ages afterwards it was ſaid, that *Darius* would have placed his own ſtatue above this of *Seſoſtris*; but the prieſt of *Vulcan* ſtifly oppoſed it, urging, that the *Perſian*, though great, had not yet equalled the *Egyptian*, and particularly had never conquered *Scythia*; and that therefore it was unjuſt to prefer him to one he had not yet excelled, and ſo put a ſtop to the attempt [r]. He moreover raiſed two obelisks of hard ſtone [marble] 120 cubits high; and charged them with inſcriptions, which deſcribed the greatneſs of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he conquered. Theſe are his works, which may be ſaid particularly to commemorate his own piety and glory. Let us now take a view of what he did for the benefit and laſting welfare of his people.

IN order to prevent the incurſions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, he fortified the eaſt ſide of *Egypt* with a wall, which ran from *Peluſium* through the deſert to *Heliopolis*, 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles and a half. He moreover raiſed an incredible number of vaſt and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed ſuch towns as had before too low a ſituation, to ſecure the men and cattle from the dangers of the *Nile* in its inundations. All the way from *Memphis* to the ſea he dug canals which branched out from the *Nile*, and not only gave an eaſier communication from one place to another, and greatly advanced the trade and proſperity of the kingdom; but alſo rendered the country impracticable to an enemy, or at leaſt very incommodious and difficult. So that *Egypt*, which had hitherto been famous for her horſes and chariots, and was admirably well adapted for either, was now no longer the ſame place in thoſe reſpects, and put on a new face [s]. This looks as if *Seſoſtris* feared, that the ſeveral nations he had diſturbed, or at leaſt ſome of them, might unite againſt *Egypt*; but quite the reverſe appears by his haughty carriage towards the tributaries, as will be ſeen by and by. In the mean time it is ſaid, that ſome of the captives grew deſperate under the intolerable ſlavery impoſed on them, and that particularly the *Babylonians* aroſe and reſolved at all hazards to ſhake off their bondage. They firſt ſeized upon a ſtrong hold, and acting

[p] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [q] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 53. [r] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [s] DIOD. ubi ſupr. 52.

offenſively

offenſively againſt the *Egyptians*, waſted the country round about them. But on the offer of pardon, and a place for their dwelling, they were pacified, and built them a city which they called *Babylon*: the like was ſaid of the *Trojan* captives [t]. According to *Herodotus* there was a report that this king, after he returned from his wars, divided the land equally amongſt all the *Egyptians*: this claſhes with what has been ſaid of the lands he beſtowed on his army before his outſet; which we take to be more conformable to the genius and policy of this warlike prince, and therefore are inclined to think that *Herodotus* was miſinformed. The ſame author upon this occaſion ſays; that the king reſerving to himſelf a ſmall rent out of the lands ſo divided, whenever it happened that the waters of the *Nile* in their retreat waſhed away any part of a perſon's ground, he gave information thereof to the king, who in ſuch caſe remitted a proportionable part of the rent, and by ſending ſurveyors to meaſure it, gave riſe to the invention of geometry *.

His inſolence.

His behaviour towards the conquered princes, who waited on him with their tribute, is moſt remarkably inſolent; for upon certain occaſions he would unharneſs his horſes, and yoke kings together, and make them draw his chariot [u]: this practice he continued, as is ſaid, till a certain day, when obſerving one of the kings who drew him along, look with great ſtedfaſtneſs back on one of the wheels, he asked what took up his thoughts, that he kept his eye ſo fixed behind him? he anſwered, *Oh king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind the viciſſitudes of fortune; for as every part of the wheel is uppermoſt and lowermoſt by turns, ſo is it with men, who one day ſit on a throne, and on the next are reduced to the vileſt degree of ſlavery.* This anſwer ſhocked the inſulting conqueror, and he gave over the practice. It was thus he was wont to triumph over his tributaries, but at all other times he treated them with great humanity. At length he loſt his ſight, and laid violent hands on himſelf, and died. The manner of his death was extolled by the prieſts into the higheſt act of magnanimity [w]; and that nothing might be wanting to make his hiſtory compleatly glorious, they reported, that the *phœnix* came to *Thebes* during his reign [x]. By what has been here ſaid concerning *Seſoſtris*, it may ſeemingly be gathered, that he was the firſt that divided *Egypt* into nomes, and its inhabitants into orders and claſſes; that he was the firſt *Egyptian* king who was conſiderable at ſea; and that he erected the

[t] Idem ibid. * Herod. ubi ſupr. [u] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 53. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3. [w] Diod. ubi ſupr. [x] Tacit. Ann. 6. p. 154.

firſt

firſt great empire in the world. *Juſtin* ſays, he neither aimed at it, nor kept it, being contented with the bare glory of the conqueſt he made [y]. But all are not of his opinion.

PHERON was the ſon of *Seſoſtris*, and ſucceeded him. He is alſo ſtiled *Seſooſis* [*Seſoſtris*] II. The ſtory of his reign, as it is handed down to us, ſavours more of fiction than of truth. He performed nothing in the military way; but had the misfortune, in common with his father, to be ſtruck blind. Though this might be properly owing to ſome infirmity derived from his parent, yet it is reported, that his loſs of ſight was a puniſhment inflicted on him for his impiety towards the river. For upon a time that the *Nile* had overflowed the country to an unuſual height, a gale of wind aroſe, and greatly diſturbed the waters, whereat he capriciouſly took offence, and inſolently darted a javelin among the waves. Upon this he was immediately ſeized with a pain in his eyes, and ſoon after by a total darkneſs, which oppreſſed him for ten years. In the eleventh year the oracle at *Buſus* declared, that the term of his affliction was elapſed, and that his ſight would return to him if he paid particular devotions to the god at *Heliopolis*, and waſhed his eyes with the urine of a woman, who had never known any man beſides her huſband. He began with his own wife, but receiving no benefit from her, went on from one woman to another, till at length a poor gardener's wife afforded him the relief the oracle had promiſed. Her therefore he made queen; but as for the adultereſſes he ſent them to a city called *Erithybolus*, which, together with them, he burnt. He paid his vows to the gods in ſeveral rich donations, and particularly raiſed two magnificent obelisks in the temple of the *Sun* at *Heliopolis* [z].

Pheron, *or* Seſoſtris II.

He is ſtruck blind.

He recovers his ſight again, and raiſes two obeliſks.

MANY ages after the ſceptre fell into the hands of AMASIS, or AMMOSIS. He miſuſed his people with the utmoſt violence and injuſtice. Many he condemned to death without a cauſe; many he deprived of their poſſeſſions, upon no other motive than his own imperious will; and towards all he behaved with inſupportable arrogance. Under this oppreſſor they groaned for a while, not daring to reſiſt ſo dreadful a power. But in time *Actiſanes* king of *Æthiopia* made war againſt *Ammoſis*, and entering *Egypt* the people joined him, and aſſiſted to drive their unnatural prince from the throne [a].

Amaſis *or* Ammoſis, *a tyrant.*

His ſubjects join with the Ethiopians *to drive him out.*

BUT before we take in hand the hiſtory of *Actiſanes*, we muſt obſerve, that a king, very near allied in name to *Ammoſis*, blocked up the *Shepherds* in the city of *Abaris*, or

[y] Lib. 1 c. 1. [z] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 54.
[a] Idem ibid.

Peluſium,

Peluſium, with an army of 480,000 men; but deſparing, as is ſaid, to carry the place by ſiege, he made a capitulation with them, by which it was agreed, that they ſhould go out of *Egypt* and march which way they pleaſed without moleſtation (I). This article they executed, and went away with their families to the number of 240,000, and taking the way of the deſert entered *Syria*, but fearing the *Aſſyrians*, they built them a ſtrong city in *Judæa*, called *Jeruſalem*. This favours the opinion of thoſe who take the *Shepherds* to have been the *Iſraelites* themſelves; but the *Egyptian* hiſtory being hitherto, and for a conſiderable time to come, involved in palpable darkneſs, we ſhall only ſay, that this is confeſſedly a contradiction to the hiſtory of *Moſes*, by whom it plainly appears, that theſe *Shepherds* could not be the *Iſraelites*, and him we chooſe to confide in. This king is called *Amoſis*, *Thummoſis*, *Tethmoſis*, *Thomoſis*, and *Themoſis*, the ſon of *Haliſphragmuthoſis*. One *Amoſis* is alſo ſaid to have aboliſhed the cuſtom of ſacrificing men to *Juno* at *Heliopolis*, and inſtead of them to have ſubſtituted waxen images. They were examined and ſealed like pure calves, and were called *Typhonians* [b]. Three of them were burnt in a day, and their aſhes were ſcattered abroad ſo as to be no more ſeen, and this publickly every year during the dog-days. This is ſaid to have been done at the city of *Idithia* [c].

The expulſion of the Shepherds

As to the 200,000 *Shepherds*, which we are told came from *Jeruſalem* to aſſiſt the leprous *Egyptians* under *Oſarſiphus*, and the wars they were engaged in with *Amenophis*, king of

[b] Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1. p. 352, &c. [c] Manetho apud Porph. de abſtin. l. 2. c. 55.

(I) We have already obſerved to you, that *Perizonius* reckons what is called the expulſion of the *Shepherds*, and the *Exodus* of the children of *Iſrael*, to be one and the ſame event (1).

Sir *John Marſham*, is of a quite different opinion, but decides nothing (2).

Father *Pezron* ſays nothing of the expulſion of the *Shepherds* in particular, but thinks he has ſufficiently proved, that the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt* under *Moſes* in the reign of *Thomeſis*, the ſame who is ſaid to have expelled the *Shepherds* (3).

Sir *Iſaac Newton* places this expulſion in the year 1070 before Christ, or 62 years before the firſt expedition of *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſac*, as he calls him, into *Africa* (4).

(1) *Vid.* Periz. *ubi ſupr.* (2) Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (3) Pezron, *ubi ſupr.* (4) *Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Short Chronology.*

Egypt, we refer our reader to *Joſephus* againſt *Apion*, not knowing where to give a place to theſe tranſactions in the courſe of the *Egyptian* hiſtory. *Joſephus* arraigns the whole ſtory as fabulous [d].

WE now return: ACTISANES united *Egypt* and *Æthiopia* under him, and was the common king of both. He bore his proſperity with great moderation and prudence, and behaved affectionately towards his new ſubjects. He cauſed a general ſearch to be made after the *Egyptian* thieves and robbers, and giving them a juſt hearing, commanded their noſes to be cut off, and ſent them away to the remoteſt part of the deſert between *Syria* and *Egypt*, where he built them a town which was called *Rhinocolura*, from the diſfigurement of its infamous inhabitants. This part was ſo barren, that it ſcarce afforded any one neceſſary of life; for even the few wells and ponds there found were brackiſh, bitter, and moſt unpleaſant to the palate. Hither he baniſhed them, that they might not injure their honeſt neighbours by living among them, nor be hid in corners among the innocent. But as frightful and barren as their ſituation was, neceſſity, the mother of invention, ſuggeſted means to them of ſupplying themſelves with food: for it is reported, that they made long nets of ſlit reeds, and with them caught great numbers of quails which came in flocks from the ſea ſhore; and of theſe they had barely ſufficient to live upon [e].

Actiſanes the *Ethiopian*.

He ſends all the Egyptian *thieves and robbers to* Rhinocolura.

ACTISANES died, and the *Egyptians* were left to their own diſpoſal; and therefore they choſe them a king, named by ſome MENDES, and by others MARUS. He is celebrated for the ſepulchral labyrinth he built. It was not ſo admirable for its extent, as for its inimitable contrivance, which was ſo intricate and perplexing, that it was impoſſible to find the way out, but by the help of a moſt experienced guide [f].

Mendes *or* Marus.

He builds a labyrinth.

AFTER *Mendes* there enſued an anarchy, or inter-reign, for five generations. At length a *Memphite* of obſcure birth was choſen king. His *Egyptian* name was CETES, which the *Greeks* rendered PROTEUS (K). Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*

Proteus *is choſen king*

[d] JOSEPHUS ubi ſupr. [e] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 55. [f] Idem ibid.
See before, Vol. I. p. 422.

(K) According to *Perizonius*, *Proteus* was the *Sethos* of *Manetho*, and the *Typhon* of the poets. He thinks that *Homer*'s *Proteus* and this king are the ſame; and that he was ſtiled a ſea-god, becauſe he had commanded the coaſt of *Egypt*. He gives no credit to *Herodotus*

Diodorus make him coetaneous with the *Trojan* war. The prieſts gave him out for one ſkilled in the weather, or a magician, and pretended, he could aſſume any ſhape or form he pleaſed, even fire. This fable, as it was told by the *Greeks*, drew its origin from a cuſtom among the *Egyptians*, (and perhaps introduced by *Proteus*) who were uſed to adorn and diſtinguiſh the heads of their kings with the repreſentations of animals, or vegetables, or even with burning incenſe, as ſo many enſigns of royalty, and to ſtrike the beholders with dread and ſuperſtition[g]. Whilſt *Proteus* reigned, *Paris* or *Alexander* was driven on the coaſts of *Egypt* by a ſtorm, and there landed with *Helen*, whom he was carrying from *Greece* to *Troy*. But when he heard the perfidious breach of hoſpitality this young man had committed, he ſeized upon him, his miſtreſs, and his companions, with all the riches he had brought away with him from *Greece*. As for *Helen* and her huſband's effects, he detained them, promiſing to reſtore both to the injured party whenever demanded, and ſo he did: but *Paris* and his companions he commanded to depart out of his dominions in three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies. In fine, he had a very rich and ſumptuous temple erected to him at *Memphis*, and left a ſon and ſucceſſor behind him called *Rhemphis*[h].

The fable of Proteus *whence derived.*

Paris *and* Helen *arrive in* Egypt.

Rhemphis *or* Rhampſinitus. RHEMPHIS is alſo called RHAMPSINITUS (L), and was of

[g] Idem. p. 56. [h] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

Herodotus as to the arrival of *Paris* and *Helen* under this king. It is not conſiſtent with his hypotheſis (1).

Sir *Iſaac Newton*, on the contrary, ſeems to give credit to *Herodotus* as far as relates to *Paris* and *Helena*, but makes him contemporary with *Amenophis*, who, as we have already obſerved, he makes the ſame with *Menes*. He thinks, he might have been governor of ſome part of the *Lower Egypt* under *Amenophis*: and obſerves, that *Homer* places him on the ſea coaſt, and calls him the ſervant of *Neptune*, and that his *Greek* name ſignifies only *a prince*, or *preſident* (2).

(L) Sir *John Marſham* is inclined to think him the eldeſt ſon of *Seſoſtris*, and to be the ſame with *Rhampſes*; and this he advances, fraught with the authority of *Manetho*, who calls him the ſon of *Sethos*: and that the famous inſcription which was interpreted to *Cæſar Germanicus* at *Thebes*, related to him; and indeed there is

(1) *Vid.* Perizon. *ubi ſupr. ant. kingdoms amended.*

(2) *Sir* Iſaac Newton, *Chronol of*

no

of an inclination to hoard up money. *Diodorus* reports him to have been ſo ſordidly avaritious, that during his whole reign he rather acted the part of a mean-ſpirited ſteward than of a king; and never could find in his heart to be at the leaſt expence in any thing that might tend either to the honour of the gods, or the good of men: and that to this retentiveneſs it was owing that he left ſo immenſe a treaſure behind him, no leſs than 400,000 talents[i]. Now *Herodotus* ſufficiently inſinuates, that he was fond of riches, but does not reduce him to ſo wretched a degree of baſeneſs as this. Let us give ear to what he ſays. *Rhampſinitus* added the weſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, and erected two ſtatues before it, each 25 cubits high: one of them faced towards the north, and was adored by the *Egyptians* under the title of *Summer*; the other looked towards the ſouth, and went by the name of *Winter*, and was abhorred. Moreover, he had accumulated a far greater ſtore of wealth than any king of *Egypt* that ſucceeded him; and, being deſirous to depoſite it in ſome ſecure place, commanded a treaſure-houſe to be firmly built for that purpoſe. The architect employed in this work, placed one of the ſtones in ſo artful a manner, that it might be taken out and put in again by one man only, it being his intention to partake in the riches of the place. But about the time that the treaſure was lodged in it, this man fell into a violent ſickneſs; and finding himſelf at the point of death, ſent for his two ſons. To them he declared the whole artifice, and gave them the

builds the weſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

and a treaſure-houſe.

[i] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

no very great difference between the *Rhamſes* of *Tacitus* and the *Rhampſes* of *Manetho*. In fine, that he enjoyed by right what his father had obtained by conqueſt (1).

Perizonius ſuppoſes, that the *Rhamſes* of *Tacitus* is *Seſoſtris* himſelf. But *Rameſſes*, or *Rhamſinitus*, the ſon of *Proteus*, he makes contemporary with the *Trojan* war, in which he is ſupported by a paſſage from *Pliny* (2).

Sir *Iſaac Newton* conjectures him to have been the ſon of *Amenophis*, or *Menes*, and to be ſhadowed under the different names of *Rhamſinitus*, *Ramſes*, *Ramiſes*, *Rameſes*, *Rameſſis*, *Rameſtes*, *Rhampſes* and *Rhempſis*; and that the obelisk which was ſent to *Rome* by the emperor *Conſtantius*, with an inſcription interpreted by *Hermapion* an *Egyptian* prieſt, expreſſing that he was long-lived and reigned over a great part of the earth, as alſo that pompous inſcription mentioned by *Tacitus*, belonged to him (3).

(1) *Vid.* Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (2) Periz. *ubi ſup.* (3) *Sir* Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.*

most exact directions in the management of the business, which he foresaw would never be his fate to accomplish. The father died, and the young men went to the treasury, and finding every thing to be as their father had told them, they gained an easy admittance, and robbed the king to a considerable value; and this they repeated every night. Some time after *Rhampsinitus* went in to view his heaps, and was surprized to find a visible diminution of them; and the more, because his seal was whole on the door, the only part of the building that could give entrance. The two brothers continued their nightly expilations till the king, after two or three further surveys, was perfectly sensible that some how or other his wealth suffered a successive decrease. And now convinced that some body must do this, he ordered snares to be laid all around the vessels which held his money. The brethren failed not to come at night, and taking out the stone, one of them went in, and going up to a vessel full of silver, was immediately ensnared. Under this surprize he called to his brother who stood without, and earnestly besought him to come in to him, and cut off his head, that so he might save his own life, and effectually prevent the discovery of their intrigue. The brother, perceiving the reasonableness of his request, went in and did as he was desired, and putting the stone in its place again, took the head away with him. Early the next morning the king came in to see the event of his project, but was quite astonished to find a man caught without a head. He went out again in great confusion of thought, but however directed that the body should be hung on the outside of the wall, and exposed to public view; charging the guard appointed to take care of it, that they should make a narrow inspection into the countenances of the spectators, and in whomsoever they perceived signs of sorrow and mourning, to bring such person into his presence. When the mother of the deceased heard that the body was exposed in this manner, she was distracted with grief, and upbraiding her surviving son, threatened that if he did not procure her his brother's body, and bring it home, she would let the king know who had robbed his treasury. The young man did his utmost to bring her to some temper, by remonstrating to her the impracticability of her request; but to no purpose, for she persisted still in her threats. Therefore finding that something must be contrived to gratify her, he consulted how he might succeed in such an enterprize: and at length loading his asses with skins of wine, he drove them towards the place where the body hung up. Having reached the guard, he privately opened some of the skins, and as soon as the wine poured down

which is plundered by the architect's two sons.

down he ſtruck himſelf upon the head, and counterfeited the trouble and conſternation of a perſon utterly undone. In the mean time the ſoldiers upon duty ran to the aſſes with pots, to ſave as much of the liquor as they could for themſelves; which he ſeeing, fell on them with the moſt bitter reproaches, and reviled them for the pleaſure they took in his misfortune, inſtead of giving him their aſſiſtance: but they ſpeaking him fair, he pretended to be pacified, and leading his aſſes out of the way, feigned to be very buſy in ſecuring the remainder of his wine. Whilſt he was doing this the guards ſtood about him, and laughing and joking with him, he at laſt conſented to give them a ſkin of wine; and they in return for ſo great a favour, preſſed him to ſtay and take a part of it with them. He did ſo, and when this ſkin was emptied he gave them another; ſo that by exceſſive drinking the whole guard was overcome, and fell into a deep ſleep. Then watching his opportunity, and perceiving it to be the dead of night, he went to the body, and taking it down, laid it acroſs an aſs; and ſhaving the right cheek of each of the ſoldiers by way of deriſion, went away with the body and carried it home to his mother. The news of this was matter of additional wonder to the king, who, that he might find out the perſon who had done it, bethought him of the following expedient. He ordered his daughter to proſtitute herſelf in a certain apartment of the palace to all comers promiſcuouſly; but under this reſtriction, that ſhe ſhould previouſly extort from each of them a confeſſion of the moſt ingenious intrigue he had ever managed, and the moſt wicked crime he had ever committed. His daughter obeyed, and did as ſhe was inſtructed, and when the thief heard of this extraordinary procedure, he reſolved to perplex the king a little farther. With this view he got the arm of a newly-dead body, and taking it under his cloak, went in to the king's daughter. She examined him in the ſame form, and to the ſame purpoſe as the reſt who had been with her before him; and in return, he frankly confeſſed, that the moſt abominable and wicked action of his life was the cutting off his brother's head when enſnared in the treaſury; and that the moſt ingenious thing he had ever done, was the ſtealing the body from the guard that kept it. She then offered to lay hold on him; which he perceiving, held out the dead arm to her; which ſhe graſping, he ran out, and by the favour of the night made his eſcape. *Rhampſinitus*'s rage was now converted into an admiration of the boldneſs and ingenuity of the man; and therefore he had it proclaimed in every city, that if the perſon, whoever he was, would diſcover himſelf, he ſhould not only be pardoned, but alſo greatly

rewarded. The young man confiding in this, went ſtrait to the palace, and made himſelf known. In the end the king gave him his daughter in marriage, and accounted him far ſuperior in wiſdom to any man then living upon earth. Our author does not warrant every particular of this ſtory.

Rhampſinitus *goes down to hell.*

AFTER this it was fabled, that *Rhampſinitus* deſcended alive into the infernal regions, where he plaid at dice with *Ceres*, but neither won or loſt; and that at his departure ſhe preſented him with a golden bowl. The ſpace between his deſcent and reaſcenſion was obſerved with great ſolemnity by the *Egyptians* many ages afterwards. And now that we may conclude the hiſtory of this king with ſome air of truth and probability, he reigned with great prudence and juſtice, and was a conſtant and ſtrict obſerver of the good order, which, till his death, had uninterruptedly ſubſiſted throughout the kingdom from its firſt foundation [k].

Nilus.

THIS king was ſucceeded by ſeven others, all of nameleſs fame and ignoble character, except one, called NILUS. He is celebrated for the great number of canals he dug all over the country, and for his endeavours to make the *Nile* as univerſally ſerviceable as poſſible. Whence it was that the river which had been hitherto called *Ægyptus*, was now called after his name [l].

Cheops, Chemmis, *or* Chembes, *a tyrant.*

CHEOPS, CHEMMIS, or CHEMBES, (M) is by *Diodorus* reckoned the eighth from *Rhampſinitus*. *Herodotus* places no diſtance between them. This king is branded for his impiety and tyranny. He began his reign with ſhutting up the temples, and forbidding all public ſacrifices. And then trampling on the laws and invading the liberties of his people, reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt laborious ſlavery. Great numbers he ſent to dig out ſtone in the quaries among the mountains of *Arabia*, and to tranſport them into *Egypt* [m]: and harraſſed them in the end in raiſing the largeſt of the three great pyramids [n]. By this, and other vain-glorious works of the ſame kind, he was reduced ſo low, that he expoſed his daughter to common proſtitution; telling her in general terms to earn what ſhe could. She obeyed, and, by her father's

Builds the largeſt pyramid. Proſtitutes his daughter who builds a ſmall pyramid.

[k] HEROD. l. 2. [l] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 57. [m] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [n] Idem ibid. & DIOD. ubi ſupr. See before, Vol. I. p. 404.

(M) Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſuſpects, that he intended to be worſhipped himſelf after death; and ſuppoſes that he was alſo called *Chemnis*, *Phiops*, *Apathus*, *Apappus*, *Suphis*, *Saophis*, *Syphoas*, *Syphaoſis*, *Soiphis*, *Syphuris*, and *Anoiſis*.

ther's example desiring to perpetuate her memory, required each of her gallants only to contribute a stone towards a building she had in view. With the stones so collected, she built a small pyramid. * This tyrant reigned fifty years and died [o].

HE was succeeded by CEPHRENES, CEPHREN, or CEPHRE-CHABRYIS. It was doubted, whether *Cephren*, and *Chabryis*, were one and the same person; some saying, that *Cephren* was the brother, and that *Chabryis* was the son of *Cheops*. But leaving this obscure controversy; this king trod in the foot-steps of his predecessor, and particularly in building a pyramid; but it fell much short of the former. He reigned fifty six years. Though both he and his predecessor designed these pyramids for their eternal mansions, to use the *Egyptian* phrase, yet neither of them were deposited in them after death: dreading what the rage of the multitude might prompt them to, their friends buried them where no body could ever find them [p].

Cephren, *or* Chabryis *a tyrant. Builds a pyramid.*

AFTER *Egypt* had been thus afflicted by tyranny for one hundred and six years, MYCERINUS, or CHERINUS, (N) the son of *Cheops*, a serene and merciful prince, ascended the throne. Abhorring the impiety and injustice of his father and his uncle, he opened the temples, re-instituted the sacrifices, and left the miserable people to the pursuit of their private affairs. His clemency is reported to have been such, that if at any time complaint was made to him of a hard sentence adjudged in a matter of property, he would satisfy the party aggrieved to the amount of the loss, out of his own treasure [q]. Whilst he was thus intent upon the happiness of his people, a heavy misfortune fell upon him, namely the death of his daughter. He mourned her with great bitterness, and honoured her with an extraordinary funeral: For causing an hollow wooden image of a cow to be made and richly gilt with gold, he therein deposited her body. This cow was never interred, but was exposed in a magnificent chamber of the palace in the city of *Saïs*; where they burned the most exquisite odours by day, and illuminated the place by night with a lamp. In a room contiguous to this were twenty naked images of women, which the priests of *Saïs* reported to have been the concubines of *Mycerinus*. But, as it generally hap-

Mycerinus, *or* Cherinus, *a good prince.*

His daughter dies, and he buries her in an extraordinary manner.

* HEROD. ubi supr. See Vol. I. p. 405. [o] HEROD. ubi supr. [p] Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi supr. p. 57, 58. [q] Idem. ibid. HEROD. ubi supr.

(N) The last cited chronologer calls him also *Cheres*, *Bicheres*, *Moscheres*, *Mencheres*.

pens in caſes of remote antiquity, this was not the only report that was ſpread concerning this cow and theſe ſtatues. A ſtory went, that *Mycerinus* falling in love with his daughter, forced and deflowered her; whereupon ſhe fell into a deep melancholy and hanged her ſelf. The twenty naked ſtatues in the next room, ſaid they, were her women, who had been inſtrumental in betraying her to her father's unnatural luſt, and therefore had their hands cut off by the queen. They appeared indeed without hands; but our author, who was an eye-witneſs of theſe things, tells us they were dropped off with age, and lay ſcattered upon the floor. He tells us alſo, that the cow was in a kneeling poſture, and as big as the largeſt living cow. Its neck and head were richly laid over with gold, and between the horns there was a golden circle in imitation of the ſun, and its body had a fine *Tyrian* carpet thrown over it. The ſepulchral image was removed once a year from the apartment where it ſtood, and expoſed to the open day, in purſuance of a requeſt the deceaſed made to her father, that ſhe might behold the ſun once every year.

Now to return whence we digreſſed; the death of his daughter was not the only misfortune that befel *Mycerinus*; a more dreadful one enſued: For it was denounced againſt him from the oracle at *Butus*, that he had but ſix years more to live, and that in the ſeventh he ſhould ſurely die. At this he was greatly troubled, and ſent to expoſtulate with the oracle, and remonſtrated, that ſince his father and uncle, who had been monſters of impiety and cruelty, had been bleſſed with great length of days, it would be ungrateful to requite his piety and humanity with the execution of ſo rigid a ſentence. To this it was anſwered; That his father and uncle knew the decree of fate, which had condemned the *Egyptians* to a hundred and fifty years of bondage and miſery, and acted conformably thereto; but that his ignorance of this, which had induced him to interrupt the courſe of their affliction, was the cauſe that he was ſo ſuddenly to be cut off. Finding therefore that his doom was irreverſible, he conſulted how to make the moſt of the ſmall remainder of his life; and, commanding a great number of lamps to be lighted up every night, he ſpent his whole time in drinking and revelling. So thence forward making no diſtinction between day and night, he roved about among the groves and the meadows, and wherever he heard of the moſt gay and ſportive company. Thus he went on, thinking to convict the oracle of falſhood, and inſtead of ſix, to live twelve years. Finally *Mycerinus* is ſaid to have built a pyramid, which from the baſis to the middle was *Ethiopian* ſtone; and on the northern front of it he

The oracle at Butus *declares him to be ſhort lived.*

Endeavours to convict the oracle of falſhood.

he inſcribed his own name. This pyramid the *Greeks*, by a groſs miſtake, attributed to the courtezan *Rhodopis*, who flouriſhed in the days of *Amaſis*, ſeveral reigns lower [r].

WE now proceed to GNEPHACHTHUS, the father of *Bocchoris* the wife. He is alſo named *Technatis* by *Plutarch* [s], and *Neochabis* by *Alexis*. What interval there was between him and *Mycerinus*, or whether any, does no where plainly appear. This king is famed for his abſtinence, and for the execration he denounced againſt *Menes*. For it is recorded of him, that leading an army into *Arabia*, and travelling the vaſt and barren deſerts, he there fell into great ſtreights and want of proviſion: and being one day obliged to take up with the poor and ſlender diet he met with, he afterwards fell into a profound ſleep. This ſo delighted him, that he forbad all exceſs and luxury, and curſed MENES, who firſt introduced them: And ſo earneſtly did he perſecute the memory of this his predeceſſor, that, by the conſent of the prieſts, he engraved his curſe upon a pillar, which was ſeen in the temple at *Thebes*; from whence it came to paſs, that the fair name of *Menes* was ſeen through a cloud by ſucceeding generations. *Forbids all luxury, and curſes* Menes.

BOCCHORIS, the ſon of *Gnephachthus*, was ſurnamed the wiſe. He was a deſpicable perſon to look at, but for prudence and wiſdom far beyond any of his predeceſſors. He is reckoned the fourth *Egyptian* law-giver; but his laws [t] ſeem not to have concerned any thing, except commerce and the regulation of the public revenue. His judgments were for their excellence retained many ages after his death; but his great qualities were ſomewhat debaſed by his propenſion to avarice [u]. So high was the veneration his ſubjects paid him, that they fabled *Iſis* to have ſent an aſp to prevent his ſight, that he might judge righteouſly [w]. However, he drew a general odium upon himſelf, by letting in a wild bull to the ſacred one, called *Mnevis*; but this got the better, and killed his antagoniſt. At laſt, with all the equity of his judgment [x], and the purity of his mind, he is ſaid to have been taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and burnt alive [y]. Bocchoris.

ASYCHIS is by *Herodotus* placed next in order to *Mycerinus*; but in compliance with *Diodorus*, we have put two reigns between them, notwithſtanding our full perſuaſion that *Bocchoris* and *Aſychis* were the ſame king, as we ſhall Aſychis.

[r] Idem ibid. See Vol. I. p. 404. [s] De Iſide & Oſirid. [t] See Vol. I. p. 442. [u] DIOD. l. 1. p. 59, 85. [w] PLUT. περὶ δυσωπίας, p. 529. [x] ÆLIAN. de Anim. l. 11. c. 11. [y] SYNCELL. p. 74.

take occaſion to obſerve by and by: In the mean time it is recorded of *Aſychis*, that he built the eaſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, with a magnificence that eclipſed the others. And finding that the riches of *Egypt*, were lodged in a few hands, and that credit was decayed, he enacted a law, whereby a man might borrow money upon the ſepulchre of his father, and depoſite the body, as a pledge, in the hands of the creditor. And till it was redeemed, the debtor might neither be buried in the ſepulchre of his father, or in any other nor put any of his deſcendants there. This king, to ſurpaſs all his predeceſſors, built him a pyramid of brick, which he charged with a very vaunting inſcription [z].

builds the eaſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

and a brick pyramid.

Anyſis. After *Aſychis*, a blind man named Anysis, from a city of the ſame name, became King. In his reign *Sabbaco* king of *Æthiopia* broke into *Egypt* with a powerful army, and *Anyſis* fled for ſhelter to the fens, leaving the kingdom to the invader [a].

Bocchoris *and* Aſychis *the ſame king, and contemporary to* Anyſis, *and* Nechus *the father of* Pſammitichus.

But before we enter upon the reign of *Sabbaco*, let us take a curſory retroſpect of theſe three laſt reigns, and perhaps we may find reaſon to think, that *Bocchoris* and *Aſychis* are different names for one King, and that the blind man *Anyſis* was his contemporary. For the law ſaid to have been inſtituted by *Aſychis* favours ſo much of *Bocchoris*'s genius as might incline one to think them but one man. And if it be true, that *Bocchoris* was burnt alive by *Sabbaco*, they muſt not only have been ſo, but *Anyſis* muſt alſo have been king of another part of *Egypt* at the ſame time. Furthermore, it is declared by *Herodotus*, that Necus, the father of *Pſammitichus*, was ſlain by the ſame *Ethiopian* [b]. Here we have three kings, if we may ſuppoſe *Necus* to have been of royal dignity, ſubdued by one and the ſame enemy, and all in *Egypt*. From hence it may appear, that many of the kings of *Egypt* are placed in order of ſucceſſion, that were collateral, merely out of oſtentation, and to ſupport the pretenſions the prieſts made to the exceſſive antiquity of their kingdom.

Sabbaco *the* Ethiopian.

We now return to Sabbaco; and if it be true that he dealt ſo rigidly with *Bocchoris*, thoſe are ſurely right who ſuppoſe he began his reign with barbarity and cruelty towards others. But no ſooner was he eſtabliſhed firmly on the throne, than he became a new man; ſo that he is highly extolled for his mercy, clemency, and policy. He is thought to have been the *So* in ſcripture, and to have entered into a league with

[z] Heron. l. 2. See Vol. I. 406. [a] Herod. ubi ſupr.
[b] Idem ibid.

Hoſhea,

Hoſhea, king of *Samaria*, againſt *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*. He was excited to the invaſion of *Egypt* by a dream, or viſion, which aſſured him he ſhould hold *Egypt* fifty years; and when that term was expired, he voluntarily retired into *Æthiopia* again, reſigning his conquered kingdom. But whilſt he was in *Egypt*, he gave the higheſt proofs of his wiſdom and piety, and yielded to none of his *Egyptian* predeceſſors in the art of governing. He never would conſent to the death of any criminal, though capitally condemned; commuting the puniſhment into hard labour, which purely conſiſted in raiſing of mounts, and digging of canals; ſo that the cities of *Egypt* were raiſed higher, and rendered more commodious than by *Seſoſtris*; and particularly the city of *Bubaſtis*, where ſtood a moſt delightful temple to the goddeſs of the ſame name, whom the *Greeks* interpreted to be their *Diana*. At length *Sabbaco* had a viſion as he ſlept, wherein the tutelar god of *Thebes* admoniſhed him, that he could not hold the kingdom of *Egypt* with ſafety and happineſs, except he maſſacred the prieſt as he paſſed through them with his guards. This viſion he had at ſeveral repetitions; but, his heart abhorring ſo dreadful an undertaking, he ſent for the prieſts, and declared to them what the gods would have prompted him to, and that thereby he began to apprehend it was their pleaſure he ſhould remain no longer in *Egypt*; and that therefore with pure hands and a clear conſcience he would return into his native kingdom, rather than lie under the neceſſity of polluting his life by ſo general a bloodſhed, to preſerve himſelf on the throne of *Egypt*. And upon the whole, conſidering that the predicted fifty years were expired, he accordingly retired into his own country[c].

His firſt viſion.

His policy.

His ſecond viſion.

As ſoon as *Sabbaco* had departed the kingdom, *Anyſis* came out from his hiding-place, and reaſſumed the government. He had been abſent fifty years, and in that time had formed an Iſland for his habitation, compoſed of aſhes and earth; for when any *Egyptian* came to him with proviſion, he always deſired that aſhes might be brought to him unknown to the *Ethiopian*. This iſland was called *Elbo*, and lay undiſcovered ſeven hundred years and upwards, till the reign of *Amyrtæus*.

Anyſis *again.*

AFTER him there reigned one SETHON, who was both king, and prieſt of *Vulcan*. He not only neglected the military claſs or order, but injuriouſly diveſted them of their privileges and lands; whereat they were ſo incenſed that they thought themſelves abſolved from their allegiance, and entered

Sethon *king and prieſt.*

[c] Idem ibid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupra, p. 59.

into

into a combination not to bear arms under him, if he ſhould ever ſtand in need of them. But he, regardleſs of their threats and murmurs, gave himſelf wholly up to contemplation and the functions of religion. This was the ſtate of affairs when *Sennacherib* king of *Aſſyria* drew near to *Peluſium*, deſigning to enter *Egypt*. *Sethon* perceiving his danger, and that now his only truſt muſt be on the military order whom he had ſo unjuſtly dealt with, he ſought their aſſiſtance; but in vain: They obſtinately perſiſted in their refuſal to march under his banner. The prieſt, now deſtitute of all other advice and ſupport, repaired to his god, and in the utmoſt dejection of mind implored his aid. Whilſt he was yet in the temple, he fell into a deep ſleep, during which it ſeemed to him that the god ſtood at his ſide, and exhorted him to take courage, and promiſed, that if he would but go out againſt the *Aſſyrians* he ſhould obtain a complete victory over them. Fraught with this viſion, he aſſembled together a promiſcuous body of artificers, ſhop-keepers, and labourers; and, with this unexperienced multitude, bent his march towards *Peluſium*. The very night after his arrival there, an infinite number of field-rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawed their quivers, bow-ſtrings, and ſhield-ſtraps to pieces. This is very conſonant to the prophecy of *Iſaiah*, if we may be allowed to inſert it here: *The king of* Aſſyria *ſhall not come into this City*, (meaning *Jeruſalem*) *nor ſhoot an* arrow *there*, *nor come before it with a* ſhield [d]. For *Sennacherib* (as ſhould ſeem) had broke up the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* for a time to fall upon *Egypt*; but whether this *Sethon* be the ſame with *Tirhakah*, or *Sevechus*, is more than we can decide. But to return; when *Sethon* next morning found the enemy thus diſarmed, and moving off, he purſued them with a great ſlaughter. In memory of this miraculous event, there was a ſtone ſtatue of this king erected in the temple of *Vulcan*, with a rat in one of his hands, and delivering theſe words from his mouth; *Whoſo beholdeth me, let him be pious* [e].

The twelve kings.

A ſhort time after the death of *Sethon*, *Egypt* was (upon what motive is not preciſely known) divided into twelve kingdoms, and twelve of the chief *Egyptian* lords were appointed over them. Theſe twelve entered into the ſtricteſt aſſociation for the public welfare. The mutual league between them was conceived in the moſt obligatory manner, and cemented by all the ſtricteſt ties that could poſſibly conduce to a perpetual union and harmony between them; becauſe it had been foretold by an oracle, upon

[d] 2 Kings xix. 32. [e] Herod. ubi ſupr.

their

their assuming the government; that he of their number that should perform a libation in a brazen cup would in time be king of all *Egypt*. This new regulation was attended with peace and happiness, and the twelve kings resolved to raise a monument, which might perpetuate their names to latest ages; and accordingly they raised the famous labyrinth [f] near the lake *Mœris*. At length it came to pass, that at a stated time they all met together to sacrifice in the temple of *Vulcan*, and being to offer a libation on the last day, the high priest, through mistake, brought out only eleven of the twelve gold bowls, which were reserved for the use of the twelve princes; and *Psammitichus*, standing the last in order, and being unprovided for the ceremony, took off his helmet, which was of brass (they all twelve wore the same), and performed his libation with that. This he did inadvertently; but it being observed by the rest, they called to mind the oracle which promised him to be sole king of *Egypt*, who should happen to perform a libation in this place with a brass bowl. Wherefore, though they were satisfied he had no ill intention, and for that reason would not sentence him to die, yet they were unanimous for expelling him to the marshy country, and for divesting him of the greatest part of his district, and forbidding him to concern himself with the affairs of the public [g]. The reason of this discord is told differently by some, and the whole is attributed to envy: For at the division of the country into twelve provinces, as has been observed, the sea-coasts fell to the lot of *Psammitichus*; and he greatly encouraging all commerce with the *Grecians* and *Phœnicians*, not only accumulated great wealth, but acquired also the favour and friendship of several foreign kings and nations, which drew on him the envy of his colleagues; who, fearing he should grow too formidable, and affect to rule over them, resolved to reduce him betimes. Wherefore they all declared war against him; and he, finding himself unequal to the conflict, hired an army of mercenaries, consisting chiefly of *Ionians*, *Carians*, and *Arabians*, and repelled force with force, and in the end subdued the other kings, and put an end to the *duodecemvirate* [h]. On the other hand it is related, that, in pursuance of his sentence, he retreated to the fens; but, greatly resenting the severity of his usage for so trifling a thing, in which he meant no harm, either present or future, he sent to the oracle of *Latona* at the city of *Butus*, to know how, and when he might hope for redress. The answer he received was,

[f] See Vol I. p. 422. Sic. ubi supr. p. 60.

[g] HEROD. ibid.

[h] DIOD.

That

That *Brazen* would ſuddenly riſe out of the ſea and avenge his cauſe. This he received as a flat abſurdity: But not long after ſome *Ionian* and *Carian* pyrates landed in braſs armour. And an *Egyptian*, who had never ſeen men armed ſo before, going up to *Pſammitichus*, and acquainting him, that certain brazen men had riſen out of the ſea, and were pillaging the land near the ſea-ſhore, he perceived that the oracle was come to paſs: Therefore, perſwading them to ſtay by the large promiſes he made them, if he ſucceeded; and joining to them ſuch *Egyptians* as were well affected to him, he ſubdued, and dethroned the eleven kings, and ſeized on the whole kingdom for himſelf [i]. It is ſaid, the deciſive battle was fought at *Monemphis*, and that ſome of the kings were ſlain, and others took refuge in *Afric*. Thus was the government by twelve diſſolved, after it had ſubſiſted fifteen years [k].

Year of the Flood, 2329. Year before Chriſt 670.

HITHERTO the *Egyptian* hiſtory has been covered with an impenetrable miſt: it now begins to clear up a little. PSAMMITICHUS of the tribe of *Saïs*, thus poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, reigned with as much wiſdom, magnanimity, and ſplendour as any of his predeceſſors. He was the ſon of *Nechus*, whom *Sabbaco* put to death when he conquered *Egypt*: and had he not fled into *Syria*, would have ſhared in his father's fate. He made good his engagements with his allies, and over and above preſented them with certain lands on each ſide of the *Nile*, and called their ſettlements *the Camp*. He alſo put ſeveral children under their tuition, that they might be inſtructed in the *Grecian* language; and thoſe who afterwards performed the office of interpreter deſcended from theſe. They had their ſituation near the ſea, below the city of *Bubaſtis* in the *Peluſian* mouth of the *Nile*: and here they continued till *Amaſis* removed them to *Memphis*, as will be ſhewn in its proper place. However, it is here proper to obſerve, that theſe *Grecians* are ſaid to have been the firſt foreigners that were permitted to dwell in *Egypt*; and that from the intercourſe and correſpondence which was conſtantly kept up between them and their countrymen in *Greece*, we are well aſſured of the truth and exactneſs of the *Egyptian* hiſtory from the days of *Pſammitichus*.

Pſammitichus gives great encouragement to the Greeks.

His public buildings.

CONCERNING the public edifices he erected, there is ſome diſcrepancy: *Herodotus* ſays, he added the ſouthern, and *Diodorus*, that he added the eaſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*. The former ſays, that he built a ſpacious edifice oppoſite to this portico, for the reception of the god *Apis* whenever he ſhould appear; and that it was enriched with ſculptures,

[i] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [k] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

and

and ſurrounded by gigantic ſtatues of twelve cubits high, inſtead of pillars. The latter, that he encompaſſed the temple with a wall, in which he ſubſtituted coloſſuſes inſtead of pilaſters *. Year of the Flood, 2329. Year before Chriſt 670.

Now in conſideration of the fidelity and warlike experience of the foreigners, by whoſe aid he ſeated himſelf on the throne, he always kept ſome of their countrymen in pay, and went ſo far as to compliment them with the poſt of honour, when he marched his army into *Syria*, where he warred many years. This ſo incenſed the *Egyptians*, that upwards of 200,000 deſerted him, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his error in thus affronting his own ſubjects, he at firſt ſent ſome of the chief officers after them to excuſe the matter: but finding that their perſuaſions had no effect, he took ſhipping with ſome of his friends, and overtook them on the banks of the *Nile*. And there entreating them to halt, in conſideration of all the natural obligations that could endear their country to them, their gods, and fireſides, they unanimouſly ſtruck their ſpears upon their ſhields, and cried out, that, as long as they had arms, they did not doubt but they ſhould find a convenient country to ſettle in: then betraying their nakedneſs, that they ſhould never want wives and children whilſt they were ſo perfect. This done, they ſullenly marched on till they came into the territories of *Æthiopia*, where they ſat down on a fertile ſpot, and dwelt there. *His wars.*

To repair this loſs, he earneſtly applied himſelf to the advancement of commerce, and opened his ports to all ſtrangers, whom he greatly careſſed, contrary to the cruel or reſerved maxims of his predeceſſors. At the ſame time that he was thus intent upon his affairs at home, he alſo entered into, or renewed an alliance with the *Athenians*, and others of the *Greeks* [l]. But his reign is for nothing more remarkable than for the long and tedious ſiege he laid to *Azotus* in *Syria*, on the borders of *Egypt*, and which a ſhort time before had been taken by *Aſar-haddon*, king of *Babylon*; for it was twenty nine years before he reduced it [m]. His conduct towards the *Scythians*, who about this time conquered the *Medes*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Aſia*, and were now marching with deſign to pour themſelves into *Egypt*, is highly commended: For, inſtead of oppoſing them, he joined them in *Syria*, and by his preſents and entreaties prevailed on them to march back again [n]. After a reign of fifty four years [o] he died, and was buried in the temple of *Bubaſtis*, or *Minerva*, at *Saïs*, the *Opens the ports of* Egypt *to ſtrangers.* *His ſiege of* Azotus, *and tranſaction with the* Scythians.

* HERODOT. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 61. [l] Idem ibid. [m] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [n] Idem l. 1. [o] Idem l. 2.

place

place where all the *Saïtic* kings were depoſited. He is reported to have been the firſt king of *Egypt* that drank wine [p], to have ſent to diſcover the ſprings of the *Nile* [q], and to have made an experiment to find out which was the moſt antient nation in the world: to which purpoſe he got two new-born children, and brought them up after ſuch a manner, that they never heard any body ſpeak; and becauſe when at two years old they pronounced a word (*beccos*) which ſignified bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, the *Egyptians* no longer vaunted of their ſeniority before all other nations, but ſubmitted to the *Phrygians* [r].

Year of the Flood, 2383. Year before Chriſt 616.

Nechus.

Affects the empire of the ſea,

NECHUS was the ſon and ſucceſſor of PSAMMITICHUS. He is the *Pharaoh-Necho* of ſcripture. He was a prince of a magnificent and warlike genius, and great both at land and ſea. In the beginning of his reign he attempted to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea* [s]; and after the loſs of 120,000 of thoſe employed on this work, he was warned by an oracle to deſiſt, and leave the finiſhing of it to a *Barbarian*, or foreigner. The oracle he obeyed; but thenceforward turning his thoughts towards warlike enterprizes, he built a fleet of gallies in the northern [*mediterranean*] ſea, and another in the ſtraits of the *Arabian* gulph, where footſteps of his naval preparations were ſeen many ages afterwards. The warlike actions of this naval force, if any, are no where extant; but, as his mind was bent upon the empire of the ſea, he ſent ſome of the experteſt *Phœnician* mariners he could procure to go out upon a diſcovery of the *African* coaſts. Accordingly, ſailing out of the *Red Sea* through the ſtraits of *Babelmandel*, as now called, they ſteered down the eaſtern ſhores of *Afric*; and doubling the *Cape* of *Good-Hope*, coaſted up northward, till they came to the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*; by which they entered into the *Mediterranean*, and ſo returned into *Egypt*; and this voyage they performed in three years [t].

His wars at land.

HE was not only great at ſea, but was alſo formidable by land. *Joſephus* following *Cteſias* ſays, that he made war upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; who had juſt then diſſolved the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, and were grown dreadful to the nations far and near [u]: but the ſcripture expreſly ſays, that he went out againſt the king of *Aſſyria*, who was then on the river *Euphrates*, perhaps at *Babylon*. In his march thither, *Joſiah* king of *Judah*, refuſed to let him paſs through *Judæa*, and drew up an army to prevent his deſign, which was to beſiege

[p] Eudox. apud PLUTARCH. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 333. [q] HEROD. ubi ſupr. & ATHENÆUS, l. 8. p. 345. [r] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [s] See Vol. I. p. 115. [t] Idem ibid. [u] JOSEPHUS Antiq. l. 10. c. 6.

Car-

Carchemiſh w. Finding therefore that *Joſiah* oppoſed him, he ſent meſſengers to him to remonſtrate, that his arms were not taken up with deſign to do *Joſiah* the leaſt prejudice; that the war, he was going to engage in, was undertaken by the expreſs command of God; wherefore he would do well not to incur the wrath of heaven by withſtanding its decree. But, finding that *Joſiah* gave no ear to this, he reſolved to give him battle; and both armies being drawn up in the valley of *Megiddo* (or *Magdolus*, as *Herodotus* has it x), *Joſiah* was wounded mortally with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot up and down the ranks; and perceiving his end to be near, he commanded his army to retreat, and *Necho* held on his march y. He arrived on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and there overthrew the king of *Aſſyria*, and took the great city of *Carchemiſh*; where he lodged a ſufficient gariſon, and after three months returned towards *Egypt* z. As he drew near to *Jeruſalem*, he heard that *Jehoahaz* had taken upon him to be king; and ſending him an order to meet him at *Riblah* in *Syria*, he there bound him in chains, and ſent him away priſoner to *Egypt*. After which he went to *Jeruſalem*, and made *Eliakim*, whoſe name he changed into *Jehoiakim*, king over *Judah*, impoſing on him at the ſame time a tribute of an hundred talents of ſilver, and one talent of gold a. And thus he became maſter of *Judæa* and *Syria*. *Herodotus* ſays, that he took the great and mountainous city of *Cadytis* in *Paleſtine*, which is very rationally underſtood to mean *Jeruſalem*. It is plain *Nechus* was there; but it is almoſt as plain that he entered it in a peaceful manner b. Hitherto then he was ſucceſsful in his wars, by which he weakened the declining power of *Aſſyria*; which very ſoon after ceaſed to give name to a monarchy: and in commemoration of his good fortune, or in gratitude to the god, he is ſaid to have conſecrated the garments he wore in theſe actions to *Apollo*, and ſent them to *Branchis* in the land of the *Mileſians* c.

Year of the Flood, 2383. Year before Chriſt 616.

BUT he did not long enjoy his new acquiſitions; for, about three years afterwards, *Nebuchadnezzar* came from *Babylon*, which, in conjunction with *Media*, had ſubverted the *Aſſyrian* empire, deſigning to drive the *Egyptians* from *Charchemiſh*, and recover the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* provinces, which *Necho* had ſubdued d. But he, no way daunted at the formi-

His turn of fortune.

w 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. ver. 20. x HEROD. ubi ſupr. y 2 Chronic. xxxv. v. 24. JOSEPHUS Antiq. ubi ſupr. z Idem ibid. a 2 Kings xxiii. v. 33. b Vid. PRIDEAUX Connect. p. 56, 57. HEROD. ubi ſupr. c Idem ibid. d Jerem. xlvi. 1, 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

dable

dable power of this newly-erected monarchy, marched towards the *Euphrates* with a very numerous army, againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*; but in the end *Necho* was routed with a terrible ſlaughter, and loſt *Carchemiſh*, and all *Syria* and *Judæa*, quite home to *Peluſium* [c]. He afterwards entered into a confederacy with *Jehoiakim*, and made as if he intended to renew the war againſt the *Babylonians*; but he did nothing of moment afterwards, nor ſtirred out of *Egypt*; and died about eight years after he had been defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar* [f], having reigned ſixteen, and left his ſon *Pſammis* to ſucceed him in the kingdom [g].

Year of the Flood, 2399. Year before Chriſt, 600.

Pſammis.

In the reign of Psammis the ſon of *Necho* there came ambaſſadors into *Egypt* from the *Elæans*, to know, if the moſt ſage *Egyptians* could add any thing to their regulations concerning the olympic games, or could perceive any defect in them. When the king was informed of their buſineſs, he called a council of the wiſeſt heads in the nation, and ſending for the ambaſſadors to come before this aſſembly, he aſked them, if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games: to which they anſwered in the affirmative. Whereupon the *Egyptians* pronounced, that they erred from all the rules of hoſpitality; obſerving, that it was natural for them to favour their fellow-citizens more than ſtrangers. That if they were come to be informed concerning what ought, or ought not to be done, in the matter they had propoſed, the moſt equitable law they could make, would be to exclude their own countrymen, and admit none but ſtrangers to contend for the prizes. *Pſammis* reigned ſix years, and died in an expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*, leaving his ſon *Apries* to ſucceed him [h].

Year of the Flood, 2405. Year before Chriſt, 594.

Apries.

Apries is the *Pharaoh-hophra* of ſcripture. The firſt of his reign was great and proſperous; the laſt inſolent and miſerable. In the firſt year of his reign he received ambaſſadors from *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, and with them he entered into league, promiſing to aſſiſt their king againſt the king of *Babylon* [i]; and about two years afterwards marched out of *Egypt* with ſeeming intent to relieve *Jeruſalem*, then cloſely beſieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*; who no ſooner heard of his motions than he raiſed the ſiege, and reſolved to meet *Apries* half way [k]. He did ſo; but the *Egyptians*, afraid of venturing a battle, retreated as faſt as the *Babylonians* approached, and ſo continued till they had fallen back into their own country [l], leaving

His affairs with the Jews.

[c] Joseph. ubi ſupr. [f] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Joseph. ubi ſupr. [g] Herod. ubi ſupr. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Ezek. xvii. 15. [k] Jerem. xxxvii. 5. [l] Idem xxxvii. 7.

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the *Jews* to the mercileſs rage of their enemy, in contempt of the moſt ſolemn engagements. And for this breach of faith it was, that *Ezekiel* denounced the heavy doom againſt them, that they ſhould be confounded and deſolate for forty years enſuing [m]; and that afterwards they ſhould degenerate to ſo baſe a degree, as not to have it in their power ever to ſet up a king of their own for the time to come [n]; which will be ſeen accompliſhed in the courſe of this hiſtory. The ſcriptures paint him in very diſadvantageous colours, and in the end threaten him with a violent death; which came to paſs, as we ſhall ſee anon. In the mean time it may not be amiſs to take notice, that *Herodotus* gives this king twenty five years of greater proſperity than any of his predeceſſors, except *Pſammitichus*, had enjoyed; though *Diodorus* allows his whole reign no more than twenty two years. However, they both agree in giving him the character of a martial prince, and ſpeak of ſucceſsful wars which he waged, both by ſea and land, againſt the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, and *Cypriots* [o]. The city of *Sidon* he took by ſtorm, and vanquiſhed both the *Phœnicians* and *Cypriots* in a ſeafight; and returned with immenſe ſpoil into *Egypt* [p]. And all this no way claſhes with what the ſacred writings record of him; but is rather conſonant therewith: For ſure it muſt have been a mighty king, in whom the *Jews* dared to confide againſt the monarch of *Babylon*. And as to the feint *Apries* made to relieve *Jeruſalem* and his ſhameful retreat, that rather reflected diſhonour on him, than amounted to a misfortune. *His victories.*

BUT now, in order to harmonize the ſacred and prophane hiſtorians, let us hear the former denounce judgment againſt him, and then ſee how the latter execute it; which is the moſt obvious and diſtinct method we can think of in this caſe, where we are obliged to reſort to both. We have already in general terms obſerved, that the ſcripture threatened this king with a violent death, let us attend to the words of the prophet himſelf: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will give* Pharaoh-hophra *king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon his enemy, and that ſought his life* [q]. Many predictions of the ſame kind are uttered againſt him in *Ezekiel*, but there he is only involved with the reſt of his ſubjects, and therefore we ſhall paſs them over. We are now to ſee how his deſtruction was brought about. The *Cyrenæans*, a

[m] Ezek. xxix. v. 8, 12. [n] Idem. xxx. 13. [o] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 62. [p] Idem. ibid. [q] Jerem. xliv. 30.

colony of the *Greeks*, had a very numerous acceſſion of their countrymen under their third king *Battus the happy*; and, being impelled by an oracle from the *Pythians*, fell to ſharing the lands, and unjuſtly driving the *Libyans*, their neighbours, from their poſſeſſions, their king *Andicran* ſent an embaſſy of ſubmiſſion to *Apries*, and implored his protection from the violence of theſe new comers. *Apries* condeſcended to his requeſt, and ſent a powerful army to relieve him. But the *Egyptians* were beaten by the *Cyrenæans* with ſo cruel a ſlaughter, that the few who eſcaped were incenſed with the fierceſt rage againſt their king, as if he had ſent them to certain deſtruction, in hopes that they being cut off, he might tyrannize at will over the remainder of his ſubjects. What ground there was for this clamour does not appear, but the giddy multitude were ſo taken with it, that almoſt an univerſal defection enſued. Upon news that they were embodied in a tumultuous manner, and were talking loud of a revolution, *Apries* ſent a truſty friend, as he thought, and one much reſpected by the people, called *Amaſis*, to appeaſe them. He went; but inſtead of reconciling them with *Apries*, he made intereſt with them for himſelf; and as he was pretending to reproach them, and recal them to their allegiance, one of them came behind him, put an helmet on his head, and ſaluted him king of *Egypt*; and from that inſtant he prepared himſelf to war againſt his maſter[r]. *Apries* finding himſelf ſo foully betrayed, commanded one *Patarbemis*, the moſt conſiderable of all the *Egyptians*, who as yet adhered to him, to go to the rebellious camp, and bring *Amaſis* to him alive. He obeyed; and coming in ſight of *Amaſis*, called out to him, and charged him to attend on him to the king. At this, *Amaſis*, who was ſitting on horſeback, lifted up his thigh with the utmoſt ſcorn, and breaking wind, bid him carry that back to his maſter. Notwithſtanding this, *Patarbemis* ſtill urged him to obey the royal ſummons; but all he could obtain was this anſwer from *Amaſis*, That indeed he had been ſome time preparing to viſit the king, but that he might do it in a proper manner, he would bring a ſuitable equipage along with him. *Patarbemis* had now heard and ſeen too much to imagine he ſhould ſucceed in the buſineſs he was charged with, and began to think, that the beſt ſervice he could do for *Apries*, at this conjuncture, would be to give him the moſt early notice of the poſture and temper of the rebels. He therefore returned back; but when the king ſaw him come into his preſence without *Amaſis*, he ſpoke not one word to him, but ordered his ears and noſe to be cut off. This

The cauſe of his ruin.

Is betrayed by Amaſis.

[r] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr.

inſolent

inſolent and tyrannical behaviour compleated his ruin: for when the reſt of the *Egyptians*, who had continued faithful to him, beheld the inhuman mutilation of ſo worthy and noble a perſon, they all withdrew from him and went over to *Amaſis*. And now the tyrant on the one hand, and the uſurper on the other, prepared for war; the one having the whole body of the natives under his banner; the other only ſuch *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other mercenaries and foreigners as he could engage in his ſervice [r].

Nebuchadnezzar *waſtes and plunders* Egypt

DURING theſe inteſtine broils, and theſe diviſions, which muſt have greatly weakened *Egypt*, it is probable that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who much about this time broke up his thirteen years ſiege of *Tyre*, and had at laſt nothing but an empty town for his pains, took advantage of the troubled ſtate of this kingdom, in hopes here to acquire ſuch ſpoil as might make amends for what he miſſed at *Tyre*. And this is perfectly conſonant to the ſcripture, where it is ſaid; *Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus .... yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus .... Therefore, thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon .... and it ſhall be the wages for his army* [t]. A nation in ſuch diſtraction, as *Egypt* muſt have been in at this time, was an eaſy prey to a number of experienced veterans; and beſides, muſt have been in the moſt proper condition to gratify an army already worn out with fatigue, as the *Babylonians* doubtleſs were. *Nebuchadnezzar* therefore entered *Egypt*, and miſerably harraſſed the country, and ſlew and led away great numbers of its inhabitants; ſo that ſome think it did not recover this incurſion for forty years, as had been foretold. At length he left the country; but whether he appointed *Amaſis* for his lieutenant, or what terms he made with him, is what we do not take upon us to ſay; no more than whether *Amaſis* and *Apries* ſtood their ground, and made head againſt the enemy; or whether they left him to act his pleaſure in *Egypt*. This alone is certain, that the *Babylonian* carried away immenſe ſpoil with him.

Civil war between Apries *and* Amaſis.

AND now we reſume the civil war, which we have been obliged to interrupt, by taking a view of the devaſtation of the country by a foreign enemy. *Apries* marched from *Saïs*, where he had a moſt ſumptuous and delightful palace, at the head of 30,000 *Carians* and *Ionians*; and *Amaſis*, on the other hand, was in motion at the head of an army of *Egyptians* [u]. They met in the fields near *Memphis*; and *Apries*

[r] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [t] Ezek. xxix. 18. 19. [u] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr.

was so far from doubting the victory, that he is said to have entertained a notion, That it was not in the power even of any god to divest him of his kingdom [w], as he is upbraided by the prophet, *My river is mine own, and I have made it* [x]. But his confidence availed him nothing; the armies drew up at *Memphis*, and though the foreigners did wonders, yet they were overpowered by the multitude of the *Egyptians*, and were utterly overthrown, and *Apries* himself was taken prisoner.

Year of the Flood, 2430. Year before Christ, 569.

Amasis.

Apries *is strangled.*

And now Amasis of the tribe of *Saïs* usurped the kingdom. He confined *Apries* in the palace of *Saïs*, formerly his own; and treated him with great care and respect. But the people were implacable, and could not rest whilst *Apries* enjoyed his life *: and therefore murmuring against *Amasis*, and remonstrating that his lenity was wrong applied in extending it to his and their common enemy, he found himself under a necessity of delivering *Apries* into their hands. And now, being fallen under the power of those who *sought his life* [y], they strangled him, and laid his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, which was in the temple of *Minerva*, adjoining to the palace, on the left hand going in. Here it was that all the princes of the tribe of *Saïs* were intombed [z].

We know it is said, that *Amasis* did not thus seat himself on the throne; and that he did not succeed *Apries*. It was one *Partamis*, say they, whom *Amasis* succeeded, and that, by the following incident. *Partamis* celebrating his birth-day, *Amasis*, as yet a private person, presented him with a most beautiful and elegant garland of flowers: whereupon being invited to the table as a guest, and thenceforward added to the number of the king's friends; he was at last sent at the head of an army to reduce the *Egyptians* who had rebelled; but the army made him king, out of the hatred they bore to *Partamis* [a]. We are inclined to think, that the *Partamis* here and the *Patarbemis* above are the same man; and if so, he was rather the idol of the people's affections, than the object of their hatred. But we forbear enlarging any farther on this, and shall only say, that our author, in which we find this, is not always the most faithful transcriber.

Whoever *Amasis* succeeded, and which way soever he came by the crown, it is commonly allowed, that he was of plebeian extraction. And perceiving at first, that it was with reluctance the people payed him the respect due to the sublimity of his station, he took a golden cistern, in which his guests were used to wash their feet, and ordered it to be melted

[w] Heron. ubi supr. [x] Ezek. xxix. 3. * Plato in Tim.
[y] Jerem. ubi supr. [z] Heron. ubi supr. [a] Hellanic. apud Athenæ *Deipno*. l. 15. p. 680.

down,

down, and caſt in the ſhape of a god. This precious idol was ſet up in the moſt frequented part of the city; and all paid devout reverence and honour to it. He then called an aſſembly of the *Egyptians*, and acquainted them, That the god they now worſhipped was made of the veſſel in which they had often piſſed, vomited, and waſhed their feet: that his own caſe was the ſame; formerly he was a mean perſon, but, being now their king, he expected and required to be honoured and obeyed as ſuch. It was a rule with him to attend cloſely to buſineſs every morning, and to divert himſelf with his friends the remainder of the day, drinking and making merry with them: but his mirth was ſomewhat of too low an allay for a king; at which ſome of his friends were ſcandalized, and aſſured him, that ſuch forgetfulneſs of his dignity would draw the contempt of all his ſubjects upon him. To this he replied, that as a bow always bent would undoubtedly loſe much of its ſpring and energy, and in the end be wholly uſeleſs; ſo a man, who ſhould uninterruptedly attend upon ſerious matters, would grow ſtupid and loſe his ſenſes: and being perfectly convinced of this truth, he was determined to divide his time between buſineſs and diverſion. And indeed it is ſaid of him, that when a private man, he delighted in his cup and his jeſt; and was ſo averſe to buſineſs, that he ſupported himſelf in his riot and luxury by thieving. And in conſequence of this heinous practice, being oftentimes accuſed, and continually denying his guilt, they were uſed to carry him to the oracle of the place, wherever he was, by which he was ſometimes convicted, and ſometimes acquitted. When he came to the throne, he recollected the former tranſactions of his life, and calling to mind the deceitfulneſs and ignorance of the oracles, who had pronounced him innocent, he ſlighted the temples of ſuch gods, abſtained from their ſacrifices, and refuſed to preſent them with any donations. On the contrary, he highly revered thoſe for veracity and omniſcience, who had charged him with his odious crime.

The public works of Amaſis.

HE built a portico to the temple of *Minerva* at *Saïs*, which was of the utmoſt magnificence, both in the vaſtneſs of its proportion, and the maſſiveneſs of the materials, adorning it with coloſſuſes, and the monſtrous images of *Androſphynges*. Part of the ſtones of this building were taken out of the quarries at *Memphis*; but the largeſt of them came by water from the city of *Elephantis*, twenty days paſſage on the river, and a great many of theſe he prepared for other works. But what is moſt to be admired, he removed a houſe all of one ſtone from the ſame city to *Saïs*. The exterior dimenſions of it were twenty one cubits in front, fourteen deep, and eight high:

high: the interior measures were eighteen cubits, twelve, and five. Two thousand mariners were employed three years in transporting this extraordinary edifice. It stood near the entrance of the temple, and was never carried quite in, either, as was said, because the chief engineer sighed one day, as if he was tired out with the work, and therefore *Amasis*, who stood by, taking offence, would never suffer him to have any thing more to do with it; or, because rolling it in towards the temple, one of the men was crushed to death by it, and therefore might not be advanced any farther. He was very magnificent in the gifts and ornaments he bestowed upon the other celebrated temples, and particularly at *Memphis*; where, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he caused a colossus of seventy five foot in length to be laid on its back, the face looking upwards: and on the same basis, or pavement, whereon this lay, he erected two statues of twenty foot high, cut out of the same stone, and standing one on each side of the great one. In *Saïs* there was just such another colossus as this. To conclude on this head, he built the great temple of *Isis* at *Memphis*.

The state of Egypt under him, and his laws.

MOREOVER, *Egypt* is said to have been perfectly happy during his reign, in the fecundation of the *Nile*, and to have now contained no less than 20,000 populous cities. And, that good order might the better subsist in the midst of so vast a multitude, *Amasis* enacted a law, whereby every *Egyptian* was bound once a year to inform the governor of the province by what means he earned his living, and in default thereof to suffer death; which also was the punishment now ordained for those who were not able to give a very satisfactory account of themselves [b]: and for this, and for other laws he enacted, he is stiled the fifth law-giver of *Egypt* [c].

Is very favourable to all the Greeks.

HE was a great friend to the *Greeks*, and had a visit from *Solon* [*]. And, besides the favours he conferred on particular persons and cities of that nation, he allowed as many as pleased to come into *Egypt*, and either to settle in the most celebrated mart of *Naucratis*, or drive on their trade upon the sea-coasts; and granted them places where they might erect altars and temples to their own deities. Accordingly they erected several temples, the most frequented and noted of which was called the *Grecian* temple, being built at the joint charge of the *Ionian* cities of *Chios*, *Teos*, *Phocæa*, and *Clazomenæ*; together with the *Dorians* of *Rhodes*, *Cnidus*, *Halicarnassus*, *Phaselis*; and of the *Æolians* only the city

[b] See Vol. I. p. 441. Herod ubi supr. [c] Diod. ubi supr. p. 85. [*] Herod. lib. 1.

of

of *Mytelene*. Thoſe of *Ægina* alſo built a temple to *Jupiter* at their ſole expence; the *Samians* another to *Juno*, and the *Milleſians*, a third to *Apollo*. And to conclude, the *Greeks* elected officers to preſide over their commercial affairs, and over their religion, and from henceforward were a conſiderable body in *Egypt*.

So great was the fame of *Amaſis* for his generoſity and humanity, that when the *Delphians*, whoſe temple had been burnt, were going about from city to city to raiſe ſuch a contribution, as might enable them to pay that part of the expence which was impoſed on them, they applied not only to the *Greeks* in *Egypt*, but alſo to *Amaſis* himſelf, who gave them a thouſand talents of allom. He made an alliance with the *Cyrenæans*, and being deſirous of a *Grecian* woman, or elſe willing to give an ample teſtimony of the affection he had for that people, he married *Ladice*, the daughter of *Battus*, according to ſome; but others ſaid, ſhe was daugher of *Arceſilaus*; and others again, of *Critobulus*, a perſon of high authority among the *Cyrenæans*. This marriage was very extraordinary in its beginning, and could not be conſummated without the intervention of a deity. For *Amaſis*, though he at the ſame time found no impediment in himſelf with regard to other women, was ſenſible of a total inability in reference to his wife. Whereupon he, after ſome time, concluded, ſhe had inchanted him, and practiſed ſome infernal art to debilitate him; and therefore told her one night as they lay together, That as deeply verſed as ſhe was in ſupernatural contrivances, ſhe ſhould not have it in her power to eſcape the vengeance he intended to take on her, for the wickedneſs and ingratitude ſhe had been guilty of towards him. She earneſtly denied the unkind accuſation, and endeavoured to give him a better opinion of her; but in vain. In this diſtreſs ſhe ſighed out a prayer to *Venus*, and implored her aid, vowing, in caſe of deliverance, to ſend a ſtatue of her to *Cyrene*, and erect it there. The goddeſs was propitious, and *Amaſis* found himſelf like other men (the only expedient that could be effectual in this extremity), and continued to uſe *Ladice* as his wife, with the greateſt tenderneſs and affection. *Ladice* performed her vow to the goddeſs, whoſe ſtatue ſet up by her was ſeen without the gates of *Cyrene* ſome ages afterwards. This miracle, as it was doubtleſs called, brought the gods of the *Grecians* into as much credit with *Amaſis* as themſelves; as ſhould ſeem by his conſecrated donations to *Greece*. To the city of *Cyrene* he ſent a gilded ſtatue of *Minerva*, and his own picture done from the life. To the city of *Lindus* he gave two ſtone ſtatues of the ſame goddeſs, with a linen pec-

Marries a Greek.

A miracle.

His conſecrated donations to Greece.

toral, or ſtomacher, wonderfully wrought and adorned. To *Samos* he ſent two wooden images of himſelf, which were ſeen ſtanding, ſeveral ages afterwards, behind the gates of the great temple of *Juno*. This donation he made to *Samos* for the ſake of *Polycrates*, with whom he was in eſpecial alliance. As for *Lindus*, it was reported, that the daughters of *Danaus* founded the temple of *Minerva* there, when they fled from the ſons of *Ægyptus*. And add to all the great things which have been hitherto ſaid of him, he was the firſt that ſubdued *Cyprus*, and that exacted tribute from the *Cypriots* its inhabitants [d].

Conquers Cyprus.

HITHERTO we have repreſented this reign in the majeſtic colours the *Egyptian* prieſts beſtowed on it; and under ſo prudent a prince, as it is likely *Amaſis* was, the greateſt part of what they ſaid may be true enough: but they dwelt ſo much on the glory of this reign, as well as of thoſe that preceded it, as to forget all the ignominy that was mixed with it. *Xenophon* writes, that *Cyrus* conquered *Egypt* [e]; and if ſo, it muſt have been during this long reign; and *Herodotus* ſays, that *Amaſis* and *Cræſus* were leagued together againſt *Cyrus* [f]. It is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzar* almoſt ruined the whole kingdom; but we find no acknowledgment of it among prophane authors, who, ſo far as they have touched upon the *Egyptians*, have copied their archives, or depended upon the oral traditions of their prieſts. But now that it was no longer in their power to conceal their diſhonour, they frankly confeſſed it. For, according to themſelves, the latter days of *Amaſis* were darkened by a dreadful ſtorm, which threatened the utter ruin of *Egypt*; and, though he died juſt ſoon enough to eſcape the rage of it, yet his dead body was ſo cruelly abuſed and deſtroyed, that could he have been ſenſible of the hard fate he was doomed to in that particular, he, according to the *Egyptian* ſuperſtition, would have thought the loſs of his kingdom a trifle, if compared with it.

His latter days unhappy.

FOR by ſome means or other *Amaſis* had incenſed *Cambyſes* the *Perſian* (who was naturally a raſh and hot-headed prince) againſt him to ſo implacable a degree, as has ſcarce its parallel in the hiſtory of any nation. The ſeeds from whence this enmity ſprang are not poſitively, nor perhaps at all, known to us. On one hand it is ſaid, That *Amaſis* ſending an *Egyptian* oculiſt to *Cyrus* king of *Perſia*, who had deſired to have the beſt in his kingdom; the man, whoſe fortune it was

and why.

[d] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. [e] CYROPÆDIA ſub. fine. [f] HEROD. l. 1.

to

to be choſen by the king for this purpoſe, took it much at heart, that he ſhould be thus as it were exiled from his wife and children, and ſent into *Perſia*; and eſpecially ſince *Cyrus* had deſired the beſt oculiſt in *Egypt*, which he was conſcious was not himſelf. The angry *Egyptian* continuing in *Perſia*, and plainly perceiving the turbulent genius of *Cambyſes*, prevailed on him to ſend an herald to *Amaſis*, to demand his daughter to wife, aſſured, that whether *Amaſis* complied with this requeſt or not, he ſhould have his full meaſure of revenge on him. *Cambyſes* hearkened to this man, and did as he had ſuggeſted. When the *Perſian* herald came to *Amaſis* he knew not which way to reſolve: he dreaded the *Perſian* power if he refuſed, and was aſhamed of the diſhonour which muſt be reflected on his family if he complied, knowing, that inſtead of being a wife, his daughter would be no better than the *Perſian*'s concubine. At laſt he bethought him, that his predeceſſor was ſurvived by an only daughter, of great beauty and majeſtic deportment, called *Nitetis*. Her therefore he ſent, with all the pomp and ſplendour befitting his own daughter, to *Cambyſes* in *Perſia*; who, when he ſaw her, ſaluted her by the title of daughter to *Amaſis*. To this ſhe immediately anſwered, that *Amaſis* had deceived him; that ſhe was not his daughter; but the unhappy child of the unfortunate *Apries*, whom *Amaſis* had put to death, and whoſe throne he had ungratefully uſurped. At this *Cambyſes* was fired with indignation, and vowed deſtruction to *Amaſis*. This was the ſtory the *Perſians* told: but this is not likely to be true; for at this time *Nitetis* muſt have been ſomewhat upwards of forty years old, or at leaſt near it; and therefore but ill qualified for the bed of *Cambyſes*. But ſecondly, the *Egyptians*, to give themſelves ſome credit, even in this deſtructive miſunderſtanding, claimed kindred with *Cambyſes*, and ſaid, that it was *Cyrus* who ſent for the daughter of *Amaſis*, and that *Cambyſes* was the ſon of *Nitetis*. This may give a better account of the dreadful malice he wreaked upon *Amaſis*, in revenge of his unhappy grandfather *Apries*; which, as is ſaid, he was excited to by his mother. But *Herodotus* declares it was contrary to the cuſtom of the *Perſians* to admit of a ſon of the half-blood to ſucceed as heir to the kingdom. Thirdly, it was reported, that a *Perſian* lady being admitted to the preſence of the king's women, and admiring the children of *Caſſandana*, was anſwered by her, That notwithſtanding ſhe was the wife of *Cyrus* and the mother of thoſe fine children, yet he neglected her, and preferred an *Egyptian* ſervant, meaning *Nitetis*, before her: which *Cambyſes* her eldeſt ſon, at that time but ten years of age, hearing, told her,

her, that when he came to be a man he would for her ſake ruin all *Egypt*. This, ſay they, he remembered, and acted accordingly. But, notwithſtanding what is here ſaid, we chooſe to think with Dr. *Prideaux*, that *Amaſis* having ſubjected himſelf a *tributary* to *Cyrus*, upon his death withdrew his obedience from his ſucceſſor. Having thus laid before you the ſeveral cauſes of this war, as we find them, we leave *Cambyſes* to his preparation for it, and return to *Amaſis*.

Amaſis *is betrayed by* Phanes *of* Halicarnaſſus.

WHILST this cloud was gathering, *Phanes* of *Halicarnaſſus*, a commander of the *Grecian* auxiliaries, in the pay of *Amaſis*, took ſome private diſguſt, and embarked from *Egypt* to go into *Perſia*. He was a prudent counſellor, and a valiant captain, and perfectly well acquainted with every thing that related to *Egypt*; and beſides, had great credit with the *Greeks* in theſe dominions. *Amaſis* was immediately ſenſible how great the loſs of this man would be to him, and how much he had it in his power to ſtrengthen the hands of *Cambyſes*, or any prince elſe, who ſhould undertake to invade him; and therefore in all haſte he ſent a truſty eunuch with a ſwift galley to purſue him; and he was taken in *Lycia*. However, he was not brought back to *Egypt*; for making his guard drunk, he continued his way to *Perſia*, and preſented himſelf to *Cambyſes*, as he was meditating the downfal of *Egypt*, which he forwarded by his counſel and diſcoveries, as *Amaſis* had dreaded [g].

Makes Polycrates *his enemy.*

WE have already obſerved, that there had been an eſpecial harmony between *Amaſis* and *Polycrates* the tyrant of *Samos*; but, a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, *Polycrates*, when occaſion offered, joined *Cambyſes* againſt his former *Egyptian* ally. For *Amaſis*, receiving continual accounts of the uninterrupted ſucceſſes and depredations of this *Samian*, feared, that in the end ſome heavy diſaſter would fall upon him, equal to the glory of his triumphs; and therefore ſent him this letter, adviſing him as follows: *Amaſis* to *Polycrates* ſpeaketh thus.----*It is with pleaſure I hear of the happy ſtate of my friend and ally. Nevertheleſs I fear for thy great proſperities, knowing the unſtableneſs of fortune. For my part, I ſhould rather chooſe, that my affairs and thoſe alſo of my friends, ſhould be ſometimes proſperous and ſometimes unhappy, than have them go on with continued ſucceſs. Therefore do thou now hearken to my counſel, and do as I ſhall bid thee, to take away from thy happineſs: conſider then with thyſelf what thou poſſeſſeſt of greateſt value to thyſelf; and what would the moſt*

[g] HEROD. l. 2.

bitterly

bitterly grieve thee if loſt: and when thou haſt found it, caſt it away from thee, ſo that it may never more be beheld by man. If thy happineſs, after this, knoweth no mixture of evil, preſerve thyſelf againſt the ſorrow that may come upon thee, by repeating the remedy I have ſhewn thee. When *Amaſis* heard that *Polycrates* had taken his advice, and had accordingly thrown a very valuable ſignet into the ſea, but that it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fiſh, and reſtored to him; he gave him over as the moſt unhappy of men, and dreading to partake as a friend in ſome diſmal calamity, which he feared muſt befal him, he diſpatched a herald to *Samos* to renounce the alliance, and all the obligations between him and *Polycrates*, that he might not mourn his misfortune with the ſorrow of a friend [h]. *Amaſis*, by thus diſſolving the cement of this conjunction, left *Polycrates* to act againſt him, if his inclination led him ſo to do; and accordingly he offered a fleet of ſhips to *Cambyſes* to aſſiſt him in his invaſion of *Egypt*. Thus we ſee *Amaſis* in danger of an inexorable, cruel, and moſt powerful enemy, in concert with a diſguſted and formidable friend. But before the dreadful day came his life ended, after he had reigned forty four years. His dead body was embalmed, and depoſited in a ſepulchre he had built for himſelf in the temple at *Saïs*; but there, to ſpeak in the antient *Egyptian* phraſe, he enjoyed but a ſhort repoſe, as will be ſeen hereafter. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, called *Pſammenitus*.

His death. Year of the Flood, 2474. Year before Chriſt, 525.

THIS following reign, in which *Egypt* ſubmitted to a foreign yoke, was of very ſhort duration, and deeply calamitous. For PSAMMENITUS the ſon of *Amaſis* was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he was forced to put himſelf at the head of an army, with which he marched to *Peluſium*, and there encamped to receive the *Perſian*, who now drew near to vent his fury upon *Egypt*. Under this new king a fearful prodigy happened: ſhowers of rain fell at *Thebes*, where it had never been known to rain before. This was doubtleſs conſtrued to portend a change, and a great one ſoon followed it: for now *Cambyſes*, by the aid and aſſiſtance of the king of *Arabia*, and the politic counſel of *Phanes*, had croſſed the dry and ſandy deſerts, and coming in ſight of the *Egyptian* camp, immediately drew up to give them battle. The *Egyptians* prepared themſelves for an aſſault, and in the interim their *Carian* and *Ionian* auxiliaries gave a dreadful inſtance of their zeal in the cauſe of *Pſammenitus*, and deteſtation of their traiterous countryman *Phanes*. For they led his ſons he had

Pſammenitus.

He is overthrown by Cambyſes

[h] Idem l. 3.

left

left behind him out of the camp, and butchered them over a bowl, which received their blood in sight of the father and his new friends; and pouring wine and water into the same, drank of that cruel and unnatural mixture, and then began the onset. The fight was obstinately maintained on both sides; but in the end the *Egyptians* gave ground and fled in great confusion to *Memphis*. Here they soon after were guilty of a horrid and imprudent outrage towards a herald, whom *Cambyses* sent to them in a ship of *Mytelene*; for they no sooner saw her come into the port than they flocked down to the shore, and destroyed the ship, and tore the *Persian* herald and all the crew to pieces, carrying their mangled limbs in a barbarous triumph into the city. Not long after, they were closely besieged by the *Persians*, and in the end obliged to surrender: and so fell the glory of *Egypt*. The news of this struck such a terror upon the minds of the *Libyans*, *Cyrenæans*, and *Barcæns*, that they humbled themselves to *Cambyses*, and implored his protection.

Taken prisoner, and loses his kingdom.

The particulars of his captivity.

Upon the tenth day after *Memphis* had been taken, *Psammenitus* and the chief of the *Egyptian* nobility were sent ignominiously into the suburbs of that city, to act a part in one of the most doleful tragedies that can be conceived: for, being there seated in a proper place, he saw his daughter coming along in the habit of a poor slave, with a pitcher to fetch water from the river, and followed by the daughters of the greatest families in *Egypt*, all in the same miserable garb, and going on the same errand, with pitchers in their hands; all weeping and wailing with the utmost lamentation. When the fathers saw their children in this distress, and reduced to so sordid a degradation, they burst out into tears, and could not contain themselves, all but *Psammenitus*, who, though ready to sink under the burthen of his grief, only threw his eyes towards the ground, and there fixed them. These past by, came the son of *Psammenitus* and two thousand of the chief *Egyptian* youths, all with bits in their mouths, and halters round their necks, going to be executed, to expiate the murder of the *Persian* herald and *Mytelenæan* sailors. But *Psammenitus*, like one perfectly stupified, as they passed by, observed the very same conduct as before, whilst the *Egyptians* about him cried out with the loudest lamentations. A short space afterwards he saw an intimate friend and companion, who, now that he was advanced in years, was plundered of all he had, and walking up and down the suburbs begging his bread. As soon as he perceived this man he wept bitterly, and calling out to him by his name, struck himself on the head as one frantic. Now *Psammenitus* had spies privately set

ſet over him to mark his behaviour, and they inſtantly repaired to *Cambyſes*, and gave him a particular account of it; and ſoon after a meſſenger came from him to the captive king to know what might be the reaſon of it. To this he anſwered, "That the calamities of his own family confounded him, "and were too great to be lamented by any outward ſigns of "grief; but the diſtreſſed neceſſity of a boſom friend gave "him more room for reflection, and therefore extorted tears "from him." By this anſwer he wrought ſo much upon *Cambyſes*, that he ſent to ſtop the execution of his ſon; but his orders were given too late; for the young prince was the firſt put to death. At the ſame time *Pſammenitus* himſelf was ſent for into the city, and reſtored to his libery: and had he not betrayed a deſire of change and revenge, he might have been entruſted with the adminiſtration of *Egypt*; but being vindictively diſpoſed, he was ſeized, and condemned to drink bull's blood [i]; and ſo ended his life after a diſmal reign of ſix months, and a ſhort captivity; and with him died the antient ſplendour and liberty of *Egypt*. *and death.*

THE *Egyptians* now felt the heavy preſſure of conqueſt in a very extraordinary manner. They ſaw their late king *Amaſis* inhumanly taken out of his tomb, and cruelly mangled, and finally burnt. They ſaw their god *Apis* ſlain, and their prieſts ignominiouſly ſcourged; all which made ſuch dreadful impreſſions on the minds of the whole nation, that they afterwards bore a moſt uncommon averſion to the *Perſians*, and never reſted eaſy under their dominion. *The dead body of Amaſis burnt; and the god Apis ſlain.*

THUS were the *Egyptians* reduced to the loweſt degree of ſubmiſſion; their royal line was extinct; their religion was trampled on in the moſt outrageous manner; and themſelves perſecuted and deſpiſed for the profeſſion they made of it. Egypt *a province of the* Perſian *empire.*

A PEOPLE, who had been bred up to ſuch a ſolemn obſervance of the inſtitutions of their forefathers, muſt needs think themſelves unhappy under ſuch governors as held their laws in deriſion; and therefore they continually conſulted, how they might ſhake off the intolerable yoke of their *Perſian* oppreſſors.

AT length they broke out into an open revolt in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and continued in a ſtate of rebellion againſt the *Perſians* all the firſt year of *Xerxes* [k]; but in the ſecond year [l] of the ſame prince they were reduced to harder ſubjection than before, as is uſually the caſe; and had one *Achæmenes*, brother to *Xerxes*, for their governor. *The* Egyptians *revolt from the* Perſians; *but ſubdued again.*

[i] HEROD. lib. 2. [k] HEROD. lib. 7. [l] Idem ibid.

BUT

Year of the Flood, 2539. Year before Christ, 460.

Revolt a second time, and choose Inarus for their king.

But the more severity they suffered, the more they were exasperated. In the fifth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* they revolted again; chose Inarus king of *Libya* to fill their throne; and called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, who chearfully embraced this opportunity of expelling the *Persians* out of *Egypt* [m]. The *Egyptians* almost succeeded in their project. The *Athenians* falling on the *Persian* fleet at sea, took and destroyed fifty sail of them; and then sailing up the *Nile*, landed under the command of *Charitimis*, and joined the *Egyptians* and *Libyans* under *Inarus*. They all attacked *Achæmenides* the *Persian* general, though his army was 300,000 strong; of whom there fell 100,000, together with the general himself. The rest betook themselves to flight, and returned to *Memphis*; but, being pursued by the *Egyptians*, they took refuge in a very considerable, and by much the best fortified, part of that city, called the *white wall*. The *Egyptians* had the rest of it, and blocked up the *Persians* three years within the *white wall*.

By this success the *Egyptians* hoped they had wrought a total deliverance for themselves and descendants; but their prosperity was by no means of long duration. They were at the end of three years obliged to raise the siege of the *white wall*, by the *Persian* army under the command of *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia*, and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* [n]. In the mean time, when *Inarus* heard of the formidable preparations, which were making by these *Persian* governors to relieve the besieged, he redoubled the attacks on the *white wall*, and made the utmost efforts to carry it; but the *Persians* within defended themselves with such bravery, that the *Egyptians* made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place [o].

In the third year of this siege, and the ninth of *Artaxerxes*, *Inarus* and his auxiliaries were not only obliged to raise the siege of the *white wall*, but also defeated with a fearful slaughter, which fell chiefly on the *Egyptians*. In this fight *Inarus* was wounded by *Megabyzus*; but nevertheless he retreated with his *Athenian* confederates, and such of the *Egyptians* as adhered to him, to the city of *Biblus* in the island of *Prosopitis*, which being washed on each side by navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenian* fleet was stationed in one of them; and here they held out a siege of a year and a half. But

[m] Thucydid. lib. i. Ctesias. [n] Thucydid. ubi supr. Ctesias. Diod. Sic. l. xi. [o] Ctesias. Diod. ubi supr. p. 281.

the

the bulk of the *Egyptians* ſubmitted to the conqueror, and acknowledged *Artaxerxes* for their ſovereign; all but *Amyrtæus*; he retreated with a party into the *Fens*, where he ruled many years; not in the leaſt moleſted by the *Perſians*, who were never able to get at him through the inacceſſibleneſs of the place.

IN the mean time *Inarus* and his auxiliaries on the iſland of *Proſopitis* were buſy in defending themſelves againſt the *Perſians*, who attacked them with great vigour: but theſe finding that bare ſtrength was not like to effectuate a reduction of the beſieged, had recourſe to art and ſtratagem; for draining that branch of the *Nile* in which the *Athenian* fleet rode, they at once rendered the ſhipping uſeleſs, and made a paſſage, by which the whole body of their army might march over to the iſland. When *Inarus* ſaw this, he and all the *Egyptians*, and fifty of his *Athenian* auxiliaries delivered themſelves up to *Megabyzus*, on the condition of being ſecured in their lives: the reſt of the *Athenians*, being ſix thouſand in number, ſet fire to their ſhips, reſolved to die ſword in hand; which the *Perſians* perceiving, thought it adviſeable to offer them ſome reaſonable terms: and this they did, and their propoſals were accepted [p]. The *Athenians* had ſent a fleet of fifty ſail to relieve the iſland of *Proſopitis*, where their citizens were in conjunction with the *Egyptians*; but they arrived too late, and as ſoon as they entered the river were aſſaulted by the *Perſians*, both on the river and from the ſhore; ſo that they all periſhed [q]. And thus ended the war between *Inarus* king of *Egypt* and *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia*, under whom the *Egyptians* ever afterwards kept quiet, and made no attempts to recover their liberties. *Sartamas* was appointed governor of *Egypt*, and *Inarus* was carried priſoner to *Suſa*, and was there crucified, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had of his life when he ſurrendered [r].

Inarus taken priſoner, and Egypt reduced again to the Perſians.

AMYRTÆUS the *Saïte* in the mean time held the *Fens*, and in the fifteenth year of *Artaxerxes* was joined by a fleet of ſixty ſail of *Athenian* ſhips [s]; but nothing of moment was tranſacted at this time to the prejudice of the *Perſians* in *Egypt*.

IN the tenth year of *Darius Nothus*, the *Egyptians* revolted once more from the *Perſians*. For *Amyrtæus*, being apprized of the diſcontents of the *Egyptians*, and that they were ripe for any attempts to regain their liberty and independance,

The Egyptians *revolt a third time, and* Amyrtæus *heads them.*

[p] THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. CTESIAS. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 282.
[q] THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. [r] CTESIAS. [s] PLUTARCH in vita Cimon. THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p.

ſallied

ſallied out of his *Fens*, and being joined by all the *Egyptians*, he drove the *Perſians* out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country of *Egypt* [t].

Year of the Flood, 2583. Year before Chriſt, 414.

Amyrtæus *dies.*

Amyrtæus thus in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt* by the total expulſion of the *Perſians*, reſolved to attack them in *Phœnicia* alſo, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him in this undertaking [u]. But he was engaged by *Darius* in perſon and overthrown; about which time *Amyrtæus* either died or was ſlain in the battle.

Pauſiris.

Pausiris his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, with the conſent of the *Perſians* [w]. And now the *Egyptians*, though perhaps tributary to the *Perſians*, had a governor of their own nation to alleviate the burthen of it.

Psammitichus ſucceeded *Pauſiris*. He was deſcended from the famous *Pſammitichus*, whoſe hiſtory we have given above. He was a barbarous and ungrateful man, as appears by the only incident we have of his reign: for *Tamus*, who had been admiral in the *Perſian* ſervice, though he was a *Memphite* by birth, thinking it adviſeable for reaſons of ſtate to leave the *Perſian* ſervice, and confiding in the friendſhip of *Pſammitichus*, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly offices, put all his family and effects on board his ſhips, and ſailed for *Egypt*. But when *Pſammitichus* heard of his arrival, and that he had brought great riches with him, he unmindful of what *Tamus* merited of him, and of all the laws of humanity and hoſpitality, fell upon him as an enemy; and having ſlain him, his family, and all his followers, ſeized on thoſe treaſures which *Tamus* hoped to have enjoyed in his native country [x]. This is all we know concerning this cruel prince.

Nephereus.

Him ſucceeded Nephereus. This king was invited by the *Lacedemonians* into a confederacy againſt the *Perſians*; and he ſent them a ſquadron of an hundred gallies to carry on the war by ſea, and 600,000 meaſures [*buſhels*] of corn for the ſubſiſtance of their army; but the veſſels, which were laden with this valuable preſent, ignorantly putting into *Rhodes*, whoſe inhabitants had juſt then thrown themſelves under the protection of the *Perſian* fleet, which then rode at anchor there under the command of *Conon* the *Athenian*, they fell a prey to him, and never reached the *Lacedemonians* [y].

[t] Eusebius in Chronico. [u] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 355. [w] Herod. lib. 3. [x] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 415. [y] Idem. ubi ſupr. p. 438. Justin. lib. 6. c. 2. Orosius lib. 3.

ACHORIS ſucceeded *Nephereus*. He joined *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, and the *Arabians*, and *Tyrians*, and *Barcæans*, a people of *Libya*, againſt the *Perſians* [z]. *Achoris* ſent ſome forces to the aſſiſtance of *Evagoras*, the chief of this league, who being defeated came into *Egypt*, to engage *Achoris* to aſſiſt him with his full ſtrength; but *Achoris* could not be prevailed on to come ſo totally into his meaſures, and only diſmiſſed him with a ſupply of money, by no means equal to the neceſſitous occaſions of that diſtreſſed prince. Soon after *Gaus*, the only ſurvivor of the family of *Tamus*, whom *Pſammitichus* murdered for the ſake of his wealth, and as well as his father had been now promoted to the degree of an admiral in the *Perſian* ſervice, being diſguſted at the ill uſage of *Tiribazus*, the king of *Perſia*'s general in the former part of the *Cyprian* war againſt *Evagoras*, revolted from the *Perſians*, in which he was followed by a great part of the fleet and army; and entered into a league with *Achoris* and the *Lacedemonians*. But the year after *Gaus* was treacherouſly ſlain by ſome under him; and *Tachos*, who had undertaken to execute the ſame project, dying in the midſt of it, the whole fell to the ground, and the *Perſians* were freed from the troubleſome effects which threatened them from this new alliance [a]. Achoris.

IT was now thirty years ſince the *Egyptians* had ſhaken off the *Perſian* yoke under *Amyrtæus*, and had all along, upon all occaſions, ſignalized their averſion to the *Perſian* government. But *Artaxerxes Mnemon* being now at full leiſure to chaſtiſe them, they once more were threatened with a cruel war. Great preparations were made on both ſides. *Achoris* joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own ſubjects [b]; but, the *Perſians* being pretty dilatory in their proceeding towards this war, *Achoris* died before it commenced, and was ſucceeded by

PSAMMUTHIS, who reigned only a year [c]. Pſammuthis.

AFTER him NEPHEROTES (who is called the laſt of the *Mendeſian* race) reigned four months [d]. Nepherotes.

AND then NECTANEBES, the firſt of the *Sebennytic* race *. Nectanebes.

In the ſecond year of his reign the *Perſian* army and fleet came upon his coaſts and borders, and made their attempts firſt upon *Peluſium*: but *Nectanebes* having had time ſufficient to prepare himſelf, that city and adjacencies were ſo well provided for the reception of an enemy, that no impreſſion Year of the Flood, 2618. Year before Chriſt 379.

[z] THEOPOMP. in Excerpt. Photii. DIOD. SIC. lib. 15. p. 459.
[a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 471. [c] See Vol. I. p. 500. [d] See Vol. I. ibid. * See Vol. I. ibid.

could be made there. The commanders on the *Perſian* ſide differing in their counſels, and entertaining jealouſies of each other's glory, they did nothing in this war; for though they entered the *Mendeſian* mouth of the *Nile*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fortreſs that guarded it, and ſtruck the *Egyptians* with the utmoſt conſternation; yet they gave them time to recover heart again: For *Nectanebes* lodged a ſufficient garriſon in *Memphis*, and taking the field, with the reſt of his forces, ſo annoyed *Pharnabazus* the *Perſian* general, that he could make no conſiderable progreſs up the country; and the *Nile*, at the accuſtomed period, overflowing the land, the *Perſians* were obliged to march off; which they did not without conſiderable loſs[e]. Thus ended this war.

About five years afterwards, *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta* came as an ambaſſador to *Nectanebes*, to ſollicite ſuccours for the *Lacedemonians*, then driven to great diſtreſs by the *Thebans*[f]. Seven years after this *Nectanebes* died.

Year of the Flood, 2630. Year before Chriſt 367.

Tachos.

His impolitic conduct towards Ageſilaus.

Tachos ſucceeded him. He gathered together all the ſtrength he was able, to defend his country againſt the ambitious deſigns of the *Perſians*, who notwithſtanding their many miſcarriages, had not laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting *Egypt* to their dominion once more.

To ſtrengthen himſelf the more he ſent to *Greece* to raiſe mercenaries; and ſucceeded ſo well in his application to the *Lacedemonians*, that they diſpatched a good number of forces to him, under the command of *Ageſilaus*[g]. *Tachos* had promiſed this king, that he ſhould be generaliſſimo of all the forces; but upon the firſt interview, he conceived ſuch diſadvantageous ideas of the old gentleman, that he thenceforward ſlighted his counſels, and deſpiſed his perſon. He expected to have ſeen a gay and magnificent man, whoſe habit and train were equal to the fame and ſplendour of his exploits, and not a plain, mean-looking, old man. This haſty and ill-grounded impreſſion may be properly enough ſaid to have been the ruin of *Tachos*, as will be plainly ſeen. For *Tachos* allowed *Ageſilaus* to be nothing but general over the mercenaries at land, which alone had been ſufficient to diſguſt ſo great, ſo old, and ſo experienced a commander, and was the firſt cauſe of his averſion to *Tachos*. The command of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, reſerving to himſelf the ſupreme dignity over all. Having joined his mercenaries and *Egyptians* together, he marched out of *Egypt*, deſigning

[e] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 478, 479. Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrate. [f] Plutarch. in Ageſilao. [g] Idem ibid. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 506.

to

A Map of Ancient Egypt and its Circumadjacencies according to this History

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23

Canopus
The Canopic or Heracleotic Mouth
The Bolbitic
The Sebennytic
The Pelusiac
Diolcos Boud:
The Phatnic
The Mendesian
The Tanitic
The Pelusian
Rhinocolura
Ostracine
Alexandria
DELTA
Pelusium
Augustanmica
Bubastites
Heroopolis
Phiacusa
Sea of Tiberias
Dead Sea
CANAAN
MOAB
AMMON
PART OF ARABIA the DESART
EDOM
ARABIA PETRÆA
M. Sinai
The Elanitic Gulf
The Heroopolitan Gulf
THE ARABIAN GULF or RED SEA
PART OF the HAPY ARABIA
MILDEAN
Lake Maris
Memphis
Idumith
Axinoe
Oxyrynchus
Cynopolis
Lycopolis
Antæopolis
Panopolis
Crocodilopolis
Ptolemais
Abydus
Thebes
Diospolis magna
Coptos
The Isseer City of Apollo
Tentyra
Oasis the Greater
Pampanis
Hermonthis
Tuphium
Chenubis
Latopolis
Elethyia
Ombi
Syene
The greater City of Apollo
Elephantine
Cataracta the Upper
Phila
MARE OTIS
The Isseer
CATABATHMUS
MARMARICA
LIBYA
THE TROPICK OF CANCER

to attack the *Perſians* in *Phœnicia*, contrary to the advice of *Ageſilaus*, who repreſented to him the unſettled ſtate of *Egypt*, and remonſtrated how much more it would be for his intereſt to manage the war by lieutenants, and ſtay himſelf in his kingdom. The event ſhewed, that *Ageſilaus*'s counſel was the reſult of a very prudent forecaſt; for while *Tachos* was in *Phœnicia* the *Egyptians* revolted, and ſet up his kinſman *Nectanebus* in his ſtead. *Ageſilaus*, taking this opportunity to vent his reſentment againſt *Tachos*, joined *Nectanebus*, and deprived the other of his kingdom, who fled through *Arabia*, and went to the king of *Perſia*.

Is driven out of his kingdom. Year of the Flood, 2630. Year before Chriſt 367.

NECTANEBUS was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when a *Mendeſian* roſe up in oppoſition to him, with a force conſiſting of 100,000 men. *Nectanebus* was now adviſed by *Ageſilaus* to fall on them immediately, and diſperſe them before they had formed themſelves into a regular body by diſcipline: but he took it into his head, that *Ageſilaus* intended to betray him, as he had betrayed *Tachos*, and therefore gave no ear to him. In the mean time the enemy gathered ſtrength and regular order every day, and became ſo formidable a body, that *Nectanebus* was conſtrained to ſhut himſelf up in one of his Towns, and endure a ſiege. He would now have urged *Ageſilaus* to ſally out upon the beſiegers, that, putting them into diſorder, he might in the mean time march out himſelf and take the field: and becauſe he refuſed to comply, *Nectanebus* grew more and more jealous of him. The enemy had run their lines almoſt round the town; which when *Ageſilaus* perceived, he told *Nectanebus*, that now was his time to ſally out; that by the lines the beſiegers had raiſed, they would not be able to encompaſs him; and that the gap which was not yet filled up, was wide enough for him to march through with ſafety and convenience. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which the beſiegers were defeated; and the remaining part of the war being left to the management of *Ageſilaus*, *Nectanebus*'s competitor was every where driven out of the field, and at length taken priſoner. And thus was *Nectanebus* ſettled in the full and quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt* [h].

Nectanebus *the laſt King of* Egypt.

A rebellion againſt him.

which is quelled.

IN the twelfth year of his reign, the *Sidonians* and *Phœnicians* revolted from the king of *Perſia*, and entered into a confederacy with him againſt that monarch. This happened very opportunely for him; for as the *Perſians* had been in conſtant agitation againſt him, and were now making vaſt preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, he had a very good barrier, ſeeing the *Perſian* forces could not approach his borders, but by

He is joined by the Sidonians, Phœnicians, and Cyprians, againſt the Perſians.

[h] Idem ibid. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupr.

marching through *Phœnicia*. Therefore, to keep up their ſpirits, *Nectanebus* detached a body of four thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to join them, in hopes to manage the war at a diſtance. The *Phœnicians*, encouraged by this ſupply, drove the *Perſians* out of their territories [i]; and immediately after, the *Cypriots* made themſelves of the alliance againſt *Perſia* [k]. *Darius Ochus*, finding that his lieutenants made no progreſs in the ſuppreſſion of theſe revolters, reſolved to head his troops in perſon, keeping his eye chiefly upon *Egypt*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian* when he heard this, and the prodigious numbers of the *Perſian* army, went over to the king of *Perſia*, by whom he was kindly received, as one who might do him ſignal ſervice by his knowledge of the country of *Egypt*, and every thing that related to it: but we are not now on the affairs of *Perſia*, which will be particularized in their proper place; let us therefore turn our eyes towards *Nectanebus*. When he found that the king of *Perſia* was thoroughly reſolved to ruin him, and that he was by all means endeavouring to do it without interruption, and effectually, he got together an army of 100,000 men, conſiſting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece*, as many from *Libya*, and the reſt *Egyptians*; but all of them did not amount to a third part of the *Perſian* army. With ſome of them he gariſoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the paſſes through which the *Perſians* were to march. The *Perſian* detached three bodies from his army. The firſt of them, commanded by *Lachares* the *Theban*, ſat down before *Peluſium*, gariſoned by five thouſand *Greeks*. The ſecond, under the command of *Nicoſtratus* the *Argive*, embarked on board a ſquadron of the *Perſian* fleet, and ſailing up the *Nile* into the midſt of the country, landed there, and made a ſtrong encampment. Hereupon the whole country being alarmed, *Clinius* of the iſland of *Cos* muſtered all the neighbouring gariſons, and offered to diſlodge *Nicoſtratus* from his intrenchments. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy; but at laſt the *Egyptians* gave way, having loſt *Clinius* and five thouſand more of their number, and were utterly broken and diſperſed. The loſs of this battle was the ruin of *Egypt*. For when *Nectanebus* heard it, he drew off from the paſſes, where he had very prudently poſted himſelf, and marched for *Memphis* to defend that city againſt *Nicoſtratus*, whom he feared had a deſign upon that capital with his victorious fleet and army. When

Is invaded by the Perſians.

[i] Diod. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, 533.

[k] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 532.

the

the *Greek* garison in *Pelusium* heard that *Nectanebus* had deserted his post, they thought there was no further room for hope; and therefore they came to a parley with *Lachares*, and delivered up the city to him, upon condition that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who commanded the third body of the *Persian* detachment, finding the passes unguarded, entered the country through them, and causing it to be universally spread abroad, That *Ochus* would graciously receive all that submitted; but utterly cut off such as resisted, as he had been known to have done before; both the *Egyptians* and the *Egyptian Greeks* strove which should make the most humble and ready submission. This when *Nectanebus* saw, he was driven to despair, and taking what treasure he could carry with him, he fled from his palace in *Memphis* into *Æthiopia*, and never returned more. He was the very last *Egyptian* that ever governed *Egypt*, which has ever since been under foreign subjection. *Nectanebes* lost his kingdom by relying too much on himself. He, as has been shewn, was seated on the throne by *Agesilaus*: his wars against *Persia* (for they were always attempting a reduction of *Egypt*) were managed by the prudence and valour of *Diophantus* the *Athenian*, and *Lamius* the *Lacedemonian*; but arrogating to himself a share of their successes, he took upon him to act by his own suggestions [l], and so brought ruin upon himself, and ignominy and slavery upon his subjects, even to this day. For henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Persia*, till *Alexander* subverted that monarchy, and was received by the *Egyptians* with open arms, as their deliverer from the *Persian* tyranny. They never had any tolerable understanding with that nation; which, it is likely, may have purely, if not chiefly, been owing to the wide difference between them in religious matters. We now conclude this section with the severe prediction of the prophet; *There shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt* [m].

and flies into Æthiopia. Egypt *finally reduced by the* Persians. Year of the Flood, 2642. Year before Christ 355.

Submits to Alexander. Year of the Flood, 2660. Year before Christ 337.

SECT. VI.

The succession of the kings of Egypt, *according to the oriental historians.*

AS the oriental histories differ entirely from the *Greeks* in their accounts of the *Egyptian* affairs, it may be perhaps deemed an omission, if we should take no notice of the series of the kings of *Egypt* given us by the *Eastern*

[l] Idem ubi supr. p. 534, 535.

[m] Ezek. xxx. ver. 13.

writers.

writers. Wherefore we shall set down their names, and briefly mention their principal actions, leaving the reader to judge what credit ought to be given thereto.

Some write, that before the flood *Nakraüs*, or *Bakraüs*, the son of *Mesr*, the son of *Tarakil*, the son of *Zarayîl*, the son of *Aryar*, the son of *Adam*, when contention and violence began to reign among mankind, retired into *Egypt* with seventy eight persons; and finding it a fine fruitful country, settled there, and built a city on the banks of the *Nile*, which he called after the name of his father[n]. But this city, others say, was built after the flood, as will be observed by and by; and that the kings who reigned in *Egypt* before that destruction, were of the race of *Cain*. Their names follow.

Antediluvian kings of Egypt.

1. Nakraus called also *Amasûs*; who reigned 180 years.
2. Natras, son of *Nakraüs*, built several cities.
3. Mesram, brother of *Natrâs*. These three princes are said to have been great diviners and magicians.
4. Aicam also practised divination. In his reign *Edrîs*, or *Enoch*, was translated.
5. Aryak, son of the preceding prince. In his time the angels *Harût* and *Marût*, it is said came down from heaven[o].
6. Hasilim, who first invented and built a nilometer.
7. Husal. In his reign *Noah* was born.
8. Tedarson, son of *Hûsâl*, was the first who cut canals from the *Nile*.
9. Sarkak.
10. Sahluk, his son.
11. Saurid, son of *Sahlûk*. This prince, as the *Copts* affirm, built the pyramids, and lies buried in one of them, with all his treasures[p].
12. Hujib, brother of *Saurîd*; who, as the same people assure us, is buried in the next pyramid[q].
13. Manus, or *Mankaüs*.
14. Afrus, his son.
15. Malinus, son of *Afrûs*.
16. Pharaoh, cousin of the last prince; who perished in the flood.

After the flood, *Kibt*, or *Kût* (which we imagine to be a mistake for *Phût*,) one of the sons of *Ham*, founded a monarchy in *Egypt*; and the greater part of that nation were

[n] Al Soyuti, Vol. I. p. 404.

[o] See Vol. I. p. 168. in the notes.

[q] Ibid.

[p] See

his

his deſcendants [r]. But after the diſperſion, *Ham* himſelf went into *Egypt*, and there begat *Baiſer*; who having ſettled near the place where he afterwards built *Meſr*, was declared by the idolatrous inhabitants of the country king of *Monf*, or *Memphis*, the moſt antient city of *Egypt* and the royal ſeat in the time of *Joſeph*.

Kings of Egypt *after the deluge.*

1. BAISER, the ſon of *Ham*, built *Meſr*; being aſſiſted therein by *Cancahendi*, or *Cancah* the *Indian*, a perſon famous for his great learning and knowledge in nature, and the inventer of ſeveral noble arts; by whoſe ſkill in architecture this prince erected many magnificent ſtructures.

2. MESR, the ſon of *Baiſer*, ſucceeded his father. He was ſo named becauſe he happened to be born while the city of *Meſr* was building. This prince was employed, during his whole reign, in building cities, and warring againſt his enemies. It is ſaid, he divided *Egypt* among his ſons, giving the middle part to *Kift*, the upper to *Aſhmun*, and the lower to *Athrib* and *Sa*.

3. KIFT, or *Kibt* aſcended the throne on the death of his father *Meſr*; and from him the *Copts* received their name.

4. ASHMUN who ſeems to be the ſame with *Eſmunus*, or *Æſculapius* [f], ſucceeded his brother; though ſome reckon him not among the kings. From him the city *Aſhmunain* in the upper *Egypt* took its name.

5. ATHRIB, the ſon of *Meſr*, built *Ain Shams*, or *Heliopolis*, ſome miles diſtant from *Meſr*. *Athribis*, the capital of a nome in the lower *Egypt*, was ſo called from this prince.

6. SANA, or *Sa*, another ſon of *Meſr*, is ſuppoſed to have built the city *Saïs*; and was the firſt who made laws, and eſtabliſhed rules for the government of the ſtate.

7. TEDARIS, or *Edris*.

8. MALIK.

9. KHARAYA, the ſon of *Malik*.

10. KELKELI, the ſon of *Kharâya*, a wiſe and potent prince. Some ſay, he was the firſt who introduced the uſe of magic, which others tell us, was firſt taught *Solomon* by the *Genii*.

11. HARBIYA, the uncle of *Kelkeli*, of whom nothing is recorded, but that he was an infidel, and very wicked.

[r] EBN SHOHNAH. [f] See Vol. I. p. 302. note (P.)

12. Tulis was as bad as his predeceſſor, and a great lover of women; to obtain whom he ſcrupled not, on occaſion, to uſe force. In his reign *Abraham* came into *Egypt*, and knowing the king's character, to preſerve the honour of his wife *Sarah*, ſhut her up in a cheſt, thinking to paſs the guards poſted at the city gate by that means; but they, opening the cheſt, and finding a beautiful woman in it, carried her before the king. *Tulis* no ſooner ſaw her, than he determined to enjoy her; but was not able to effect his purpoſe, being ſuddenly ſtruck with frigidity; ſo that after he had in vain attempted it thrice, he was obliged to deſiſt, and ſent her back to her huſband, having given her *Hagar* for a maid-ſervant, as ſome reparation for the affront he had offered her; but ſtill continued an infidel.

13. Juriak *Khatûn*, daughter of *Tulis*.

14. Dhalka, or *Zalka*, daughter of *Manûn Khatûn*. This princeſs being unable to defend her kingdom, *Walîd*, the ſon of *Thardân*, king of the *Amalekites*, who originally dwelt in *Syria*, took that opportunity of invading *Egypt*; and, having ſubdued the *Copts*, ſeized the crown. Theſe *Amalekites* ſeem to have been the ſame people who are by the *Greek* hiſtorians ſtiled *Shepherds*; whoſe invaſion of *Egypt* was, in all probability, a famous piece of hiſtory in the *eaſt*.

15. Walid, the firſt king of *Egypt*, of the race of *Amalek*, took the ſurname of *Pharaoh*, which in the *Coptic* tongue ſignifies *King*, and was uſed by all his ſucceſſors. He is ſaid to have been an impious man, and rebellious againſt God; and delighting too much in hunting, and paſſing his time abroad and in the deſerts for the ſake of that exerciſe, he was at length ſlain.

16. Riyan, the ſon of *Walid*, ſucceeded his father; and firſt dwelt at *Ain Shams*, but afterwards removed to *Memphis*. In his reign *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt*, and having lain in priſon twelve years, was at length delivered thence, on his interpreting of a dream, and being brought to court, was made *Wazir* (or *Viſir*) in the room of *Kolfair*, and had the management of the whole kingdom put into his hands. This *Riyan* is reported to have embraced the true religion, and to have been a ſtrict adminiſtrator of juſtice. One author [t] tells us, that he ſpoke no leſs than ſeventy different languages; in every one of which he put queſtions to *Joſeph*, who anſwered him in the ſame. This prince flouriſhed four hundred years before the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*.

[t] Kitab Tafasir.

17. Darem,

17. DAREM, the ſon of *Riyân*, was an impious perſon, rebellious againſt heaven, and exceſſively proud; for which he was, by a juſt judgment of GOD, drowned in the *Nile*.

18. CATHIM, the ſon of *Mádan*, an *Amalekite*, was famous throughout the world for the magnificent buildings erected by him. Some aſcribe the pyramids to this prince; adding, that thoſe ſtructures being in after-times propoſed to be demoliſhed, for the ſake of the treaſures hidden in them, that deſign was laid aſide, on a remonſtrance of the wiſe men of the country; who made it appear, that the riches, which might be found in them, would not countervail the charge of pulling them down. *Cathim* was the laſt king of *Egypt*, of the race of the *Amalekites*.

SOME writers ſay, that the *Wazir* of *Cathim* ſucceeded to the crown, and was the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*; but the more exact, leaving out both theſe laſt princes, tell us, that *Kiyân* was ſucceeded by his grandſon.

19. KABUS, the ſon of *Maſáb* [u], who being invited by *Joſeph* to embrace the true religion, refuſed, and died ſoon after that patriarch. Some hiſtorians will have *Kabûs* to be the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*, pretending, that he lived ſix hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred; which is more reaſonable, at leaſt, than the opinion of thoſe who imagine his father *Maſáb*, or his grandfather *Riyân*, to have been that *Pharaoh* [w].

20. WALID, the brother of *Kabûs*, is generally ſuppoſed to be that king of *Egypt* with whom *Moſes* had to do, and who was drowned in the *Red-ſea*. Moſt of the commentators on the *Korân* tell us this prince was an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Ad*, or, as others ſay, of *Amalek*, who were alſo *Arabians*; though ſome pretend he was of *Coptic* deſcent. What the oriental authors write concerning this *Pharaoh*, and his conteſts with *Moſes*, we may take notice of in another place.

21. DALUKA, ſurnamed *al Ajûz*, or the *old woman*, of the royal blood, ſucceeded the *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*. This queen is ſaid to have been the moſt expert woman of her time in magic. She lived an hundred years; and encompaſſed the city of *Meſr* with walls which were looked on as one of the wonders of the world; and ſome attribute the pyramids to her.

22. DARKUN, the ſon of *Maltûs*, came to the crown very young; and, being of an illuſtrious family among the *Copts*, was greatly beloved and reverenced by his ſubjects.

23. TARDAS reigned a long time.

[u] Ibid. [w] KITAB TAFASIR LEBAB, et al KESHAF.

24. LOFASH

24. Lofash ſucceeded; but who he was is unknown.
25. Marina.
26. Malus.
27. Manakil.
28. Bula. The actions of theſe ſix laſt kings are not recorded; and there ſeems to be an omiſſion of ſome intermediate princes; as alſo between the two following.

29. Ashyaf; or, as *Ebn Shohnah* more correctly writes the name, *Shiſhâk*, was contemporary with *Solomon*; and after his death took *Jeruſalem*, and greatly diſtreſſed the *Iſraelites*.

30. Pharaoh, ſurnamed *al Araj*, or *the lame*. In his time *Nebuchadnezzar*, governor of *Babylon*, led an army of 600,000 men againſt *Jeruſalem*, and ſlew a third part of the *Iſraelites*, carried a third part of them into captivity, and impoſed a tribute on the remaining third. But many of them flying into *Egypt*, he purſued them thither, and demanded them of *Pharaoh*; who refuſing to deliver them up, *Nebuchadnezzar* beſieged his capital city *Meſr*; and having taken it, hanged him. Then he burnt and demoliſhed the city, and proceeded forward into *Africa*. *Meſr*, they ſay, remained deſolate forty years; but was afterwards rebuilt, and the nation ruled by governors, who reſided there, firſt for the kings of *Perſia* of the ſecond race, called *Cayânians*; then for *Alexander*, who conquered *Perſia*: afterwards for the *Greek* kings, or *Ptolemies*; and at length for the *Romans*, and the *Chriſtian* emperors of *Conſtantinople*, who held *Egypt* till it was ſubdued by *Amru Ebn al As*, a general of *Omar*, the ſecond *Khaliff*, or ſucceſſor of *Mohammed*; ever ſince which that kingdom has been in the hands of *Mohammedan* princes [x].

There is a ſeries of the kings of *Egypt* ſomewhat different from this, given by a *Jewiſh* hiſtorian [y]: but as the names are moſt of them corrupted, and ſeem to have been originally taken from the *Arab* writers, we ſhall not trouble the reader with them; having perhaps already ſaid too much of ſo apocryphal a piece of hiſtory.

[x] Ex libro Mirat Cainat dicto. [y] R. Abr. Zacuth, in libro Juchaſin.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, *and* Philiſtines.

SECT. I.

The History of Moab.

The deſcent of the Moabites.

DESIGNING in this chapter to write the hiſtories of thoſe nations with whom the children of *Iſrael* had to do, before, or upon their ſettling in the land of *Canaan*, we ſhall begin with that of the *Moabites*.

THIS people were deſcended from *Moab* the ſon of *Lot*, by his eldeſt daughter: but before we mention the occaſion of that inceſt, it may be proper to take the hiſtory a little higher.

The life of Lot *their anceſtor.*

LOT was the ſon of *Haran*, the brother of *Abraham*; and after his father's death was brought by his grandfather *Terah*, together with the reſt of his family, from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, their native city, to *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*; where *Terah* dying, *Abraham* afterwards took his nephew under his protection, and, as *Joſephus* tells us [a], adopted him, deſpairing of any children of his own. He therefore carried him with him into *Canaan* [b]; where, after they had dwelt ſome time, they were obliged by a famine to go into *Egypt* [c]; ſoon after their return from whence, they parted: for their flocks and herds were ſo much encreaſed by this time, and their ſubſtance was ſo great, that they could not dwell together any longer; the paſture and water not being ſufficient for both; which occaſioning diſputes betwen their herdſmen, *Abraham* propoſed to prevent any miſunderſtanding between ſo near relations, that they ſhould ſeparate; and gave

[a] See Vol. I. p. 294. [a] Antiq l. 1. c. 7. [b] Gen. xii. 4, &c.
[c] Gen. xii. 10, & xiii. 1.

Lot

Lot the choice of removing to what part of the country he thought fit. Whereupon *Lot* chose the plain of *Jordan*, lying eastward of *Bethel* and *Ai*, between which *Abraham* and he then dwelt, and which, at that time, before the terrible destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, was so fruitful and well watered, that it is compared to the land of *Egypt*, and even to *Paradise* it self[d]. To this delightful plain or valley therefore *Lot* came, and pitched his tent not far from *Sodom*, infamous for the unnatural wickedness of its inhabitants; and afterwards dwelt in the city itself[e]: but that city, with others in the same plain, being not long after taken by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies, *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* tells us[f], assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, with his family and all his substance; and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who not only delivered him, but recovered all his goods[g]. Notwithstanding this warning, and the abominable wickedness of the inhabitants, *Lot* still continued to live in *Sodom*, and had perished in the fearful catastrophe of that people, if he had not been miraculously preserved, and that partly for *Abraham*'s sake[h]. Two angels, who were sent to destroy the place, came to *Sodom* in the evening in the appearance of travellers; and *Lot* sitting in the gate no sooner saw them, than he invited and pressed them to be his guests that night, according to the hospitality of the eastern nations. They had scarce refreshed themselves, when the inhabitants of the city, both old and young, being informed that *Lot* had strangers with him, and in all probability tempted by the beautiful forms which the angels had assumed[i], encompassed the house, and demanded them to be delivered to them, that they might abuse them. *Lot* endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose; and, rather than violate the rights of hospitality, offered to give up his two virgin daughters to their discretion, if they would not molest his guests; but, instead of accepting this offer, they came to violence, and pressed forward to break open the door: whereupon the angels suddenly pulled *Lot* into the house, shut the door, and struck the riotous assembly with blindness (A); so that they sought in vain to find the door, till they were tired.

Whilst

[d] Gen. xiii. 10. [e] Gen. xiv. 12. [f] Antiq. l. 1. c. 10.
[g] Gen. xiv. 16, &c. [h] Gen. xix. 29. [i] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

(A) It is a very probable opinion, that those men were struck, not with actual blindness, but with a dizziness, which disturbed their

WHILST they were thus buſied, the angels acquainted *Lot* with their commiſſion; that they were ſent to execute the divine vengeance upon that ſink of iniquity; and adviſed him, if he had any friends, for whoſe ſafety he was concerned, that he would immediately let them know their danger, and warn them to depart in time. Whereupon *Lot*, before it was light, went to his ſons-in-law, to whom his daughters were contracted (B), and telling them what they muſt expect if they ſtaid longer in the city, earneſtly perſuaded them to leave it: but they, thinking he either laughed at them, or was out of his wits, rejected his advice[k].

THIS circumſtance is the only one which *Moſes* mentions of *Lot*'s admoniſhing his fellow-citizens; though it is probable this juſt perſon omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation; for it is ſaid, that, *in ſeeing and hearing*, he *vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day, with their unlawful deeds*[l]: which words give countenance to the traditions adopted afterwards by *Mohammed*, of *Lot*'s being ſent to preach to the inhabitants of *Sodom*[m].

[k] Gen. xix. 1—14. [l] 2 Pet. ii. 8. [m] *Korân*, c. vii. ver. 81. c. xxvi. ver. 159. c. xxvii. ver. 55. c. xxix. ver. 28, &c.

their ſight, and repreſented objects falſely, and in confuſion (1), as were the *Syrians*, who were ſent to take *Eliſha* (2): and this is the ſenſe of the *Septuagint*. The author of the book of *Wiſdom* ſuppoſes ſome change in the air, ſaying, that they were *compaſſed about with horrible great darkneſs*, which he compares to that with which *Moſes* plagued the *Egyptians*: he adds, that they could not even find the way home: but *every one ſought the paſſage of his own doors* (3).

(B) The *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other tranſlations, and ſome of the *Rabbins* ſuppoſe, theſe were the huſbands of other daughters of *Lot*, who were married, and had left their father's houſe: which ſeems to be confirmed by the angels ordering *Lot* to take with him his wife and his two daughters *which were there* preſent (4). But the original words, which in our verſion are rendered *his ſons-in-law which married his daughters* (5), may be tranſlated, according to the interpretation of *Onkelos*, *his ſons-in-law, which were to marry*, &c.; the contract having been paſſed, but the marriage not conſummated; and there is no mention in ſcripture of any daughters *Lot* had, except the two who were ſaved with him; but if he had, they muſt have periſhed with their huſbands.

(1) *Vide Auguſtin. de civit. Dei. l.* 22. *c.* 19. *Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. T.* 2. *Exerc.* viii. § 16. *Cleric. in Loc.* (2) 2 *Kings* vi. 18. (3) *Wiſd.* xix. 17. (4) *Gen.* xix. 15. (5) *Ibid. ver.* 14.

LOT

Lot not having been able to prevail on his ſons-in-law to ſave themſelves; as ſoon as it was day-break, the angels ordered him immediately to depart, with his wife and two daughters, leſt they ſhould be involved in the common ruin: but he delaying to go, being probably intent on preſerving ſome of his moſt valuable goods, the angels haſtily laid hold on them, and brought them out of the city, commanding them to make a ſpeedy eſcape, for that their lives were in danger; and in particular directed them not to look behind them, nor to ſtay in the plain; but to make the beſt of their way to the mountains. Upon which *Lot*, conſidering the mountains were at a good diſtance, began to fear he could not reach them time enough, and begged, he might be permitted to eſcape to a ſmall city not far from *Sodom*, then called *Bela*, but from this accident *Zoar*, or *the little*, which was elſe to have been deſtroyed with the other cities of the plain. This requeſt was granted; and the angels promiſed him, that their commiſſion ſhould not be executed till he got thither; which he did by ſun-riſe. Immediately upon which the fearful deſtruction of thoſe cities enſued: and *Lot*'s wife, contrary to the expreſs command of the angel, looking back, was changed into a pillar of ſalt [n] (C), which *Joſephus*[o] tells us was remaining in his days, and that himſelf had ſeen it.

After

[n] Gen. xix. 15—26. [o] Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

(C) It is not agreed by commentators what was the crime for which *Lot*'s wife was thus ſeverely puniſhed. Some are of opinion, ſhe deſerved it merely for diſobeying the command of the angel, and expreſſing too much concern for a people who deſerved no compaſſion (6): which yet ſhe might be the more apt to entertain, as ſhe was probably a native of *Sodom* (7), and had near relations among them. Others ſay, that being anxiouſly ſollicitous for her daughters, who were married there, and turning about to ſee whether they followed her, ſhe ſaw the divine *Shechinah*, or majeſtic appearance of God, deſcending to deſtroy the place, which was the occaſion of her metamorphoſi. The writer from whom we take this, calls her *Adith* (8). *Mohammed*, from ſome traditions he met with, goes farther, and repreſents her as rebellious to her huſband (9); and the commentators of the *Korân*, who name her *Waïlah*, ſay, ſhe was in confederacy with the *Sodomites*; telling them her huſband was diſtracted, and giving them notice when any ſtrangers came to lodge with him, by a ſign of ſmoke by day, and

(6) [1] *Joſ. Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 13. *Heidegg. ubi ſupr.* § 18. *p.* 23. (7) *Targum Hieroſol.* (8) *R. Eliezer Pirke, c.* 25. (9) *Korân, c.* 66.

of

AFTER this cataſtrophe, *Lot* ſtaid not long in *Zoâr*; fearing ſome further misfortune; but went with his daughters to the mountains on the eaſt of the *Dead-ſea*, and dwelt in a cave there. In this ſolitude the two young women ſeeing no of fire by night (10); or, according to others, by knocking at the wall, and crying, *Give me ſome ſalt* (11). Others however think the ſcripture does not repreſent the fate this woman met with as a puniſhment for any crime; but ſuppoſe it merely accidental, as will be obſerved immediately.

The manner of her transformation or death is alſo differently apprehended. From the various acceptations of the word we render *pillar*, ſome have fancied ſhe was turned into an *heap of ſtones* (12); others into a pillar (13), without any reſemblance of human ſhape; and a third party have imagined ſhe was changed into a ſtatue (14), having the perfect form of a woman. Nor is there any better agreement as to the matter of this monument, than the figure of it. Some ſuppoſe it to have been of rock ſalt, which laſts a long while and is not ſubject to be waſted or diſſolved by the weather, as common ſalt is (15). *Aben Ezra* is of opinion, that *Lot*'s wife was burnt with fire mixed with ſalt; and *Grotius* is of the ſame ſentiment (16). But others think the word *ſalt* does not relate to the matter of the pillar or ſtatue, but either deſcribes the place where it ſtood; and then the meaning of the paſſage is no more, than that it was in a *ſalt*, or barren ſoil (17); or elſe that it ſignifies only the permanency of the ſtatue's duration; as *a covenant of ſalt* is elſewhere (18) uſed to expreſs a *laſting*, or *perpetual covenant* 19). Hence the *Rabbins* take occaſion, according to their cuſtom, to carry the matter farther, and ſay, this ſtatue was deſigned for an everlaſting monument of divine juſtice, and ſhall remain till the day of judgment (20). They add, that though it is continually licked by the cattle, yet it is always miraculouſly repaired again (21); that it has not only the lineaments of a woman, but alſo the diſtinction of ſex, and regular purgations, as if it were alive (22): which fable has been ſwallowed by ſome *Chriſtian* writers (23). Some late commentators (24), after all, think, that there was no miraculous metamorphoſis at all in the caſe; but that ſhe either turned back out of curioſity to ſee the burning nearer, and ſo periſhed in the dreadful ſhower, or by ſome poiſonous vapour; or elſe that

(10) *Jallaloddin, &c.* (11) *Pentat. Ebn Sina.* (12) *Sulpic. Sever.* (13) *Septuag.* (14) *Hieron. Onkelos.* (15) *Vide Watſii Miſcel. Tom. 2. and Howell's Hiſtory of the Bible.* (16) *Deut.* xxix. 23. (17) *Pſal.* cvii. 34. (18) *Numb.* xviii. 19. (19) *Vide Clerici Diſſert. de ſtatua ſalina.* (20) *Targ. Hieroſ.* (21) *R. Eliezer, ubi ſupr. Benjam. Itin. p.* 44. (22) *R. Eliezer, ibid.* (23) *Tertul. vel Auctor Carm. de Sodoma, Irenæus, l.* 4. *c.* 51. (24) *Vatablus, Bodinus, P. Simon, Bibl. Crit. T.* 4. *Let.* 44. *Clerici Diſſert de ſtatua ſalina.*

the

no hopes of their ever being married (D), and being very deſirous of having children, to want which was reckoned a great reproach and ſcandal in thoſe days, plotted together to deceive their father, and have iſſue by him. Accordingly they put their project in execution: and making him drink wine plentifully one evening, the eldeſt daughter lay down by him the firſt night, and the old man knew not when ſhe lay down, nor when ſhe aroſe: not that we ſuppoſe he was ſo far overcome as not to be ſenſible of what he did, which would have rendered him rather unfit than fit for their purpoſe; but he knew not who it was he lay with, imagining, probably, that it was a ſervant, to make uſe of which was then reckoned no crime. The next night they employed the ſame artifice, and the youngeſt took her turn. They both proved with child; and from this inceſtuous commerce proceeded two ſons; that of the eldeſt daughter was therefore named *Moab*, ſignifying (though not in pure *Hebrew*, yet perhaps in ſome dialect of that tongue) *Of a father*, and was the progenitor of the people we are now ſpeaking of [P].

[P] Gen. xix. 30—37.

the horror of the ſight, when ſhe looked back, and plainly beheld the terrible deſtruction of a place ſhe had but juſt quitted, ſtruck her ſtiff, and motionleſs like a ſtatue, and that ſhe died of the fright. And as to what is urged from *Joſephus* (25), and ſome books of travels (26), that this ſtatue or pillar was many ages after, or is now to be ſeen, it is anſwered, that *Joſephus* might be deceived therein, as many others have been, and daily are, in things of this nature: which really ſeems to have been the caſe; becauſe the more intelligent and credible travellers ſay they could never ſee it; and when they have aſked the people of the country after it, they either aſſured them there was no ſuch thing (27), or pretended it ſtands ſomewhere in the mountains, where the acceſs to it is very dangerous, becauſe of the wild beaſts and ſerpents, but more ſo on account of the *Arabs* (28).

(D) Several writers (29) excuſe this act of *Lot*'s daughters, by ſuppoſing what they did was for the reparation of mankind, which, as they thought, had been utterly deſtroyed, and none left, except their father and themſelves. But there is no manner of foundation for ſuch an opinion; wherefore St. *Auſtin* very juſtly condemns

(25) *See alſo Wiſdom*, x. 7. (26) *Vide Quareſm. Elucid. terræ ſanct. Tom.* 2. *l.* 6. *c.* 14. (27) *Radzivil, Itiner. Hieroſ. p.* 95. (28) *Brochard, Deſcr. terræ ſanct. p.* 1. *c.* 7. *Numb.* 24. (29) *Joſeph. Antiq.* l. 1. *c.* 12. *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 34. *in Gen. Irenæus, l.* 4. *c.* 51. *Ambroſ. de Abrah. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *Theodor. in Geneſ. quæſt.* 69. *c.* 5.

THE posterity of this person settled in the country bordering on the mountain where he was born, which some authors make part of *Cœle-Syria* [q], others of *Arabia* [r]; and having driven out the old inhabitants, possessed a large tract, thence called *Moabitis*, or the land of *Moab*, bounded on the west by the mountains on the east of the lake *Asphaltites*, or the *Dead-sea*, and by the river *Jordan*; on the north by the country possessed by the *Ammonites*, the descendants of *Lot* by his younger daughter; on the south by the brook, or little river *Zered*, which runs into the *Dead-sea*, and by the countries of *Midian* and *Edom*; and on the east by the deserts of *Arabia*; which tract might be about forty miles long, and as many broad. This country, which is chiefly mountainous, intermixed with vallies proper for pasturing of cattle, was given by GOD to the children of *Moab*; and the *Israelites*, notwithstanding the great provocations they received from them, were expresly forbidden to disturb them [s]. However, by the time of *Moses*, the *Amorites*, who had possessed themselves of great part of the land of *Ammon*, took also the adjoining part of the land of *Moab*; reducing their limits on that side to the brook *Arnon*, called also the river of *Gad* [t], which empties itself into the lake *Asphaltites*, and before passed through the midst of their territories. This the *Israelites* seizing on, as part of *Sihon*'s kingdom, which was theirs by right of conquest, kept it for several centuries, till recovered by the *Moabites*, when they brake into the borders of *Reuben* and *Gad*, on the declension of the kingdom of *Israel*, as will be observed hereafter.

Of the country possessed by the Moabites.

THE chief city of *Moab* was *Ar* [u], situate on the river *Arnon*, called also *Rabbah* [w], or, *The Great*; and to distinguish it from a city of the same name in the land of *Ammon*, *Rabbath-Moab* [x]. In after-times it was called *Areopolis* [y], by addition of a *Greek* word signifying *a city*. The other cities of *Moab* were *Mizpeh*, *Luthith*, *Horonaim*, and some others, whose situations are not certainly known.

[q] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. [r] STEPHAN. de urb. in Μώαβ. [s] Deut. ii. 9. Judg. xi. 15. [t] 2 Sam. xxiv. 5. [u] Deut ii. 9; 18, 29. Numb. xxi. 15, 28. Isaiah xv. 1, &c. [w] Josh. xiii. 25. [x] HIERON. in *Moab*. [y] Idem ibid.

the action, saying they ought never to have been mothers, rather than to have made such use of their father (30). One of these daughters a *Jewish* writer calls *Pelotith* (31).

(30) *August cont. Faust. l. 22. c. 43.* (31) *R. Jehuda, apud Eliezer. Pirke, c. 25.*

Their government, customs, &c.

THE customs and manner of life of these people we know very little of. They were governed by kings, used circumcision [z], and seem to have employed themselves mostly in pasturage, and breeding of cattle, wherein their riches chiefly consisted. They were one of the nations whose good the *Jews* were forbidden to seek [a]; nor were they to be admitted to intermarry with the *Israelites*, even to their tenth generations [b]. However, they appear to have cultivated a good understanding with that people after their settlement in *Canaan*, as appears from the sojourning of *Elimelech* there [c], and the reception *David* met with in his troubles at *Mizpeh* [d]. What language they used we cannot say; but suppose they spoke a dialect of the *Canaanitish*, or *Hebrew*.

Their religion.

THAT this people had once the knowledge of the true GOD, we may not only conclude from the piety of their great ancestor, who, without doubt, instructed his offspring in their duty, but it appears from scripture; for they retained this knowledge till the time of *Moses*, even after they had monstrously corrupted their religion by introducing the worship of false gods [e]; which they seem to have done pretty early, though the time cannot be fixed.

THE idols of the *Moabites* taken notice of in scripture are *Chemosh* [f] and *Baal-peor* [g], sometimes simply *Peor* [h]; or, as the *Septuagint* write the name, *Phegor*. But what gods these were, learned men are not agreed. St. *Jerom* supposes, that they were both names of one and the same idol [i]: and from the debaucheries into which those fell who defiled themselves with their worship, several writers, both antient and modern, have represented them as obscene deities, not much different from *Priapus* [k]. This opinion they endeavour to support from the etymologies of the names, and fancy some filthiness is implied therein (E). Others [l] however imagine, that though the

[z] Jerem. ix. 25, 26. [a] Deut. xxiii. 3—6. [b] Ibid. ver. 3. [c] Ruth i. 1, 2. [d] Sam. xxii. 3, &c. [e] See Numb. xxv. 2. [f] Numb. xxi. 29. [i] Kings xi. 7. Jerem. xlviii. 13. [g] Numb. xxv. 1, and 3. [h] Ibid. ver. 18. Josh. xxii. 17, &c. [i] HIERONIM. in Esai. l. 5. [k] Idem in Oseam, & contr. Jovin. l. 1. c. 12. ORIGEN. in Numer. Homil. 20. THEOPHYLACT. in Hoseam. CUMBERLAND on Sanchon. p. 67, &c. [l] SELDEN de Diis Syris, Syntag. 1. c. 5. CLERIC. in Numer. PATRICK's Comment. on Numb. xxv.

(E) *Peor* they derive from פער *paar*, to *open*, or *stretch*; because they used an indecent posture before the idol (*distendebant coram eo foramen podicis*,) and offered him dung; which the *Jews* pretend

the *Iſraelites* and *Solomon* were drawn in to worſhip thoſe idols by debauching themſelves with *Moabitiſh* women *; yet it does not thence follow, that any immodeſt ceremonies were uſed in their worſhip; nor are any ſuch mentioned in the moſt antient authors [m]; and the etymologies, we think, are not much to be built on. *Peor* was the name of a mountain, where the high places of *Baal* [n], which word ſignifies no more than *Lord*, and was a title of the ſun, were ſituate; and probably was added to that name by way of diſtinction, to denote the deity adored in that place [o], though he had probably alſo a temple in *Beth-Peor*, which ſtood in the plain [p]. *Voſſius* [q] ſuppoſes *Baal-peor* to be *Bacchus*; and Dr. *Cumberland* [r] ſays he was properly called *Meon*, and will have him to be the ſame with *Menes*, *Mizraïm*, and *Oſiris* (F), who, according to his

* Numb. xxv. [m] See PATRICK's Comment. ubi ſupr. [n] Numb. xxiii. 38. [o] THEODORET. ad Pſal. cv. Vid. SUID. in Βεελφεγωρ. [p] See Joſh. xiii. 17 & 20. [q] De idololatr. l. 2. c. 7. [r] On Sanchon. p. 67.

pretend was the worſhip proper to this idol (31). If this derivation be true, it was moſt probably a name of contempt impoſed by the *Jews*; and the naſty ceremonies they mention may have been invented to give ſome reaſon for the name.

Chemoſh, for want of a better etymology, they will have to come from the verb משש *Maſhaſh*, to *feel*: but Dr. *Hyde* derives it from the *Arabic Khamûſh*, which ſignifies *gnats* (though in the particular dialect of the tribe of *Hodail*), ſuppoſing it to have been an aſtrological Talliſman in the figure of a *gnat*, made to drive away thoſe inſects (32): and *le Clerc*, who takes this idol for the ſun, from *Camoſha*, a *root* in the ſame tongue, ſignifying *to be ſwift* (33).

(F) This learned prelate ſuppoſes *Peor* was not his true name; and finding *Baal-Meon* (34) and *Beth-Meon* (35), and *Beth-Baal-Meon* (36), mentioned in ſcripture, as a place lying within the old territories of *Moab*, concludes *Meon* was the proper, or honourable title of this deity, whom he will have to be the ſame with *Oſiris*, becauſe of the obſcene proceſſions uſed in honour of the latter, agreeing very well with the immodeſt ceremonies uſed in the worſhip of the former, and from the affinity between the names of *Meon* and *Menes*. The chief reaſons he gives, why *Meon* was the

(31) *Solom. Yarhi in Numer.* 25. 3. *Maimonides More Nev. part* 3. *c.* 46. *Vid. Philon. Jud. de nomin. mutatione, p.* 1061. (32) *Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. c.* 5. *p.* 131. (33) *Cleric. in Numb. xxxi.* 28. (34). *Numb xxxii.* 38. 1 *Chron. v.* 8. *Ezek. xxv.* 9. (35) *Jerem. xlviii.* 23. (36) *Joſh. xiii.* 17.

his hypotheſis, were all one and the ſame man [r]. *Chemoſh* ſeems to have been a different idol. *Nebo* [t] is thought by ſome to have been another deity of the *Moabites*. It was without diſpute an idol of the *Babylonians*, and poſſibly the ſame with *Mercury*: but whether the *Moabites* worſhipped it is not ſo certain. There was a town of this name in that part of the antient dominions of *Moab*, conquered by *Sihon*, which the *Iſraelites* rebuilt, and changed its name [u]; and a part of mount *Abarim* in the ſame tract was alſo called *Nebo*.

Of their religious rights and ceremonies we can ſay very little. The obſcenity attributed to them by ſome authors we have already mentioned: of which, however, the *Pſalmiſt* takes no notice, in ſpeaking of thoſe who *were joined to* Baal-peor; but ſays only, that they *ate the offerings of the dead*: by which words he may either mean, that the idol, to which they impiouſly gave divine honour, was no more than a dead man; or elſe that their oblations were made to the infernal gods. They ſacrificed both in the open air, on mountains dedicated to that ſervice [w], and alſo in temples built to their idols in their cities; and, beſides oxen and rams, on extraordinary occaſions offered human victims, according to the *Phœnician* cuſtom; an inſtance of which will be given by and by.

[r] See Vol. I. p. 309, (Z), 310 [t] Iſai xv. 2. Jerem. xlviii. 1—22. [u] Iſai. xlvi. 1. Pſal. cvi. 28. [w] See Numb. xxii. 41, &c.

name of an idol, and the ſame with *Peor*, are, 1. The *Septuagint* and *Arabic* verſions have *Meon* for a proper name or title of a deity (37). 2. The *Targum* of *Jonathan* (38) calls *Baal-Meon a city of* Balak, *in which* Iſrael *deſtroyed the idol* Peor *in the houſe of altars*. 3. *Meon* was ſo great a title of honour, that it is given to God himſelf in ſcripture (39), though it is tranſlated *dwelling-place*. But we think nothing can be concluded from paſſages where the word is plainly an appellative. 4. *Beth-Meon* ſignifies the *houſe* or *temple* of *Meon*; and no other than a ſuppoſed deity can be ſaid to have a temple dedicated to it. Yet there are ſeveral names of places compounded with the word *Beth*, which have no relation at all to idols. 5 The *Iſraelites* changed the name of the city *Baal-Meon*, when they had rebuilt it, as they did that of *Nebo*, becauſe they were ſo named from falſe gods (40). But this is no neceſſary conſequence.

(37) *Ibid.* 1 *Chron.* v. 8. *Jerem.* xlviii. 23. (38) *On Numb.* xxxii. xxxviii. (39) *Pſal.* xc. *and* xci. 9. (40) *See Cumberland on Sanchon. chap.* 2.

The

THE firſt inhabitants of the land, afterwards poſſeſſed by the poſterity of *Moab*, were the *Emims*, a great and powerful people and of extraordinary ſtrength and ſtature [x]. They were, moſt probably, deſcendants of *Ham*, and of the ſame gigantic race with the *Anakims* and *Rephaims*, though the *Moabites* called them by the name of *Emims* [y], which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *terrible*. Theſe having been much weakened by the invaſion of *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, and his allies [z], became the eaſier conqueſt to the *Moabites*; who drove them out, and took poſſeſſion of their country; but about what time is uncertain. However, they kept not their new dominions long entire; for in the days of *Moſes*, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites*, who bordered on them eaſtward, fought againſt the king of *Moab*, the predeceſſor of *Balak*, and took from that nation all their land, to the north of the river *Arnon* [a].

The Moabites *drive out the* Emims. *But loſe part of their acquiſitions to the* Amorites.

BALAK the ſon of *Zippor*, was on the throne of *Moab* when the *Iſraelites*, having ſubdued *Sihon*, were incamped in part of their new acquiſitions, called the plains of *Moab*, becauſe they had lately belonged to that nation [b]. This prince, being exceedingly diſmayed at the approach of the victorious people, whom he was not in a condition to reſiſt, and not knowing that GOD had forbidden them to attempt the conqueſt of his remaining territories, aſſembled the nobles, and alſo the princes of the *Midianites* (a branch of which nation dwelt within the borders of *Moab*, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter), and acquainted them with his apprehenſions, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould, as he expreſſed it, *lick up all that were round about them, as the ox licketh up the graſs of the field*. Having conſulted together, and not daring to truſt to their arms alone, the aſſembly agreed to ſend for *Balaam*, the ſon of *Beor*, a famous prophet (G), or diviner of that

Balak ſends for Balaam *to curſe the* Iſraelites.

Year of the Flood, 1547.
Year before Chriſt 1451.

[x] Deut. ii. 10. [y] Ibid. p. 10, 11. [z] Gen. xiv. 5. [a] Numb. xxi. 26. [b] Numb. xxii. 1.

(G) Some *Jews* imagine this *Balaam* was an aſtrologer, who obſerving when men were under a bad aſpect of the ſtars, pronounced a curſe upon them; which ſometimes coming to paſs in neighbouring nations, gained him a great reputation. Several of the antient fathers ſuppoſe him to have been no more than a common ſoothſayer (41), who pretended to foretel future events, but by no juſtifiable arts. *Origen* will have it, that he was no prophet, but only a ſorcerer, who went to enquire of the devil; but that God was pleaſed to prevent him, and to put what anſwer he

(41) *See Joſeph.* 13. 22.

that time, in the prevalency of whose prayers and imprecations they had great confidence, that he might come and curse the people, which gave them so much uneasiness(H). Accordingly ambassadors of both nations were sent, not empty-handed, but with presents, as is usual in such cases, to *Balaam*, who dwelt at *Pethor*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, situate on the *Euphrates* [c], and told him the occasion of their coming. The prophet desired them to stay with him that night, that he might enquire of God, whether he should go with them and curse the *Israelites* or not: but being commanded not to go, nor to curse a people whom God had determined to bless;

[c] Num. xxii. 5. Deut. xxiii. 4.

thought fit into his mouth. It cannot be denied however, but that the scripture expressly calls him a *prophet*; and therefore some later writers (42) are of opinion, that he had been once a good man, and a true prophet, till loving the wages of unrighteousness (43), and prostituting the honour of God to his covetousness, he apostatized from God, and, betaking himself to idolatrous practices, fell under the delusion of the devil, of whom he learned all his magical enchantments; though at this juncture, when the preservation of his people was concerned, it might consist with God's wisdom to appear to him, and vouchsafe him revelations. *Balaam* indeed was a man of no great probity, and might by profession be a diviner; but by the free access he had to God, it seems apparent, that he was no common sorcerer or magician (44).

The *Jews* say *Balaam* was not his true name; but that he was so called, because by his counsel בלע עם *Bala am*, i. e. *he destroyed the people* of God (45): and some have taken him to be the same person who in the book of *Job* is named *Elisha* (46). The prophetical traditions of *Balaam* the *Persian Magi* are said to have had (47), and it is thought, that from his prophecy (48) the wise men knew the signification of the star which appeared at our Saviour's birth (49).

(H) It was a received opinion among the heathen nations, that imprecations might be made which would have effect, not only on private persons, but even whole armies and nations; and there were particular forms and ceremonies for that purpose (50).

(42) *See Patrick's Comment. on Numb.* xxii. (43) 2 *Pet.* ii. 15. (44) *Stackhouse's Body of Divinity*, p. 465, &c. (45) *Vide Hottinger. Semegma Orient. p.* 444. (46) *See Patrick's Comment. ubi supr.* (47) *D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p.* 528. (48) *Numb.* xxiv. 17. (49) *Theodor. Tarsensis, apud Hyde de rel vet. Pers. p.* 384. (50) *Vid. Macrob. Saturn. l.* 3. *c.* 9. *Plutarch. in vita Crassi, p.* 553.

the

the next morning he told them, he could not disobey the divine command, and so dismissed them. On their return with this answer, *Balak*, whose sole hopes lay in the prophet, sent a second embassy to him, consisting of persons of more distinguished quality, and in greater number, with promises of great riches and preferment, if he would comply with his request. *Balaam* told them, that if he might gain ever so much wealth, he durst not act contrary to the divine directions: however, being willing to gratify *Balak*, and tempted by the large offers which had been made him, notwithstanding he knew it was a thing disagreeable to GOD, yet he consulted the oracle once more, and had then leave given him to go, provided he said nothing, but what GOD should put in his mouth. *Balaam* therefore went with the ambassadors, resolving, as it seems, with himself, to do his utmost for the service of those who had employed him. But his intentions being displeasing to GOD, he sent an angel to withstand him by the way, who placed himself in the road with a drawn sword in his hand, as *Balaam* came riding on his ass, attended by two servants only, and at a distance from the rest of the company; the ass seeing the angel (though her master did not) turned out of the way into the field; on which *Balaam* struck her: then the angel went forward, and stood in a path between two walls: against one of which the ass thrusting her self to avoid the angel, crushed *Balaam*'s foot, and provoked him to strike her again. At length the angel went farther, and stood in a place so narrow, that there was no room for the ass to turn out of the way; but she fell down under the prophet, and enraged him so that he struck her a third time. Whereupon GOD miraculously opened the ass's mouth (I), and she spoke to her master with an articulate voice,

(I) This was so extraordinary an event, that some *Jews*, as great lovers of miracles as they are, have not been able to persuade themselves that it really came to pass. *Philo* (50), in relating the story of *Balaam*, wholly omits this circumstance; and *Maimonides* (51), pretends it happened to *Balaam* in a prophetical vision. But as there is no doubt of God's power to effect such a miracle, and the words of scripture are very express, there can be no reason for disbelieving it. The heathens cannot reproach *Moses* with any absurdity in this story, since they themselves relate so many of the like nature, but not near so well supported. Witness what they say of the ass upon which *Bacchus* rode; of the ram of

(50) *De vita Mosis, l.* 1. (51) *More Nevoch. part.* 2. *cap.* 42.

voice, and asked him, why he had given her thoſe three blows? *Balaam*, in the heat of his paſſion not conſidering the prodigy (K), angrily anſwered, that ſhe had purpoſely provoked him; and wiſhed he had a ſword to kill her. But on the aſs's demanding if ever ſhe had ſerved him in that manner before, he confeſſed that ſhe had not. Immediately on this *Balaam*'s eyes were opened, and he ſaw the angel ſtanding before him armed with a naked ſword; whereupon he fell proſtrate on his face, and the angel told him, that he had ſtruck his aſs without cauſe, ſince it was he that oppoſed him becauſe of his perverſeneſs; and that if the aſs had not turned out of the way he ſhould have killed him, and ſaved her alive (L). The prophet on this reprimand offered to return home again; but the angel bid him go on, taking care only to ſay no more than what God ſhould direct him [d].

Balaam being come to the borders of *Moab*, *Balak* went out to meet him; and, after ſome expoſtulations for not coming on the firſt meſſage, brought him to *Kirjath-huzoth*, where the king offered ſacrifices, and feaſted *Balaam* and the princes who were with him. The next day *Balak* brought the prophet up into the high places of *Baal* on mount *Abarim*, where he might have a full proſpect of the camp of the *Iſraelites*, whom he had hired him to curſe [e]. There *Balak*, by the prophet's direction, built ſeven altars, in which number there might poſſibly be ſome ſuperſtition; but the altars, as it appears, were erected to the true God, to whom they offered a bullock and a ram on each altar; and the ſame they did afterwards in two other places on the mountain. The

[d] Numb. xxii. 20, 35. [e] Numb. xxii. 36—41.

Phryxus; the bull of *Europa*; the horſes of *Achilles* and *Adraſtus*; the elephant of *Porus* in *India*, and the lamb in *Egypt* when *Bochchoris* reigned there (52).

(K) This ſeems to be the true reaſon why *Balaam* expreſſed no more ſurprize on this occaſion. But ſome ſuppoſe *Balaam* might have imbibed the doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls, which was, and ſtill is, too common in the eaſt, and from thence might be the leſs aſtoniſhed to hear a brute ſpeak (53). *Joſephus* indeed tells us, but without authority, that he was afrighted at the accident (54).

(L) An inſtance of a prophet's being ſlain for diſobedience, and his aſs being ſaved alive, we have in the firſt book of Kings (55).

(52) *See Patrick's comment ubi ſupr.* (53) *Vide Cleric. comment. in locum.* (54) *Joſeph. Ant. l.* 1. (55) *Chap.* xiii. 23, *&c.*

two

two first times *Balaam* sought for enchantments [f], or used such means as he was able, to obtain leave of GOD to curse the children of *Israel*; but without success; for on the contrary he was commanded to bless them, sore against his inclination, and to the great mortification of *Balak* [g]. Wherefore the third time, finding that no enchantments could prevail against *Jacob*, nor any divination against *Israel*, he omitted his former arts, and not only blessed them a third time, but pronounced those cursed who should utter any imprecations against that people. *Balak* was exceedingly enraged at this disappointment, and ordered him to depart immediately; but *Balaam* before he went, pronounced in *Balak*'s presence a noble and magnificent prophecy of the future successes of the *Israelites*, and what should befal several nations and kingdoms [h]. As to *Moab* in particular, he foretold, *that a star* (M) *should come out of Jacob, and a sceptre should arise out of Israel, which should smite the corners* (or, as it may be better translated, the *princes*) *of* Moab, *and destroy all the children of* Seth [i] (N). Which prophecy the most judicious interpreters take to be primarily spoken of *David*, and fulfilled by his victories over that nation; though it be allowed also secondarily, and in a more exalted sense, to refer to the *Messiah*. After this *Balaam* returned home [k], but not

[f] See Vol. I. p. 477, 478. [g] Numb. xxiii. [h] Ibid. c. 24. [i] Ibid. ver. 17. [k] Ibid. ver. 25.

(M) The eastern nations denoted a king by a star or comet, the appearance of which they thought portended the rise of great princes, and the revolutions of empires (56).

(N) According to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, wherein it is elegant to repeat the same sentence in different expressions, by *the children of* Seth, the *Moabites* should be intended; but why they are so called we cannot find There is a passage in *Jeremiah*, which seems to prove, that in his time this place was differently read. *A fire* says that prophet, *shall come out of* Heshbon, *a flame from the midst of* Sihon, *which shall devour the corner of* Moab, *and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones*, or, as it is better rendered in the margin, *of the children of noise* (57). The former part of this passage is taken from another text (58), and the latter from that which we are now speaking of. The difference between them is very little in the original: *Jeremiah* instead of קרקר *karkar, shall destroy*, having קדקד *kadkod*, the *crown of the head* (which is the reading of the *Samaritan* pentateuch in this very place) and instead of שת *Seth*, שאון *Shaon, noise*. But we dare not hence make any correction.

(56) *Vide Cleric. in loc.* (57) *Jerem. xlviii.* 45. (58) *Numb. xxi.* 28.

without

without giving a moſt wicked counſel (O) to *Balak* and the *Midianites*, which proved very pernicious to the children of *Iſrael*: for he told them, that it was in vain to expect that God would ever deſert that nation, ſo long as they continued in their duty; and therefore the only way to hurt and diſtreſs them, would be to tempt them to idolatry and diſobedience, which he thought no means ſo proper to effect, as by inticing them to debaucheries with the *Moabitiſh* and *Midianitiſh* women. And therefore he adviſed them, to ſend the moſt beautiful virgins they could find to the *Iſraelitiſh* camp, with proper inſtructions [l].

This was put in execution; the chief men among them making no ſcruple to proſtitute their daughters on this occaſion [m]: and the ſtratagem ſucceeded but too well. For the *Iſraelites* were immediately ſmitten with the charms of theſe fair Idolatreſſes; and, having begun to commit whoredom with them, were eaſily ſeduced in another point, and prevailed on to comply with the worſhip of their falſe gods. This occaſioned a dreadful plague, which deſtroyed 24,000 of them, beſides thoſe who were put to death by the order of *Moſes* [n].

Their hiring of *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael* was the reaſon why the *Moabites* were not to be admitted to mix, or intermarry with that people, as has been obſerved [o]; but the *Midianites*, who ſeem to have been more particularly the inſtruments of ſeducing them to idolatry, were more ſeverely puniſhed ſoon after, as will be related in a more proper place: and *Balaam* himſelf had his reward, being ſlain by the *Iſraelites* when they took their revenge on *Midian* [p].

[l] Joseph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 6. [m] Numb. xxv. 15. [n] Ibid. ver. 1——5. [o] See before, p. 82. [p] Numb. xxxi. 8. Joseph. Antiq. l. 5. c. 5.

(O) Though *Moſes* mentions not this where he deſcribes the interview between *Balaam* and *Balak*, yet in another place (59), he lays the whole blame on *Balaam*, ſaying, that the *Iſraelites* treſpaſſed *through his counſel*. *Joſephus* is very particular in relating this circumſtance, and tells us, that *Balaam* bethought himſelf of it when he came to the *Euphrates*, and thence ſent to ſpeak with *Balak* and the princes of *Midian* (60). The *Targum* of *Jonathan* and that of *Jeruſalem* ſuppoſe he gave this counſel juſt before he pronounced the laſt prophecy; and that the ſame is intimated by theſe words, *I will adviſe*, or *counſel thee* (61).

(59) *Numb. xxxi.* 16. *See alſo Revel. ii.* 14. (60) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 4. *c.* 6. (61) *Numb. xxiv.* 14. *Vid. etiam Cleric. in loc.*

The

THE next action which is recorded of the *Moabites* is, that they were the inſtruments of the ſecond oppreſſion of the *Iſraelites* after their ſettlement in the land of *Canaan*. For that people, on the death of *Othniel* the ſon of *Kenaz*, being without a head, returned again to idolatry; whereupon GOD raiſed up *Eglon* king of *Moab* to puniſh them. This prince therefore having entered into an alliance with the *Ammonites* and *Amalekites* his neighbours, with their aſſiſtance ſucceſsfully invaded *Iſrael*, and ſeized on the eaſtern part of their country, and particularly on a city called by *Moſes* the city of *palm trees*, by which is generally underſtood *Jericho* (P), which was in the lot of the tribe of *Benjamin*; and having left gariſons to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection, obliged them to pay tribute, and exerciſed great tyranny over them for no leſs than eighteen years. At the expiration of which time the children of *Iſrael*, returning to a better mind, had recourſe to GOD in their diſtreſs, who raiſed up to them a deliverer, a *Benjamite*, named *Ehud*. This perſon, being deputed by his countrymen to carry a preſent, or rather the tribute which was exacted of them, to *Eglon*, formed the deſign of freeing them from the intolerable oppreſſion they had ſo long undergone, by taking off their tyrant; he therefore provided himſelf with a dagger fit for the execution of his purpoſe, though ſhort enough to be hidden under his garments; and, being left-handed, he girt it on his right thigh, which alſo gave the leſs ſuſpicion of his being armed. Having delivered the tribute to the king, he ſent away thoſe who had brought it, and followed them ſo far homewards as the quarries near *Gilgal* (Q); but when he came thither he turned

(P) *Jericho* was famous among other things for the great numbers of palm trees of different kinds which grew in its neighbourhood (62). *Joſephus* ſays, that *Eglon* removed his court to this city (63): but he ſeems to have been miſtaken: for after it had been burnt by *Joſhua* (64), who curſed the perſon that ſhould rebuild it (65), it lay in ruins till the days of *Ahab* (66). However, the place might ſerve for a gariſon to keep the country in awe, for which uſe it was very well ſituated.

(Q) The word *Peſilim*, which in our verſion is rendered *the quarries*, is by the *Septuagint* tranſlated τὰ γλυπτὰ, and in the vulgate, *the idols*, *the ſculptures*, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been ſet up there by *Eglon* (67).

(62) *Deut. xxxiv.* 3. *Joſeph. de bello Jud. l.* 5. *c.* 4. (63) *Idem Antiq l.* 5. *c.* 5. (64) *Joſh. vi.* 24. (65) *Ibid. ver.* 26. (66) 1 *Kings xvi.* 34. (67) *Chytræus, &c. See Vol. I. p.* 163, *in the notes.*

back

back again, and being admitted into the king's preſence, who was then in a ſummer apartment, he pretended to have ſomething to impart to him in private. Whereupon *Eglon* ordered his attendants to withdraw: and *Ehud* told him, that he had a meſſage to deliver him from God; which the king riſing from his ſeat to receive, *Ehud* ſtabbed him with his dagger in the belly, and that with ſo violent a thruſt, that the haſt went in after the blade; and *Eglon* being a very fat man, the fat cloſed upon it, ſo that he was obliged to leave it in his body. Having thus executed his purpoſe, he locked the door of the apartment upon the king, and went out unſuſpected (R). The ſervants, after *Ehud* was gone, coming, and finding the door locked, concluded the king was eaſing himſelf, and therefore waited at the door till they were aſhamed; but at length they opened it, and found their maſter breathleſs on the floor. *Ehud* in the mean time eſcaped beyond *Jordan*, and gathering together what forces he could, attacked the *Moabites*, that were gariſoned on the weſt of the river within the land of *Canaan*, and ſlew ten thouſand of their beſt men; which utterly broke the power of *Moab*, and freed the *Iſraelites* from the yoke of that nation [q].

We hear no more of the *Moabites* after this diſaſter till the time of *Saul*, who warred againſt them with ſucceſs [r]. The enmity which ſubſiſted between him and this nation probably induced *David*, when perſecuted by that prince, to aſk the king of *Moab*'s protection for his parents, till his affairs ſhould be in a better poſture [s]; which the *Moabites* readily granted, and treated them with great hoſpitality, while *David* lay in the cave of *Adullam*. However, when he came to the crown, the *Moabites* entered into a confederacy againſt him with ſeveral of the neighbouring nations [t]: whereupon he declared war againſt them; and having obtained a ſignal victory,

[q] Judges iii. 12—30. [r] Sam. xiv. 47. [s] 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4. Joseph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 14. [t] Pſal. lxxxiii. 5, 6, &c.

(R) This action of *Ehud* ſome juſtify, by ſuppoſing he had God's expreſs command for it (68). But as the ſcripture intimates no ſuch thing, others think he might lawfully rid his country of a tyrant, who had unjuſtly enſlaved it, by any means (69). A poſition which may encourage aſſaſſinations in every caſe, where the actor judges the cauſe he engages in to be righteous.

(68) *Vid. Patrick, in loc.* (69) *Cleric. in loc.*

put

put two thirds of them to the ſword (S), and made the reſt his vaſſals and tributaries [u].

FROM this time they continued ſubject to *Solomon* and *Rehoboam* till the revolt of the ten tribes; upon which it ſeems they became tributaries to the kings of *Iſrael*, though they had all along kings of their own, which were little better than viceroys. *Meſha*, one of them, paid *Ahab* a yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs, and as many weathers, with the wool; his riches conſiſting chiefly in ſheep [w]. But when *Ahab* was dead he rebelled againſt his ſon *Ahaziah* [x], whoſe ſhort reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, his brother and ſucceſſor *Jehoram*, aſſiſted by *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, his ally, and the king of *Edom* his tributary, made an expedition for that purpoſe, and took a compaſs of ſeven days march through the deſert of *Edom*, in order to ſurpriſe the enemy. Having reached the land of *Moab*, the army was diſtreſſed for want of water, and muſt have periſhed, had not the prophet *Eliſha* obtained a ſudden and large ſupply for them by a land-flood. The *Moabites*, being by this time alarmed, got together all that were able to bear arms, and early in the morning, ſeeing the water to the weſtward look red, like blood, by reaſon of the reflection of the ſun, and never ſuſpecting it to be water in that dry deſert, and in ſo great a quantity, they immediately took it to be blood, and, ſuppoſing the confederated princes had fallen out and turned their arms againſt one another, concluded they had no more to do than to take the ſpoil. On this imagination they ran in confuſion to the camp of *Iſrael*, but ſoon found their miſtake; for not being able to ſuſtain the firſt attack of the *Iſraelites*, they preſently turned their backs, and great numbers of them were

[u] 2 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Chron. xviii. 2. JOSEPH Antiq. l. 7. c. 5.
[w] 2 Kings iii. 4. [x] 2 Kings i. 1. & iii. 5.

(S) This is the meaning of the ſacred hiſtorian, when he ſays, *That* David *meaſured them with a line, caſting them down to the ground; even with two lines meaſured he to put to death; and with one full line to keep alive.* It ſeems to have been a cuſtom in the eaſt, to order the priſoners of war to lie down, and to meaſure by a line ſuch a part of them as they deſigned to put to death. *Le Clerc* thinks this probably was a juſt retaliation for ſome cruelties of the ſame kind which the *Moabites* had been guilty of. As the ſcripture does not ſay whether *David* put to death two thirds of the whole nation, or only of thoſe who appeared in arms againſt him; it is more for the honour of that prince to ſuppoſe the latter (70).

(70) *Idem in 2 Sam. viii. 2*

ſlain

ſlain by the enemy, who purſued them into the very heart of their country, waſted their lands, and demoliſhed their cities, except *Kir-haraſeth*, where the king of *Moab* ſhut himſelf up. *Meſha* being beſieged and cloſely preſſed, made a ſally with 700 choice men, and endeavoured to eſcape, by breaking through the quarters of the *Edomites*, which were the weakeſt; but failing in the attempt, in the height of deſpair he took his eldeſt ſon, who ſhould have ſucceeded him in the throne, and offered him for a burnt-ſacrifice on the wall (T). Which barbarous act raiſed ſuch horror and indignation in his enemies, that they immediately raiſed the ſiege, and returned home [y].

It was not long before the *Moabites* attempted to revenge the loſſes they had ſuſtained in this invaſion, on *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah* (U), by whoſe aſſiſtance chiefly *Jehoram* was inabled to undertake it; and, to ſtrengthen themſelves, entered into alliance with the *Ammonites*, the *Edomites* of mount *Seir* (who were almoſt ripe for rebellion, and actually did rebel againſt *Jehoſhaphat*'s ſon), and ſome other neighbouring nations (W), and formed a very large army, carrying on their

[y] Ibid. ver. 6, 27. Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 1.

(T) Several writers (71) ſuppoſe *Meſha* did not ſacrifice his own ſon, but the ſon of the king of *Edom*, whom, they ſay, he took in the ſally; and that this is the ſame action with that mentioned by the prophet *Amos*, who threateneth *Moab*, *becauſe he burnt the bones of the king of* Edom *into lime* (72). But they ſeem to be different actions; for, not to inſiſt on the ſtrict acceptation of the two paſſages, one ſpeaking of a king of *Edom*, and the other of a king's ſon, it was a known cuſtom in antient times, for princes in extreme calamities of the public, to offer their moſt beloved child as an expiatory ſacrifice, to avert the impending vengeance of the gods (73).

(U) Some make this action prior to the invaſion of *Moab* by this prince and *Jehoram*; but we ſhall elſewhere ſhew that it ought to be placed after it.

(W) Who theſe nations were is uncertain. The original word *Mehaammonium* ſhould be tranſlated (as it is in the *Vulgate*) *with the Ammonites*, were it not that the children of *Ammon* are mentioned before. To avoid the abſurdity of which repetition, the *Septuagint*, if their copies were not different from the preſent *Hebrew* in this

(71) *See the Argument to the iii chap. of 2 Kings, in the Engliſh Bible; and Uſher's Annals, ad Annum Mundi, &c.* (72) *Amos ii. 1.* (73) *See Vol. I. p. 305. Vide etiam Porphyr. de Abſtin. l. 2. Ælian. var. Hiſt. l. 12. c. 28. Juſtin. l. 18. c. 6. Plut. in Pelopida, &c.*

place,

their design with such secrecy and dispatch, that they were entered the kingdom by the way of *Edom*, and were got to *Hazazon-tamar*, or *En-gedi*, on the west of the *Dead-sea*, before *Jehoshaphat* had any advice of their motion. That good prince was greatly dismayed at the news, and, being unprepared for the reception of his enemies, had recourse to GOD, who promised him by the prophet *Jahaziel* to deliver him from his enemies without his striking a blow. And it happened accordingly: for while *Jehoshaphat* and his army, in confidence of the prophecy, were marching towards the enemy, with the priests and singers at their head, praising GOD, the several nations that had leagued against them, destroyed one another by falling into the ambushes which themselves had set against the men of *Judah*; so that the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* first fell upon their confederates of *Edom*; and, having put them to the sword, began to cut one another's throats till none were left alive. And when *Jehoshaphat* and his people came up with them, they had no more to do than to seize the plunder, which was very rich, and in such abundance that they were three days in gathering it [z].

AFTER this we do not find, that the *Moabites* disturbed *Israel* for many years; however, between this and the reign of *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, they had invaded their neighbours of *Edom*; and having the better of them, inhumanly burnt their king (whether alive or dead is not said), and reduced his bones to ashes: for which piece of cruelty GOD denounced

[z] 2 Chron. xx. 1—25. JOSEPH. ubi supra.

place, render it *some of the* Minæans; of which name *Bochart* supposes there were two people, one of the race of *Shem*, dwelling in *Arabia felix*, and the other of the race of *Ham*, who settled in *Arabia petræa*, and are meant in this place, being, as he thinks, by the *Jews* called *Meonim*, which word occurs in two places of the book of *Chronicles* (74), (though the *English* translation in the first place takes it for an appellative, and renders it *the habitations*) and is in both by the *Septuagint* translated *Minæans*. Wherefore *Bochart* prefers the *Greek* reading, in the passage before us, to the *Hebrew*; being of opinion, that there is a transposition of the letters *Mem* and *Ain* (75). The *Chaldee* paraphrast has it, *with the Edomites*. But there seems to be no occasion for any change, since the particle prefixed may, agreeably to its force elsewhere, be rendered *beyond* or *besides*; (76) for which reason the *English* version is judged to have rightly interpreted the words, *and others besides the Ammonites*.

(74) 1 *Chron. iv.* 41. 2 *Chron. xxvi.* 7. *Phaleg. l.* 2. *c.* 23.
(75) *Bochart.*
(76) *Vide Cleric. in loc.*

severe

severe judgments against them by the prophet *Amos* [a]. And on the declension of the kingdom of *Israel*, they also seem to have retaken from the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* great part of the land which had formerly belonged to them before the invasion of *Sihon*; for, in the prophecies of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* against *Moab*, several cities in those territories are mentioned, as then in the possession of that nation, or of the *Ammonites* [b], who were probably their confederates in oppressing the *Israelites*. These successes elated the *Moabites* so much, that for their pride and insolence God threatened them with utter destruction, by several of his prophets [c]: And *Isaiah* in particular foretold, that within three years *Ar* and *Kir-Haraseth*, two of their principal cities, should be destroyed, and the rest of their country brought to contempt and desolation [d]. This prophecy being dated in the first year of king *Hezekiah* [e], must have been executed the very year that *Samaria* was first besieged by *Salmanesser* king of *Assyria*, who probably subjected *Moab*, and placed garrisons in those towns, to stop the incursions which the *Arabs* might that way make on him, before he began the siege [f].

After the fearful destruction of the army of *Sennacherib* the son of *Salmanesser*, the *Moabites* often revolted from his successors, and were as often reduced, till they were entirely subdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whose hands their king was given, according to a prediction of *Jeremiah* [g], the fifth year after his taking *Jerusalem* [h]. For the *Babylonish* yoke sat so uneasy on them, that though they took advantage of the low condition of *Judah*, and missed few or no opportunities of harassing that nation [i], yet on *Nebuchadnezzar*'s departure from *Judea* and *Syria*, after his second expedition into those parts, they with the other neighbouring nations proposed to *Zedekiah*, to enter into a league with him against the *Chaldeans*; which that prince [k], notwithstanding the remonstrances of *Jeremiah* to the contrary, consenting to, on the accession of the *Egyptians* to their confederacy, it became the occasion of his utter ruin; his new allies deserting him in his distress.

From this time history makes very little mention of the *Moabites*, who were henceforward subject to the great empires, and at length conceived with, and were swallowed up

[a] Amos ii. 1, 2, 3. [b] Isaiah xv & xvi. Jerem. xlviii. ix. [c] Ibid. & Ezek xxv 8, & 9. Zeph. ii 8, 9, 10, 11. [d] Isai. xv 1. xvi. 7 [e] Ibid c. xiv. 28 [f] Vide Prid. Connect. Part 1. B 1. p 18. [g] Jerem. xxvii. 3—6. xxv. 21. [h] Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. [k] Jerem. xxvii.

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in, the neighbouring nations which inhabit the deserts of *Syria*; so that though *Josephus* mentions the *Moabites*, as a distinct nation long after, saying they were subdued by *Alexander Jannæus* king of the *Jews* [l], and tells us they were a populous nation, even in his time [m]; yet by the third century after CHRIST they lost their antient name, and became comprehended under the more general denomination of *Arabians* [n].

SECT. II.

The History of Ammon.

THIS people were the posterity of *Ammon*, otherwise called *Ben Ammi* (tho' that is not positively known) signifying *the son of my people*, our kindred, the offspring of *Lot* and his younger daughter [o]. We have given the history of this incestuous birth in speaking of *Moab*, the son of the elder sister by her father [p].

THE children of *Ammon* possessed themselves of the country called, after their own name, *Ammonitis*, adjoining to the north of *Moabitis*, after having driven out the *Zamzummins*, as they called them, who were giants, and the antient inhabitants of the land [q]. This country [r], as well as *Moabitis*, is by some reckoned a part of *Cœle-Syria* [s], and by others of *Arabia*, and was, in its first state under the *Ammonites*, bounded by the river *Jabbok* on the north [t]; though elsewhere it seems as if it extended beyond that northward, into the mountains of *Gilead* [u]: on the west, it had the river *Jordan*; on the south the river *Arnon* [w], or the confines of *Moabitis*; on the east, the deserts of *Arabia*. But in the days of *Moses* the *Amorites* had dislodged them from their first boundaries, at the same time they disturbed the *Moabites*, driving the *Ammonites* from the western part of their possession into, and across the mountains, which served them for an immediate defence, perhaps, against the farther pursuit of the *Amorites*, and as a strong barrier to protect them, in part, from invasions thereafter [x]. Their exact boundaries, especially after this expulsion, we cannot settle. We have only to add, that

Of the country possessed by the Ammonites.

[l] JOSEPH. de bello Jud. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Idem. Antiq. l. 1. c. 11. [n] ORIGEN. in Job. l. 1. [o] Gen. xix. 38. [p] See before, p. 79, 80. [q] Deuter. ii. 20. [r] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16—5. [s] Steph. de urb. in Ἀμμανον. [t] Judg. xi. 22. [u] Josh. xiii. 24, 25. [w] Judg. ubi supra. [x] See Numb. xxi. 24.

severe judgments against them by the prophet *Amos* [a]. And on the declension of the kingdom of *Israel*, they also seem to have retaken from the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* great part of the land which had formerly belonged to them before the invasion of *Sihon*; for, in the prophecies of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* against *Moab*, several cities in those territories are mentioned, as then in the possession of that nation, or of the *Ammonites* [b], who were probably their confederates in oppressing the *Israelites*. These successes elated the *Moabites* so much, that for their pride and insolence God threatened them with utter destruction, by several of his prophets [c]: And *Isaiah* in particular foretold, that within three years *Ar* and *Kir-Harajeth*, two of their principal cities, should be destroyed, and the rest of their country brought to contempt and desolation [d]. This prophecy being dated in the first year of king *Hezekiah* [e], must have been executed the very year that *Samaria* was first besieged by *Salmanesar* king of *Assyria*, who probably subjected *Moab*, and placed garrisons in those towns, to stop the incursions which the *Arabs* might that way make on him, before he began the siege [f].

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[a] Amos ii. 1, 2, 3. [b] Isaiah xv & xvi. Jerem. xlviii. ix. [c] Ibid. & Ezek xxv 8, & 9. Zeph. ii 8, 9, 10, 11 [d] Isai. xv 1. xvi. 7 [e] Ibid c. xiv. 28 [f] Vide Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 1. p 18. [g] Jerem. xxvii. 3—7. xxv. 21. [h] Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. [k] Jerem. xxvii.

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THIS people were the poſterity of *Ammon*, otherwiſe called *Ben Ammi* (tho' that is not poſitively known) ſignifying *the ſon of my people*, our kindred, the offſpring of *Lot* and his younger daughter [o]. We have given the hiſtory of this inceſtuous birth in ſpeaking of *Moab*, the ſon of the elder ſiſter by her father [p].

Of the country poſſeſſed by the Ammonites.

THE children of *Ammon* poſſeſſed themſelves of the country called, after their own name, *Ammonitis*, adjoining to the north of *Moabitis*, after having driven out the *Zamzummims*, as they called them, who were giants, and the antient inhabitants of the land [q]. This country [r], as well as *Moabitis*, is by ſome reckoned a part of *Cœle-Syria* [s], and by others of *Arabia*, and was, in its firſt ſtate under the *Ammonites*, bounded by the river *Jabbok* on the north [t]; though elſewhere it ſeems as if it extended beyond that northward, into the mountains of *Gilead* [u]: on the weſt, it had the river *Jordan*; on the ſouth the river *Arnon* [w], or the confines of *Moabitis*; on the eaſt, the deſerts of *Arabia*. But in the days of *Moſes* the *Amorites* had diſlodged them from their firſt boundaries, at the ſame time they diſturbed the *Moabites*, driving the *Ammonites* from the weſtern part of their poſſeſſion into, and acroſs the mountains, which ſerved them for an immediate defence, perhaps, againſt the farther purſuit of the *Amorites*, and as a ſtrong barrier to protect them, in part, from invaſions thereafter [x]. Their exact boundaries, eſpecially after this expulſion, we cannot ſettle. We have only to add, that

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their kingdom, probably, was not of very wide extent, no more than that of *Moab*; and that it was chiefly a corn country, as may be gathered from the tribute on its inhabitants, which will be seen in the course of their history.

The cities of this kingdom we know little enough of. The metropolis was called *Rabbah*; which to distinguish it from the chief city of *Moab*, which bore the same name or epithet was called *Rabbah of the children of Ammon* [y]. It was also known by the name of *Ammana* [z]. This capital seems to have been distinguished into two parts, *Rabbah* properly so called, and the *city of waters*. Whence the waters were derived to it, whether from the river *Jabbok*, or whether from exuberant springs in or about it, cannot be determined. This only we have some authority to say, that it was the most delightful part of the city, and that the king's house stood there; from whence this part may have been stiled the *royal city* [a]. *Rabbah* moreover was famous for being the place where the great iron bedstead of *Og* king of *Bashan* was to be seen [b]. In process of time this city was called *Philadelphia* [c], from *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who rebuilt it in a sumptuous manner; and for ages after it was a city of first note: nay, of such eminence as to impose its name upon the countries of *Ammonitis*, and *Moabitis*; from whence you have the *Philadelphian Arabia* [d]. The other considerable cities of this kingdom were *Minnith* (concerning which there is some doubt) and *Abel* of the vineyard [e]. *Jaser*, or *Jazar*, is also reckoned among the cities of *Ammon* [f], but inaccurately [g].

We know very little of the manners and customs of this people. They had kings, and were circumcised [h], and seem to have been principally addicted to husbandry. They, as well as the *Moabites*, were among the nations, whose peace or prosperity the *Israelites* were not to strive after. Neither the one nor the other of them were to be admitted into the congregation to the tenth generation; so wide was the distance between the *Israelites* and them! The reason, because they did not come out to relieve them in the wilderness; and because they joined to hire *Balaam* to curse them [i]. How-

[y] Deut. iii. 11. [z] Steph. in Αμμαν. [a] See 2 Sam. xii. 26, 27. [b] Deut. ubi supr. [c] Vide Euseb. Onomast. urbium & locorum. [d] Vide Cellarii notitiam Orbis antiqui. c. 14. [e] Judg. xi. 33. [f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11. 1 Maccab. v. 8. [g] Vid. Cellar. ubi supr. [h] Jerem. ix. 25, 26. [i] Deut. xxxiii. 4.

ever,

ever, we find there was afterwards a very good underſtanding between their king *Nahaſh* and *David*[k].

THE religion of the *Ammonites*, as we have already obſerved concerning that of the *Moabites*, was originally as pure as it could flow from ſo clear a ſtream as the inſtruction of *Lot*; but they alſo ſwerved therefrom by degrees, and at length degenerated into the moſt ſtupid, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, the moſt cruel idolatry. *Their religion.*

THEIR chief and peculiar deity is in the ſcripture called *Molech*, or *Moloch*. He is thought alſo to be underſtood under the names of *Baal*, *Milcom*, *Melech*, *Adramelech*, *Anamelech*, and the like. Theſe names, or titles, ſignify no more than lord, or king, and ſometimes have a pre-junctive epithet, as in the two laſt, where he is ſtiled the *mighty* and *rich Melech*, *Moloch*, or king: theſe two were the gods of the *Sepharvites*. We ſhall only ſpeak of the *Ammonitiſh Moloch* in this place. The learned are not poſitively agreed in what relates to him. It is on all hands allowed, that they addreſſed him under the title of king, or *Moloch*[l]. His image is ſaid to have been hollow, and to have been divided into ſeven receptacles. The firſt was opened for an offering of fine flour; the ſecond for an offering of turtles; the third for a ſheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the ſixth for an ox; the ſeventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man ſtretched out in act to receive[m] (A). Now theſe ſeven receptacles are alſo called ſeven chapels; and inſtead of

[k] 2 Sam. x. 2.

[l] Vide Voss. de Idololat. & SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntag. 1. c. vi.

[m] PAUL. FAGIUS apud eund. ubi ſupr.

(A) An antient *Jewiſh* traveller ſays, "that when he was in "theſe parts, there were yet ſtanding remains of the antient temple "of the *Ammonites*, and therein their idol ſeated upon a throne. "This idol was of ſtone, gilt over with gold, and had on each "hand the image of a woman in a fitting poſture (77): before the "idol was the altar on which the *Ammonites* offered their ſacrifices "and incenſe." *Selden* thinks this idol and this temple cannot be thought to have been erected to *Moloch*, that moſt antient deity of the *Ammonites* (78). And indeed we think this traveller muſt have been ſome how or other impoſed on, or miſtaken. However, we muſt not apprehend, that the images of *Moloch* were always large and fixed: they were likewiſe ſmall and portable, and carried up and down in ſhrines, according to appearance, and as the cuſtom was with other idolaters, as will be obſerved at due times (79).

(77) *Benjamin. Itinerar.* (78) *In Syntag. prim. de diis Syr.* (79) *Vide eund. ibid.*

being within the image itſelf, are placed orderly before it [n]. Whatever was the diſpoſition of theſe ſeven places, their number correſponding with that of the ſun, moon, and five planets, has given room to ſuppoſe, that they worſhipped the ſun intentionally [o]; and the rather, as the oblations ſeem to riſe in ſuch proportion as might, according to this people, beſt befit the degree of each of theſe heavenly bodies. But it were endleſs to expatiate in a conjectural way upon ſo obſcure a matter, as the learned have done. Some accounts there are farther concerning this idol, but they are very doubtful (B). *Chemoſh* alſo was a god of the *Ammonites*, concerning whom we have ſaid all we can already *.

As to the ſuperſtitions paid to *Moloch*, there is a wide diſcrepancy among authors. By the ſcripture it is often ſaid, that the *Ammonites paſſed their ſeed through fire to* Moloch. This expreſſion is taken in a literal ſenſe by ſome, in a figurative ſenſe by others. The firſt ſentiment is embraced by the *Jewiſh* writers (C), who for the moſt part hold, that the

[n] See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p. 259. [o] Vide Voss. ubi ſupr. * See before, p. 82.

(B) To give you the various opinions of ſome learned men, *Moloch* has been taken for *Priapus*, for *Mercury*, for *Saturn*, and for *Venus* or the morning ſtar (80). But as fancy, chiefly, rules over theſe conjectures, it is enough that we give the bare mention of them.

(C) Some of the *Jewiſh* writers hold, That the children were ſolemnly delivered to the prieſts; who returning them again, they were carried by their parents, upon their ſhoulders, between two fires. According to others, the prieſts carried them. A very eminent writer of this ſort ſays, "That the prieſts or ſervants of fire "perſuaded men that their children would die if they did not paſs "them through fire: wherefore, parents being anxious for the "lives of their children, and perceiving there was neither danger nor difficulty in performing the ceremony, no one neglected "it, conſidering that the children were not to be conſumed by fire, "but only to paſs through it" (81). This alſo is the opinion of *Solomon Yarhi*, *Joſeph Karo*, and others; but *Aben Ezra* diſſents therefrom, and affirms, that *paſſing through fire* muſt be here underſtood of *burning*. *Voſſius* inſiſts on it, that wherever the expreſſion of *paſſing through fire* is met with, it muſt be taken in the ſtrictneſs of the letter; but allows, that in caſes of great calamity and upon other particular occaſions, they gave up their offspring as an

(80) *Vide Voſs. de Idololatria, lib.* 2. *c.* 5. (81) *Moſes Maim. More Nevoch. lib.* 3. *c.* 38.

expiatory

the children were barely carried or led between two fires, by way of purification: the latter is adopted by the chriſtian writers chiefly, who think that they actually burnt their children, by way of ſacrifice to this grim idol. There was a place near *Jeruſalem* where this horrid cuſtom was obſerved. It was called the *valley of the ſons of* Hinnom [p] (D), ſo named from the ſhrieks of the children ſacrificed: as alſo *Tophet* [q], from a *Hebrew* word *Toph*: ſignifying a drum or tabret, which they uſed among other inſtruments, to drown the dreadful outcries of the unhappy victims. Whence this cruelty took birth, is what we may have occaſion to diſcuſs at large hereafter.

As the *Moabites* drove out the *Emims*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their country, ſo the *Ammonites* forced the *Zuzims*, or *Zamzummims*, as they called them, from their habitations, and ſettled themſelves there. Theſe *Zamzummims*, as well as the *Emims*, are ſtiled giants [r], and were doubtleſs both derived from the ſame ſtock [s]. This gigantic race had been invaded by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam* [t], who, deſtroying great numbers of them, as ſhould ſeem, made it the eaſier for the children of *Ammon* to diſlodge them. When this expulſion was effected, or in what manner, we know not. However, the *Ammonites* themſelves underwent the ſame fate in the days of *Moſes*, being diſpoſſeſſed by *Sihon* the *Amorite*, who drove them into, and to the eaſtward of, the mountains. *They drive out the* Zamzummims.

THE names of their firſt kings do not occur. They joined *Eglon* king of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael* [u], and ſhared in the ſuc- *Their hiſtory.*

[p] 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. [q] 2 Kings xxiii. 10. [r] Deut. ii. 20, 21. [s] See before, p. 85. [t] Gen. xiv. 5. [u] See before p. 91.

expiatory ſacrifice to their god (82). *Selden* is of a quite different ſentiment, and will have it, that they not only led their children through fire, but burnt them alſo at the ſame time. This he proves as far as a matter of this nature can be aſcertained (83). Upon the whole, remembering how common a practice it was to offer up theſe unnatural oblations among ſome of the neighbouring nations, the ſame may probably have prevailed among the *Ammonites*.

(D) This valley was a very delightful place, watered by the ſprings of *Siloah*. It was ſhady and beautified with gardens. And indeed it is remarkable that the heathens commonly choſe fountain-heads and ſolemn groves for the ſcenes of the homage they paid their deities. This cuſtom our author ſuppoſes they borrowed from the *Ammonites* (84).

(82) *Vide Voſs. ubi ſupr.* (83) *Vide Seld. ubi ſupr.* (84) *Hieron. in Jerem. c. vii. xxxii.*

ceſſes of that war; but who was their leader at this time is not ſaid.

They war with the Iſraelites *under an anonymous king.*

About two hundred years after this, we find the *Ammonites* as principals in a war, under an anonymous king, againſt the *Iſraelites*. This prince took it into his head to attempt the recovery of the antient country of *Ammonitis*; and making an irruption into it, he bore down all before him, and reduced the land, and kept it in ſubjection to him eighteen years. Encouraged by his ſucceſs, he croſſed over the river *Jordan*, and inſulted the tribes of *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim* [w]; but returned to the other ſide again, and prepared (E) to make a compleat conqueſt of the country on both ſides of the river [x]; or at leaſt to get a handſome portion of it. For it is ſaid, that the *Philiſtines* alſo at this time invaded *Iſrael*; but whether with ſeparate views, or in combination with the *Ammonites*, does not appear; though it is moſt likely they intended to ſhare the ſpoil between them. But to ſpeak of the king of *Ammon* ſingly, he perſevered in his purpoſe, and encamped in *Gilead*; and the *Iſraelites* having turned to God, who had ſuffered them to be ſo long oppreſſed for their wickedneſs, they were inſpired with a courage to oppoſe this arrogant invader, and not only ſtop the progreſs of his arms, but drive him out of *Gilead*, where he had lorded it for eighteen years. Accordingly, meſſengers came to him from their new general *Jephthah*, to demand his reaſons for perſiſting in his enmity againſt them, and threatening them with farther calamities. His anſwer to them was, that the remembrance of the injuries his fore-fathers had ſuſtained when the *Iſraelites* diſpoſſeſſed them of their country, had

[w] Judg. x. 8. [x] Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. c. 9.

(E) There is pretty conſiderable difference here between the ſcripture and *Joſephus*. He ſays, the *Ammonites* and the *Philiſtines* had only prepared to croſs the river *Jordan*. The ſcripture ſays, the *Ammonites* did actually croſs over to fight with *Judah*, and *Benjamin* and *Ephraim*; ſo that the *Iſraelites* were in great diſtreſs. We have therefore harmonized the one with the other; in which we know not but we may be miſtaken. For, after all, this warfare is not very clearly related in ſcripture. If they croſſed to this ſide of *Jordan*, what did they here? we are not told. How came it to paſs that the inhabitants of thoſe tribes did not croſs over to *Gilead*, where the war was decided? we know not. In a word, this war ſeems by the ſcripture to have affected only the north-eaſtern *Iſraelites* who had been oppreſſed by the *Ammonites*, and ſhook off the yoke at laſt by their own ſtruggles, without any other aſſiſtance.

excited

excited him thereto; and therefore required them forthwith to reſtore that realm to him, as in juſtice they ought. In reply to this pretenſion, there came ambaſſadors to him again from *Jephthah*: and theſe made an hiſtorical remonſtrance to him of his miſtake, in ſaying *the Iſraelites* had driven out the *Ammonites*, and, ſtifly expatiating upon the truth of the ſtory throughout the ſeveral circumſtances, expected his anſwer: but he gave no ear to them, and was bent at all hazards upon a war. And therefore as he lay near *Aroer*, he was attacked by *Jephthah*, who gave him a total overthrow; and being put to flight, he was purſued with great loſs of blood, even into his own dominions, to *Minnith*, and from thence as far as *Abel of the vineyards*: ſo that not only his army was ſlaughtered, but good part of his country alſo was pillaged and waſted [y]. This was the event of the war, which put an end to the tyranny of *Ammon* over the *Iſraelites* on the other ſide *Jordan*, and which had laſted eighteen years.

THE next of their kings we find mentioned, is called NAHASH. He flouriſhed in the days of *Saul*, from whom he received the juſt reward of his great inſolence and barbarity. For reviving the old claim upon the territory inhabited by the *Iſraelites* on the other ſide *Jordan*, he waged war with them, and in the beginning was attended with all the ſucceſs imaginable. At length coming to the city of *Jabeſh*, he beſieged it. The terrour of his arms was ſo great, that the inhabitants were at once for throwing themſelves at his feet, and acknowledging him for their lord and king. This ſubmiſſion, which might have mollified the leaſt generous heart, ſerved only to harden his. He would hearken to them upon no other condition than their conſenting every one to the loſs of his right eye, that in them he might ſtigmatize the whole body of *Iſrael*. The inhabitants returned, That if he would allow them but ſeven days to endeavour a deliverance from him, they would ſubmit to his terms after the expiration of that time, if none was found to deliver them. This he granted them, and, ſecure within himſelf, waited for the cruel ſatisfaction he propoſed ſhortly to enjoy. But he was aſſaulted in three ſeveral parts of his camp by *Saul*, very early on the eighth morning, when he expected the inhabitants to march out to him, as they deceitfully told him they ſhould the night before; and his army was put into ſuch confuſion, that the *Iſraelites* had little elſe to do but to put them to the ſword. Inſtead of a battle it is termed a ſlaughter, which laſted till the heat of the day; at which time the ſurviving remnant of *Nahaſh*'s army was ſo perfectly diſperſed, that

Nahaſh *king.*

[y] Judg. xi.

there was no two of them to be seen together [z]. Thus ended this war. We are informed, that *Nahash* did some kindnesses to king *David*. *Josephus* differs from scripture in his account of this war (F).

Hanun *king.*

Hanun succeeded his father *Nahash* (G). in the kingdom; but whether this *Nahash* be the very same who was defeated by *Saul* at *Jabesh*, we are not told. However this was, we are informed, that *Nahash*, the father of *Hanun*, had lived in a very fair intelligence with *David*. Wherefore when this latter heard, that *Nahash* was dead, and that his son succeeded, he, for the father's sake, sent ambassadors to the young king, to condole with him for his loss, to congratulate him upon his accession, and to offer a continuance of the friendship which had been cherished between the late king and him. *Hanun* seems to have been a weak prince, and had very ignorant counsellors about him. Whence it came to pass, that when he received these compliments from king *David* by the mouth of his ambassadors, he, instead of improving them to advantage, took a false step which he never could recover. For instead of entertaining these ambassadors with the hospitality and decency which became him, he suffered himself to be persuaded, that they were no better than spies; and accordingly forgetting the sacredness of their character, he shaved off the half of their beards, cut away their garments by the

[z] 1 Sam. xi.

(F) There seems to be something very unaccountable in *Josephus*'s history of this war: he says, that *Nahash* began it, and carried it on for some time with the violences usual in the like cases, and with this political addition, of plucking out the right eyes of all those he took, that they might lose the use of their bucklers, which covered the left eye, or the use of that eye at all; and so reduce them to slavery for life, seeing they would be unable to defend themselves. But may it not be asked how it could come to pass, that those, who pressed on so hastily to relieve *Jabesh*, could have suffered *Nahash* to have gone on in a course of this cruelty for even the shortest space of time? this historian seems here to be quite wide of the sense of the sacred text.

(G) Notwithstanding *Josephus* informs us, that *Nahash* was killed upon the breaking up of the siege of *Jabesh*, (85) we cannot forbear thinking that he lived many years afterwards, and was the father of this *Hanun*. His behaviour at *Jabesh*, speaks him to have been a rash, hot-headed, young man at that time, and he might naturally enough have lived fifty or threescore years afterwards. We are seemingly supported in our opinion by the scripture itself.

(85) *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 6. 6.

buttocks,

buttocks, and in that shameful disguise sent them back to their king. This amazing defect in policy and contempt of *David*, in open defiance of the laws of nature, hospitality, and gratitude, brought on a war *, which ended very destructively upon him and his kingdom.

IT was soon told him how grievously *David* resented the affront, and what preparations he was making to chastise him for it. *Hanun*, therefore, perceiving himself on the brink of a war, to which he singly was unequal, dispatched ambassadors to the neighbouring princes, to hire and solicit the assistance of troops from them, to enable him to withstand the invasion which threatened his kingdom. What the troops he procured were, either in quality or number, is not clearly evident, inasmuch as the scripture varies (H) concerning them. First, we are told, that *Hanun* sent to the *Syrians* of *Bethreboh*, and to the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, from whom he had twenty thousand footmen; to the king of *Maachah*, who furnished one thousand men; and to the king of *Ishtob*, who sent twelve thousand men [a]. With this *Josephus* agrees pretty well in respect of number, retrenching only the one thousand men supplied by the king of *Maachah*, and allowing him and the king of *Ishtob* to have contributed twelve thousand men between them [b]. Whence, instead of making the number of these mercenaries to have amounted to thirty three thousand, as the scripture does, he gives them at thirty two thousand. Again, we are told, that *Hanun* sent a thousand talents of silver, therewith to hire chariots and horsemen out of *Mesopotamia*, and out of *Syria Maachah*, and out of *Zobah*; and that he actually hired thirty two thousand chariots besides the king of *Maachah*'s men [c]. Between *Josephus* and this passage of Scripture there is a more material difference than before: He says, those which came out of *Mesopotamia* were footmen [d]. Here also we see the scripture keeps to the number of thirty three thousand. However, though the number be the same as before, the difference is very great. But let us proceed to the actions and event of this war.

* 2 Sam. x. 1 Chron. xix. JOSEPH. Antiq lib. 7. c. 6. [a] 2 Sam. ubi supra. [b] JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi supra. [c] 1 Chron. ubi supra [d] ubi supra.

(H) This we cannot pretend to account for, nor do we know that it was ever cleared by any one, in a satisfactory manner. *Hadarezer* is in scripture mentioned as the chief prince of the *Syrian* nations; *Josephus* speaks of one *Syrus* as chief, and calls him king of *Mesopotamia* (86).

(86) *Id. lib.* 7. b.

HANUN

Hanun having thus drawn a conſiderable force from the neighbouring countries, and raiſed an army of his own ſubjects, marched out of *Rabbah* to fight *Joab*, whom *David* had ſent at the head of his army. The *Ammonites* and their auxiliaries drew up in two diſtinct bodies; (*viz.*) the *Ammonites* under the walls of their city, and the auxiliaries at ſome diſtance on the plain. By this diſpoſition they thought to have charged *Joab*'s front, and at the ſame time to have fallen upon his rear; but this took not effect. For the *Ammonites* were attacked by *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s brother, whilſt *Joab* himſelf charged the *Syrians*. The *Ammonites* (I) ſuſtained *Abiſhai*'s charge with great conſtancy, and maintained the conflict with intrepidity, till, perceiving their *Syrian* friends to give ground, they thought it moſt adviſeable to retreat into their city, and they did ſo.

The next year their *Syrian* allies, aſhamed of their laſt defeat, made head again, (K) but being utterly routed by

(I) In what concerns this battle we reject *Joſephus* *, and chooſe to interpret the ſcripture according to reaſon and the nature of things. He ſays, the *Ammonites*, perceiving their allies to be routed, hurried into their city without ſtriking a ſtroke. Partiality for his fore-fathers might perhaps have tempted him to repreſent them ſo very formidable to their enemies. But can it be ſuppoſed, that when *Joab* divided his army between his brother and himſelf, that they did not advance with an equal pace each againſt his oppoſite? And eſpecially, as *Joſephus* allows, that the *Syrians* ſtood their ground till a conſiderable ſlaughter was made among them, which could not be the work of a minute; *Abiſhai* muſt have moved on very ſlowly, if before the *Syrians* were broke he did not charge the *Ammonites*. On the other ſide the *Ammonites*, who were principals in this war, if they had perceived *Abiſhai* afraid to give them battle, or ſeemingly ſo, and at the ſame time beheld their auxiliaries in a furious and doubtful conflict with *Joab*, they muſt have had ſenſe and courage enough to march up to *Abiſhai*, and force him to battle, before the *Syrians* began to flee. If the whole ſtory be well conſidered, it is not to be imagined, that *Abiſhai* and the *Ammonites* kept looking at one another, or what is next of kin to it, made very ſlow advances towards each other.

(K) Thus it appears by ſcripture, which turning the tables, makes the *Syrians* principals in this war, rather avenging their laſt overthrow, than eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Ammonites*. *Joſephus* ſtrays here again very unaccountably. He makes the *Ammonites* ſend to one *Balawa*, a king of the *Syrians* beyond the *Euphrates*, for another army thrice as big as that they hired before (87).

* *Antiq. lib. 7, c. 7.* (87) *Ubi ſupra.*

David

David in perſon, the *Ammonites* were left to defend themſelves againſt the violent and juſt reſentment of their injured enemy [e].

IT came down heavily upon them. For the very next year, the third of this war, the country was entered by *Joab*, who harraſſed and waſted it far and wide; and at length beſieged *Hanun* in *Rabbah*, the capital of his kingdom. The place held out about two years; during which *Hanun* made one deſperate ſally, and cut off many of the beſiegers, and, among the reſt, *Uriah* the huſband of *Bathſheba*. At length the city was reduced to the utmoſt extremities of famine, and was ſtormed by *David* in perſon, who came to have the honour of compleating the work. In the aſſault *Hanun* was ſlain, and his crown, which weighed a talent of gold (one hundred thirteen *pound* ten *ounces*, one *penny weight* 10 $\frac{2}{7}$ Gr. of our *Troy* weight *), and was adorned with precious ſtones, a ſardonyx, *Joſephus* ſays, was taken from off his head by *David*. What other ſpoil was found in this metropolis is no where ſpecified. The inhabitants were treated with extraordinary ſeverity, being led out, and put to death by the moſt exquiſite torments, harrowed, ſawn, and hacked with axes, and paſſed through the brick-kiln. This dreadful uſage extended to the reſt of the cities of *Ammon* (L), which held out againſt the conqueror; all ſuch ſharing in the fate of the city of *Rabbah*, which was deſtroyed, and laid level with the ground [f]. And thus did the *Ammonites* ſuffer, ſeemingly too much, for the raſhneſs of a young king, and the fooliſh advice of empty counſellors.

AFTER this vengeful execution, it is no wonder we hear nothing of a king of *Ammon*, nor indeed of the nation itſelf, till the reign of *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*. At this time we find them united with their brethren the *Moabites*, and the inhabitants of mount *Seir* againſt the ſaid king of *Judah*. The particulars of this war, and how it ended, we have given in the hiſtory of *Moab* [g].

[e] Sam. ubi ſupra. JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi ſupra. * See ARBUTH. Tab. of an. coins, weights, and meaſures, Tab. XX.
[f] See 2 Sam. xii. 29, 31. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra c. 7. 1 Chron. xx. [g] See before p. 94.

(L) The ſcripture ſays it extended to all the cities of *Ammon*; but we cannot forbear thinking, that this expreſſion means only all ſuch as held out obſtinately, and defied the king of *Iſrael*; and herein we are ſupported by *Joſephus*.

AFTER

After this they were overthrown by, and made tributary to, *Uzziah* king of *Judah* [h].

The *Ammonites* bore this yoke as long as *Uzziah* lived, but in the reign of his son *Jotham* they had an anonymous king over them, who ſtirred them up to rebellion againſt him. The nation at this time muſt have been pretty well recovered, and having a martial prince at the head of them, they reſolved to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of their old enemies in *Judah*. The event was unhappy; they were overthrown in battle, and were reduced to compound for their peace with *Jotham*, by paying a tribute of one hundred talents of ſilver, ten thouſand meaſures of wheat, and as many of barley [i], in all about one hundred ſixty thouſand of our buſhels; and this ſame tribute did they pay for three ſucceſſive years [k].

At length when the *Babylonians* grew mighty, and threatened all the kingdoms of this part of *Aſia* with ſubjection, it is likely they might have entertained thoughts of withſtanding the common enemy with their joint force. From hence, poſſibly a good underſtanding between *Baalis*, the laſt king of *Ammon*, and *Zedekiah*, the laſt king of *Judah* [l], might ſeemingly ariſe. But when deſtruction came upon *Zedekiah* and *Jeruſalem*, the *Ammonites* ſhewed themſelves, and exulted over the ruins of that unhappy city [m], for which they were ſeverely threatened by the prophet. It ſeems impoſſible that they ſhould have refrained from it, conſidering the ſteadfaſt enmity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the nations. However, *Baalis* received all the *Jews*, that fled into his dominions to avoid the captivity, and among thoſe one *Iſhmael*, of the royal blood, whoſe intereſt he pretended to have much at heart. And, to give him an inſtance of his readineſs to aſſiſt him, with his counſel at leaſt, adviſed him to go back again into his own country and aſſaſſinate *Gedaliah*, who by the expreſs appointment of the *Babylonians*, was left ſet over the poor remnant of the *Jews*. By thus ſtirring up a pretender, he ſeems to have aimed at the utter extirpation of the nation, either out of a pure deſire of revenge, or with ſome view to his own advantage at the ſame time. His bloody counſel was taken, and the aſſaſſin did his work, and was obliged to fly back again to *Baalis* who received him into his protection [n]. But *Baalis* lived not long unpuniſhed for having been ſo nearly acceſſary to the murder of the innocent

[h] 2 Chron. xxvi. 8. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 9 c. 11. [i] Vid. Arbuth. ubi ſupra. [k] Idem ubi ſupra. [l] 2 Chron. xxvii. 5.
[m] See Jerem. xxvii. 3. [n] See Jerem. xl, xli.

Gedaliah:

Gedaliah: for, a ſhort time afterwards, he was attacked by *Nebuzaradan* the *Babylonian* general, who put his country to fire and ſword, and deſtroyed his chief city *Rabbah*, and carried away *Baalis* and moſt of the nobles of *Ammon* into captivity, as had been propheſied by *Amos*: " *I will kindle a fire in the wall of* Rabbah, *and it ſhall devour the palaces thereof, and their king ſhall go into captivtiy, he and his* princes *together, ſaith the Lord*; *and* Ezekiel: *and I will deliver thee for a ſpoil* [o] *unto the men of the Eaſt, and will give them the* Ammonites *in poſſeſſion, that the* Ammonites *may not be remember'd among the nations* [p].

THIS laſt prophecy was in due time compleated, their name being blotted out from the book of nations in the end. But in the mean time they are mentioned as conjoined with the *Arabians*, *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, in giving all the diſturbance they were able to the rebuilding of the temple of *Jeruſalem*; which they endeavoured to prevent as much as in them lay. One *Tobiah* called the ſervant, is ſaid to have been at the head of them upon theſe occaſions [q].

LIVING in peace and quietneſs under the great monarchies, the *Ammonites* in proceſs of time grew to be more conſiderable, and in the days of *Judas Maccabæus* were aſſembled together, in a very great army under their governor *Timotheus*, to fight againſt that heroic *Jew*. They came to a battle, wherein *Timotheus* and the *Ammonites* were worſted, and the ſame ill fortune attended them in other ſubſequent conflicts, under the ſame leader, and againſt the ſame enemy. In the end their city *Jaſer* (it was not antiently reckoned a city of theirs) and the neighbouring towns, fell a prey to the *Jews*, who ſmote the men, and carried their wives and children into captivity, and plundered and burnt the city of *Jaſer*; and thus ended this, as it ſeems, their laſt warfare with the deſcendants of *Iſrael* [r].

NEVERTHELESS, towards the beginning of the ſecond century of the chriſtian *æra*, they were thought worthy of being called a numerous nation [s]; but towards the latter end of the ſame their name was vaniſhed, and they themſelves blended among the *Arabians* [t], as happened alſo to the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, and others.

[o] See Ezekiel xxv. [p] Idem. xxv. 7—10. [q] See Nehem. ii, iv, vi, xiii. [r] See 1 Macc v. 6—8. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11, 12. PRIDEAUX Connect. part 2. book 4. p. 212. [s] Vide JUST. MART. in dial. cum. Tryph. p. 272. [t] ORIG. lib. 1. in Job.

The End of the History of Ammon.

SECT:

SECT. III.

The History of Midian, *or* Madian.

Their descent.

IT is generally agreed, that this people drew their origin from *Midian*, the fourth son of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, from whom they were called *Midianites*. He received large gifts from his father, as did the rest of his brethren, and was, as well as they, sent eastward, *into the east country*, to be at a proper distance from *Isaac* [a]. The sons of *Midian* were *Ephah*, and *Epher*, and *Hanoch*, and *Abidah*, and *Eldaah* [b].

THE *Midianites* were, in their most early times, evidently confounded with the *Ishmaclites* [c]; and many ages afterwards they are mentioned in conjunction with the *Nebatæans* and *Kedarenes*, the posterity of *Nebaioth* and *Kedar*, the sons of *Ishmael* [d]. Doubtless, remembering their kindred, they adhered to each other, and were pretty much blended together. On the other hand, we find them to have been so incorporated as it were with the *Moabites*, that *Moses* almost considered them as but one nation [e]. Their religion was the same, and they acted in the strictest concert together against him and the *Israelites*. The ties of blood united these likewise, as on the one side they were descended from *Abraham*, and on the other from *Lot*. So, just as they happened to live in the northern or southern parts of their country, they joined themselves either to the *Moabites* or the *Ishmaelites*. From hence we, in part, gather the extent of their territory, and that there was a pretty wide difference between the *Midianites* and *Madianites*.

The country possessed by the Midianites.

THE country of *Midian* was a part of *Arabia Petræa*. Its exact limits cannot be ascertained. From what we find in scripture, it must have lain south-eastward of the lake *Asphaltites*, or the *Dead-sea* [f]. On the north, it was bounded by *Moab*, or rather mixed with it [g]. Its boundary on the east is uncertain. On the south, it was bounded by the *Red-sea*. On the west, by *Edom*, or *Idumæa*, and, partly, also on the north, as should seem [h].

BEING a part of *Arabia Petræa*, it was mostly rocky, mountainous, and sandy. These barren and difficult defects

[a] Gen. xxv. 2. 6. 1 Chron. i. 32. [b] Ibid. ver. 33. Gen. xxv. 4. [c] See Gen. xxxvii. 25—28. Judg. viii. 24. [d] Isa. lx. 6, 7. [e] See Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 46. [f] See Exod. iii. 1. xviii. 5. Judg. vi. 3. vii. 12, 24, 25. [g] See Numb. xxii. 4. [h] See 1 Kings xi. 18.

were pretty well amended by the numbers of camels and dromedaries it abounded with; creatures moſt admirably adapted for the uſe of ſuch whoſe lot it was to live upon ſo dry and rugged a ſoil. It was alſo well ſtored with other cattle, which in great herds were driven about to paſture, and to ſprings of water [i]. Though it is certain, that this country was not very well furniſhed with fixed habitations, ſuch as towns and cities, yet we read of their *cities* and *goodly caſtles*: but theſe we muſt underſtand to have ſtood in the neighbourhood of *Moab* only [k]. Two of its cities we have expreſs mention of, and both called *Midian*, or *Madian*; the one ſituated in the north, towards *Rabbah* of *Moab*, or *Areopolis*; the other in the ſouth, by the *Red-ſea* [l]; and was very probably the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Modiana*, and is perhaps the ſame with a ruined place which the *Arabs* call *Madyan*, to this day. Finally, we muſt not forget, that mount *Sinai* is placed within this territory [m].

THE *Midianites* were a very numerous race, and may be diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, ſhepherds and merchants. The ſhepherds moved up and down in tents, and drove their cattle before them, even when they went to war [n]. The merchants alſo travelled from place to place in companies [o], or caravans, as the merchants of thoſe parts do at this day, and left the care of their cattle to the women, as ſeems by the ſtory of *Jethro*'s daughters (A). The ſhepherds, it is likely, had few or no fixed habitations, except ſome ſtrong holds near their borders; the merchants probably had few or none but

Their Manners.

[i] See Judg. vi. 5. in Numb. xxxi. 8, 10.
[k] Numb. xxix. 10.
[l] HIERON. Χωρὴϛ.
[m] Vide EUSEBIUS Onomaſt. in vocem
[n] See Judg. vi. 5.
[o] See Gen. xxxvii. 28.

(A) That ſtory ſeems to inform us, that the men in the ſouth part of *Midian* were not ſhepherds; and therefore we imagine they were merchants. *Joſephus* expreſly tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the women in this part, (which he miſtakenly calls *Troglodytica*) to look over the cattle; though indeed in this he ſeemingly contradicts what he ſays but a line or two before, *viz.* that the ſhepherds of the country were continually at ſtrife, which ſhould get firſt ſerved with water; and from thence infers the irregularity committed upon *Jethro*'s daughters (1): Thus ſeemingly inconſiſtent is this author with himſelf. But if this laſt cuſtom prevailed, *Jethro*'s ſon *Hobab* (for that he had ſuch a ſon we ſhall endeavour to make out hereafter) would have been much more equal to ſo troubleſome a taſk, than all the young women, his daughters.

(1) *Joſeph. Antiqui. lib. 2. c. xi.*

marts

marts and ſtations, in places convenient for their trade. Theſe grew to be exceeding rich, and by exchanging their gold and jewels with their brethren for their cattle, the ſhepherds were thereby ſtored with precious ornaments [p]. Their manners muſt have been in many reſpects as different as their way of life. However, they are in general repreſented to have been very ſumptuous in their exterior. We read of their *jewels of gold, chains, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, tablets* [q], *the purple raiment of their kings, and the gold chains, or collars round the necks of their camels* [r].

Their learning.

It appears very plain from *Job*, that they had the uſe of writing very early in theſe parts [s] among the deſcendants of *Abraham*; and the *Midianites* being alſo of the number, we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been ignorant therein (B). Sir *Iſaac Newton* gives them the honour of having inſtructed *Moſes* in writing [t]. The merchants muſt alſo have been verſed in arithmetic of ſome kind or other; and there being ſhips on the *Mediterranean* ſo early as in the days of the patriarch *Jacob* [u]; and theſe being themſelves traders, and ſituated on the *Red-ſea*, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they could refrain from ſhipbuilding, and exploring the ſhores of their own ſea, and the coaſts thereunto contiguous. From hence we may naturally enough extend the circle of their ſciences beyond bare writing

[p] See Numb. xxxi. 50, 51, 52. Judg. viii 24. [q] Numb. ubi ſupr. [r] Judg. ubi ſupr. ver. 26. [s] See Job. xix, 23, 24. [t] Chron. of antient kingd. amended, p. 210. [u] See Gen. xlix. 13.

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IT is very apparent that the *Midianites* varied as much from each other in the matter of religion, as in their manner of life. At firſt they were, to be ſure, pure and right in their way; how long they perſevered in it is not ſaid. But in the days of *Moſes* they partly wallowed in all the abominations of the *Moabites* [w]; thoſe we mean who were neareſt to that idolatrous nation; nay, exceeded them in their endeavours to pervert the children of *Iſrael*, when they lay in the plains of *Moab*, and perſuaded them to bow down to *Peor* [x]; but we are indeed told, that *Peor* was worſhipped by the *Midianitiſh* women chiefly [y]. Thus ſtood religion in the north of *Midian*. Now in the ſouth we find them enlightened by a rational and ſublime ſyſtem, long after their brethren had fallen into the fouleſt corruption. As a proof of this, we need only mention *Jethro*, who is commonly ſtiled the prieſt of *Midian*, and is ſaid to have lived [z], and is by ſome thought to have preſided [a] over the *Midianites*, near the *Red-ſea*. His behaviour [b] in the camp of *Iſrael* is a ſufficient argument in favour of them; yet, though their religion was otherwiſe very pure, it is remarkable they could not bear circumciſion (C) [c]. They offered up praiſes, and thankſgivings, and ſacrifices to GOD, but their religious rites or ceremonies are not ſpoken of.

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the *Horite*, when *Midian* (D) was ſmitten by him in the field of *Moab* [d].

The next is their purchaſing of *Joſeph* from his brethren for twenty pieces of ſilver, and carrying him away with them into *Egypt*, where they ſold him to *Potiphar*, one of *Pharaoh*'s chief officers [e].

Jethro. Many years after this there lived a prieſt, or prince, (E) of the ſouthern *Midianites*, called *Reuel*, or *Jethro* (F), or the *Kenite* the father of *Moſes* [f]. This perſon reſided in the city of *Madian* bythe *Red-ſea* [g]. It happened that his daughters, who were ſeven in number, met with ſome diſturbance one day from certain rude ſhepherds, in watering their father's flock. Juſt before this, *Moſes* had ſet himſelf down to reſt in the ſame place, being then upon his flight from *Pharaoh*; and perceiving the outrage of the ſhepherds, who drove the maidens and their cattle from the water they had been at the pains of drawing (G), he roſe up, and withſtood them, and aſſiſted the young women in compleating their work. When they went

[d] Gen. xxxvi, 35. [e] Ibid. xxxvii. 28, 36. [f] Exod. iii. 1. Judg. i. 16 [g] Joseph. ubi ſupr.

(D) Doctor *Cumberland* is inclined to think, that *Moſes* recorded this, as it was a calamity, to *Jethro* his father-in-law; and that it was *Midian* himſelf that was ſmitten, ſomewhat before he was an hundred and nine years old (4).

(E) The *Hebrew* word is כֹּהֵן *choben*, which ſignifies a prince, or a prieſt, and is promiſcuouſly rendered by both the one and the other. But let this condition of life have been great or mean, we may be excuſed for inſerting what we find concerning him and his family, inaſmuch as it is the only fragment we have left in hiſtory concerning the antient *Midianites* in the ſouth.

(F) This is by ſome held to have been the ſurname of the family (5). The *ſeventy* call him Ῥαγουήλ, *Raguel*, and ſo does the *vulgate*, and even our own verſion in another place: however, this name is by ſome thought to have been the name of *Jethro*'s father (6). but with what foundation may be curſorily conſidered hereafter.

(G) This inſult has given birth to a ſuſpicion, that their father was ſo far from being chief, either as prince, or prieſt, that he was only an inferior in the ſacred order, and then no wonder they were abuſed, ſays our commentator. Indeed, if we do not ſuppoſe

(4) *Origin. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p.* 14, 136. (5) *Vide Cleric. in Exod. ii.* (6) *Vide eund. ibid.*

theſe

went home to their father, he wondered to ſee them come back ſooner than uſual; and enquiring into the cauſe of their diſpatch, they gave him an account of the inſult they had received at the well; and how an *Egyptian* (ſo they called *Moſes*) had protected and aſſiſted them. The good man enquired where this worthy ſtranger was, and reproved his daughters for being ſo unkind as not to bring him home with them; and ſtraitway ſent them to invite their friend and protector to refreſh himſelf. They obeyed, and brought *Moſes* to their father *Jethro*; who, taking a fancy to the man, retained him in his family, committed the care of his flocks to him, and in proceſs of time gave him his daughter *Zipporah* to wife; and *Jethro* had *Moſes* with him forty years. At length, underſtanding that his ſon-in-law was commiſſioned by GOD to lead out the children of *Iſrael* from bondage, he conſented to part with him, and his daughter, and his grandchildren, who ſet out for *Egypt*: but a diſpute ariſing between *Moſes* and his wife about circumciſing a child upon the road [h], ſhe came, or was ſent back again (H) by her huſband, and he went on without her [i].

WHEN *Jethro* heard of the mighty things which the LORD had done through *Moſes*, and how he had delivered his people, and brought them out of *Egypt*, he took his daugh-

[h] Exod. ii, iii, iv. [i] Ibid. xviii. 2.

theſe ſhepherds to have been ſtrangers in this part, it muſt be acknowledged, that it does not look as if *Jethro* was a man in any great repute or authority.

(H) In caſes of doubt like this, we can only take what ſeems to us the moſt rational ſide of the queſtion. Divines have explained this matter many ways (7), and ſome ſeem unwilling to allow there was any jar between *Moſes* and his wife, apprehending perhaps, that it cannot ſuit with the dignity of that lawgiver's character. But for our parts we do not perceive how it can reflect any diſhonour upon him, eſpecially, when the ſubject of the diſpute was ſo very important. Furthermore, if the cuſtom had been that *Jethro*'s family was circumciſed, *Zipporah* his daughter would certainly have made no words about the execution of a practice, which ſhe muſt have thought to have been eſſential. That there was ſome ſort of miſunderſtanding in this matter muſt be allowed; and therefore we have urged it as an inſtance to prove, that theſe *Midianites* did not uſe circumciſion; and have alſo made it the cauſe of *Zipporah*'s returning back to her father.

(7) *Vide Lightfoot, ubi ſupr.* § 8, 9. *Cleric. in Exod. iv.*

ter *Zipporah*, and her two ſons, and his own ſon *Hobab*, and ſet out with them towards his ſon-in-law *Moſes*, to congratulate him, and reconcile him with his daughter *Zipporah*. They were all received very affectionately by *Moſes*, and *Jethro* hearing from him the wondrous works which had been done for *Iſrael*, he bleſſed GOD for the ſame, acknowledged him to be far ſuperior to all other gods, and took a burnt-offering and ſacrifices for GOD: and *Aaron* and all the elders of *Iſrael* came to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, and to pay him the reſpect due to ſo venerable a perſon.

THE next day *Jethro* had an opportunity of diſplaying his great wiſdom and ſkill, in the due regulation of government. He obſerved, that the people crouded about *Moſes* all day long; and aſking him the meaning of it, *Moſes* anſwered him that he had been ſitting in judgment. Upon this *Jethro* told him, he was quite wrong to charge himſelf with ſo grievous a burden, too much for any one man to bear; that it would be enough for him to attend upon the ſublimer concerns only, to conſult with GOD, to declare his holy laws and ordinances, to inſtruct the people in the right way, and the like; and commit the judging and well-ordering of the people to a ſelect number of the moſt righteous men among the multitude, who ſhould, according to their abilities, be appointed over thouſands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens; abſtaining from every buſineſs himſelf that was not of the higheſt moment. *Jethro* gave not this counſel in vain, and thereby adminiſtred great eaſe to his ſon-in-law *Moſes* [k] (I).

[k] Ibid. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & ſeq.

(I) A very eminent divine contends, that this whole ſtory is miſplaced, and ought to ſtand between the tenth and eleventh verſes of the tenth chapter of *Numbers* (8): *Firſt*, becauſe *Jethro* is ſaid to have *taken burnt-offerings and ſacrifices for God*. *Secondly*, becauſe *Moſes* is ſaid to have ſitten *to judge the people*, and to have *made known to them the ſtatutes of God and his laws*. As this ſtory now ſtands, it refers to a time when as yet the tabernacle was not erected, nor any altar built; *Moſes* had not yet received any laws from GOD; nor had they reached mount *Sinai*, ſays our author. But it is nevertheleſs poſſible, that *Jethro* might have offered a ſacrifice in his way, particularly as he was a prieſt; nor is it unlikely that *Moſes* acted as judge and arbitrator, before he received any particular ſyſtem of laws from GOD. But *Thirdly*, becauſe *Moſes* puts off the inſtitution of the judges and elders over the people, which he was adviſed to by *Jethro*, till after they moved from

(8) *Lightfoot ubi ſupr.* § *xxiii.*

ANY

ANY thing farther concerning *Jethro* we know not, except that *Moſes* diſmiſſed him; that he ſeems to have left his ſon *Hobab* (K) behind him, with a friendly intent, that he ſhould ſerve as a guide through the wilderneſs; but it was with reluctance he went through with them; nor was he prevailed

mount *Sinai*. This third proof ſeems to be more valid than the two former, but yet, not quite ſo plain and deciſive as might be wiſhed. The putting of *Jethro*'s advice in execution effectually and orderly, muſt have been certainly the work of time. But were we to enlarge upon theſe obſcurities ſo far as we might, there would be no end to our work.

(K) It is very ſtrange, that thoſe who know not how to think that *Raguel* and *Jethro* were both names belonging to one man, will yet have it that *Hobab* and *Jethro* mean one and the ſame perſon. And, contrary to the apparent reaſon of things, that it was *Jethro* himſelf under the name of *Hobab*, who is here intreated to ſerve as a guide to the *Iſraelites* (9). *Joſephus* frequently calls him by the name of *Raguel* and ſays he was *Moſes*'s father; ſo ſays the ſcripture, under the name of *Raguel*, in the place where *Hobab* is mentioned. In ſcripture he is conſtantly called *Reuel* or *Jethro*, till he departed from the camp. Shall we ſuppoſe that he came back again, and was from thenceforward called *Hobab?* That *Jethro*, returned to his own country, is expreſly ſaid (10). That *Hobab* did ſerve the *Iſraelites* as a guide, is plainly enough inſinuated (11). What ſettlement could *Jethro* want? how, as father of a family, could he deſert them? how, as he was a prieſt or a magiſtrate, could he be abſent from his charge? On the other ſide, how can it be ſuppoſed, that a man who expreſſed ſo much good-will towards the children of *Iſrael*, who was ſo thankful to God for their deliverance, who owned his conviction that they were under the protection and care of the Lord God; how can it be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a perſon would have made the leaſt ſcruple of doing any thing that could have been requeſted by *Moſes*, whom he looked on as the immediate miniſter of the Almighty? It is more rational to ſuppoſe, that it was a ſon of his called *Hobab*, who is here ſpoken of, who was left behind by his father, as one well acquainted with the deſert, and ſo might be of good uſe to *Moſes*; but who, not having the ſame faith and aſſurance in GOD which his father had, ſaw no great proſpect of good things to come, and therefore wanted to return home again; but that he was tempted to ſtay, and go through with them, is clearly enough ſaid. If *Moſes*'s father-in-law is afterwards called *Hobab*, as he is (12), that is not the only little diſſonance of the hiſtorical kind we find in ſcripture.

(9) *Vide Cleric. in Exod. xi. & Numb. x. Judg. i.* 16. (10) *Exod. xviii.* (11) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib v. c. 2.* (12) *Judg. iv.* 11.

on to do it without very large promiſes [l]. We read farther concerning the deſcendants of *Jethro*, that they were called *Kenites*, and that they joined the children of *Judah*, and marched with them from the city of *palm trees* [*Jericho*] [m] into the wilderneſs of *Judah* [n]. That upon the taking of *Hebron* they were rewarded with a large portion of ground, in conſideration of their having forſaken their native place, and ſuffered with the *Iſraelites* all the toils of their wars, and all the diſtreſſes in the wilderneſs [o]. That *Heber* the huſband of *Jael*, who killed *Siſera*, was particularly of this family [p]. That on the aforeſaid conſideration alſo, the *Kenites* were many years afterwards warned by *Saul* to move off from the *Amalekites*, when he had it in charge to extirpate that nation, that they might be no way prejudiced thereby. Thus were they preſerved, and fixing their ſeat upon a rock, and there poſſeſſing a ſtrong hold, they grew wanton and preſumptuous, and were carried away into captivity by the *Aſſyrians*, together with the ten tribes of *Iſrael*, as *Balaam* had propheſied long before: *And he* [Balaam] *looked on the* Kenites . . . *and ſaid, ſtrong is thy dwelling-place, and thou putteſt thy neſt on a rock. Nevertheleſs the* Kenite *ſhall be waſted, until* Aſhur *ſhall carry thee away captive* [q]. And thus have we traced down the poſterity of *Jethro* to their exit.

The Kenites.

THE *Midianites* we ſhall have now occaſion to mention as at enmity with *Iſrael*, we apprehend to have been chiefly thoſe who bordered upon, or lived, as it were, in common with, the *Moabites*. EVI, REKEM, (L) HUR, ZUR, and REBAH, were all five of them kings, or dukes of *Midian* (M), when *Moſes* overcame *Sihon* the *Amorite*, and greatly fearing for themſelves, they entered into counſels with *Balak* king of *Moab*, to conſider upon what methods they could take

Evi, Rekem, Hur, Zur, and *Rebah.*

[l] Numb x. 29—32. [m] See before in the Notes p. 91. [n] Judg. i. 16 [o] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 2. [p] Judg. iv. 11. [q] Numb. xxiv. 21, 22.

(L) *Joſephus* calls theſe five kings *Oeus*, *Sures*, *Robeas*, *Ures*, and *Rekem*, and ſays, that this laſt built, and gave name to the city of *Rekem* the capital of *Arabia*, by the *Greeks* called *Petra* (13).

(M) They are alſo ſtiled princes of *Midian*, and dukes under *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* (14). Perhaps they might have paid ſome homage or tribute to *Sihon*, or ſome other way might have been deemed as feudatory under him.

(13) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 4. *c.* 7. (14) *Joſh. xiii.* 21

to

to avoid the dangers which they thought threatened them. We ſhall not repeat here what we have already ſaid concerning this abſurd and iniquitous matter in the hiſtory of *Moab* [r]. Only it will be neceſſary for us to remark here once more, that the *Midianites* ſeem to have ſignalized themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner in their endeavours to turn the children of *Iſrael* from GOD. For it muſt be remembered, that *Balaam* had ſent them word either upon, or after, his return home, that it was in vain they hoped to hurt the darlings of heaven, by any other means than enticing them to ſin, the ſole means whereby GOD could be brought to forſake them: that upon this occaſion it would be proper for them to take the moſt beautiful of their young women, and deck them out in the moſt gorgeous manner, and ſend them to the *Iſraelites*, with ſuch inſtructions for their behaviour, as that, after having enſnared their hearts, might beſt corrupt their minds alſo [s]. This counſel they ſwallowed down very greedily, and were ſo ſanguine upon the matter, that we find *Zur*, one of their kings, made no ſcruple to ſend his daughter *Cozbi* among the reſt; but it was a tragical buſineſs for her; ſhe was killed by a wound in the belly, given with the ſame weapon, and with the ſame ſtroke, as made an end of her huſband or friend *Zimri*. For the reſt, theſe fair idolatreſſes played their part ſo well as to captivate many of the *Iſraelites*, and ſo abſolutely to prevail over them, as to bring them to bow down before *Baal-peor*, from whence great trouble and deſtruction came upon the whole body of them (N) [t].

THE *Midianites* herein enjoyed but a ſhort-lived ſatisfaction; their forwardneſs upon this occaſion, and ſubdolous practices, kindled the wrath of GOD againſt them, and *Moſes* had poſitive orders to ſmite them particularly. When they heard that the divine command was on the point of being executed upon them by twelve thouſand of the *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Phinehas*, they made the beſt preparations they could to withſtand the invaſion, by arming their caſtles, and muſtering their ſtrength. But their caſtles availed them but little, nor the ſtrength they muſtered. They were defeated, and every man of them put to the ſword, and among the

[r] See before, p. 90, 91, & *ſeq.* [s] p. 90. [t] Numb. xxv. 15——18. JOSEPH. Antiq lib. 4. c. 6. See before, p. 90.

(N) *Joſephus* ſpeaks of a plague upon this occaſion which carried off fourteen thouſand ſouls (15).

(15) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra.*

reſt *Balaam* [u] (O), and all their cities and goodly caſtles were laid in aſhes. Not one male of any age or degree was ſpared, they were all put to the ſword, as were all the females likewiſe that were not pure virgins. The country was laid waſte, and all the cattle driven off before the conqueror, to the number of ſix hundred ſeventy five thouſand ſheep, ſeventy two thouſand beeves, and ſixty one thouſand aſſes. The virgins which were carried away captive were thirty two thouſand in number; and there is mention made of great riches in gold and ſilver, and iron, and other metals, which were carried off in this general devaſtation [w]. Thus were they puniſhed for their folly and wickedneſs, and their country made quite deſolate.

Thus was a branch of the *Midianites* utterly cut off; but in proceſs of time this loſs was ſupplied, and it pleaſed God, for the puniſhment of *Iſrael*, that they roſe up in war againſt that ſinful nation, and in their turn were very near deſtroying the whole generation of them by fire, and ſword, and famine, for ſeven ſucceſſive years. For, about one hundred and fifty years after this ſlaughter of the *Midianites*, there appeared two kings at the head of them, and the *Amalekites*, and *Arabians*.

Zebah and Zalmunna.

These two kings are called Zebah and Zalmunna, and waged ſo cruel a war againſt the *Iſraelites*, that, not daring to ſtay in the low country, they betook them to the mountains, and there, where nature had been defective, they made themſelves caves and fortreſſes to ſhelter them. The *Midianites* having therefore no enemy that withſtood them, they waſted the fruits of the earth, and drove off all the cattle. This deſtruction they continued for ſeven years together, marching every ſummer ſeaſon in vaſt multitudes, with numberleſs camels, and herds of cattle, about the time the fruits were far advanced, all which they reaped for themſelves; ſo that between them, and their infinite flocks, there was ſcarce any ſuſtenance left for the *Iſraelites*, who continually fled up to the mountains upon their approach [x].

[u] Numb. xxxi 1——8. Joseph. ubi ſup. c. 7. lib. 5. c. 7.

[w] Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 11, & ſeq.

[x] Judg. vi. 1---6. Joseph. Antiq.

(O) *Balaam* is poſitively ſaid to have gone to his place (16), to have returned home; but whether he came back again in compliance with a ſecond meſſage, or whether of his own accord, to ſee the iſſue of his wicked counſel, or to forward it, is not ſaid.

(16) *Numb. xxiv.* 25.

But

BUT GOD at length put a ſtop to theſe mercileſs incurſions of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, who meant nothing leſs than to ſtarve the inhabitants, and poſſeſs themſelves of the land [y]. *Gideon* was choſen by heaven for the delivery of his country upon this calamitous occaſion, and he did it ſo effectually, that the *Midianites* never dared afterwards to contend with *Iſrael*, as will immediately be ſeen. *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* and their confederates marching into the country, according to their annual cuſtom, pitched their tents in the valley of *Jezreel*, on this ſide *Jordan*. Here, as they lay covering a vaſt tract of ground, their camp was explored by *Gideon* one night, who overhearing one of the camp telling his dream to another, who interpreted it in favour of *Gideon*, he was more than ever encouraged to put in agitation a ſtratagem which had been formed for their deſtruction, with only three hundred men, armed with no other weapons than a rams horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other. Accordingly about midnight the *Midianites* were alarmed in three ſeveral quarters of their camp, by the ſound of one hundred horns or trumpets in each; and ſtarting from their ſleep, perceived alſo as many lights breaking in upon them on three ſeveral ſides. The ſound of the horns, the glare of the lights, the gloom of the night, and the loud ſhouts they heard, ſtruck them with horror and amazement, and having no time to recover from their firſt conſternation, they fell into unſpeakable confuſion; and, being of different languages, ſtruck at one another, not knowing friend from foe; ſo that a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, which was chiefly owing to their own weapons. The kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, however, found means to extricate themſelves, and fled off with a body of about fifteen thouſand men: *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, two princes of *Midian* (P), alſo found means to eſcape for the preſent; but they immediately fell into the hands of the *Ephraimites*, who put them to death; and by the ſlaughter which happened upon this occaſion, and what before happened in the camp, there fell one hundred and twenty thouſand men. The kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* (Q), with their party, got over the river, and held

[y] Pſalm. lxxxiii. 11, 12.

(P) According to *Joſephus*, *Oreb* and *Zeb* were kings of *Midian* (17).

(Q) *Joſephus* ſays, they were brethren, and calls them *Zebin* and *Hezarben* (18). He ſays alſo, that theſe fifteen thouſand men

(17) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 5. *c.* 8. (18) *Idem ubi ſupra.*

were

held on their flight to *Karkor*, and there thought themſelves ſafe; but being hotly purſued by *Gideon*, they were unexpectedly ſurprized, and put to farther flight, and being overtaken again, their fifteen thouſand men were beaten and diſperſed [z], and they themſelves taken priſoners, and carried back again by *Gideon* [a]. When he had brought *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* home with him, he aſked them what kind of men they were whom they had formerly ſlain at *Tabor*; they anſwered they were juſt ſuch as himſelf, of majeſtic deportment; to this he replied, they were his own brethren, and therefore he could not ſpare their lives: wherefore he ordered his ſon to ſtand up and kill them; but they perceiving the youth to be but weak and fearful, requeſted of *Gideon*, as a favour, that he would diſpatch them himſelf, and he did ſo, and they were no ſooner diſpatched than the ornaments were taken from the necks of their camels. Thus were the *Midianites* ſlaughtered a ſecond time, and plundered of immenſe wealth in cattle, gold, jewels, rich attire, and the like. The very ear-rings only, taken from them, weighed 1700 ſhekels [b]. This downfal is, by the prophet, termed, *the day of* Midian [c], *and the ſlaughter of* Midian *at the rock of Oreb* [d]. From henceforward they gave over the trade of war [e].

They were, however, a famous nation many ages afterward, and are mentioned for their induſtry, and riches [f], and the magnificence of their tents [g]: but in the firſt century their name was diſuſed, being by that time ſwallowed up by the more famous of *Arabia*. Between three and four hundred years ago, there was a ruined city which bore the antient name (R); in the neighbourhood of which they pretend to

[z] Judges ubi ſupra. 10. 12, 13. & ſeq. vii. viii. 1—18. [a] Vide Joseph. ubi ſupra. c. viii. [b] Judg. viii. 18, 26. [c] Iſa. ix. 4. [d] Iſa. x. 26. [e] Judg. ubi ſupr. ver. 28. [f] Iſa. lx. 6. [g] Habak. iii. 7.

were all ſlain (19) to a man; the ſcripture only ſays they were diſcomfitted or terrified, which is by much the more likely to have happened.

(R) *Abulfeda*, from whom we have authority to ſay this, calls it مدين *Madyan*, and *Moſes*'s father-in-law, شعيب *Shoaib* (20); and the place is ſtill one of the ſtations in the pilgrimage from *Egypt* to *Mecca*, under the name of *Shoaib*'s *Cave*. (21).

(19) *Idem ubi ſupra.* (20) *Deſcrip. Arab. p.* 42. *inter Geo. Vet. Script. Græc. Min.* (21) *See Ray's Collect. of curious Travels and voyages, Tome* 2. *p.* 158.

ſhew

ſhew the place where *Moſes* watered his father-in-law's cattle.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Edom.

ESAU, called alſo *Edom*, was the progenitor of this people. He was the ſon of *Iſaac*, the ſon of *Abraham*, by *Rebekah*, and born at a birth with *Jacob*, being his twin-brother, and the elder of the two (A). Theſe twins contended while yet in their mother's womb; an early preſage of the ſtrife which was to take birth between them, and revive between their deſcendants, as GOD himſelf explained it to their mother. *Eſau* was born with red hair all over him (B); and as he grew up he proved to be a very ſtrong and active perſon, and delighting in the chaſe, became a *man of the field*; by which means providing plentifully and deliciouſly for his father's table, he won his particular affection. On the other hand, being of a very maſculine turn of mind, and much abſent from home, he retained not the kind inclinations of his mother *Rebekah*, who prided herſelf wholly in *Jacob*, who was a gentle-ſpirited man, and more frequently in her eye. On a day it happened, that *Eſau* came home

(A) It is remarkable, that as he came into the world his brother *Jacob* had him faſt hold by the heel, as if he would ſupplant him, as he afterwards did, ſays a learned commentator (1).

(B) Much is ſaid concerning this extraordinary hairyneſs of the new-born *Eſau*: but not to enter into the little uncertain niceties of a ſubject of this kind, it is in general thought, that he had not only hair on his head but all over his body; and that this hair was as ſtrong as briſtles; in ſhort, that he was as rough and ſhaggy as a Satyr (2): and this indeed ſeems to be the meaning of the text, which ſays, he was *red all over, like an hairy garment* This expreſſion has given birth to a conjecture, that the hair-garments they wore in thoſe days, were of a reddiſh colour, like the hair of *Eſau* (3). Inſtead of *garment* the LXX render it δορὰ δασύς a briſtly, ſhaggy ſkin, and the Vulgate has the ſame interpretation. It is thought, that each interpretation has an eye to the faſhion among the *Arabs* of wearing ſkins (4), as ſome of them do at this day, but they are ſheep ſkins, warm and ſoft, ſown together, the wool being worn innermoſt (5).

(1) *Patrick's Comment. upon Gen. xxv.* 26. (2) *Idem. ubi ſupr. ver.* 25. (3) *Cleric. in Gen. Loc. ſupra cit.* (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Thevenot. Part.* 1. *lib.* 2. *chap.* 32.

quite

quite ſpent with faſting and exerciſe, and perceiving that his brother *Jacob* had cooked ſome pottage, begged he might have ſome of it, being quite empty and ready to die. *Jacob* taking advantage of his brother's diſtreſs, tells him, if he would make over his birth-right to him, he ſhould have ſome: whereupon *Eſau*, thinking himſelf at the point of death, and that his birth-right was of no value to himſelf, conſented to *Jacob*'s ungenerous motion, and ſware away his birth-right to him, and accepted of a meſs of pottage in conſideration thereof; and thus is he ſaid to have *deſpiſed his birth-right*. Upon this occaſion he was called *Edom*, which ſignifies red, the colour of the pottage which *Jacob* ſo dearly ſold him (C).

[a] At

(C) We are well apprized of all that has been ſaid by commentators and others upon this great tranſaction between theſe brethren; but it will hardly be expected we ſhould run the ſame lengths they have, nor enter into their infinite repreſentations of this matter; and therefore we ſhall briefly touch upon ſome general points only. The *pottage* it ſeems was red, or yellowiſh, and made of lentils (5) from *Egypt* (7); of which there were two ſorts, one darker than the other (8), and both highly prized by the antients, both of the eaſt and weſt. *Pliny* relates from others, that equanimity is the uſual effect of feeding upon lentils: and another writer ſays, they inſpire with joy (9). It is unlucky they ſhould have kindled ſuch a ſtrife between *Eſau* and *Jacob*. To this ſome anſwer, that *Eſau* had never ſeen any afore (10); and this is pretended from *Eſau*'s ſaying only, *give me ſome of that red, red*, as it is in the original: but this is at firſt ſight very unlikely to be true; for doubtleſs theſe lentils muſt have been a food he and the reſt of the family were well acquainted with; ſo that what the antients held concerning the harmonious effects lentils have upon the mind, muſt fall to the ground But to leave this ſubject, let us take a view of the birth-right which was exchanged for theſe lentils. The chief privilege of the *Birth-right*, ſay ſome, was the inheriting a double portion of the father's eſtate (11): others annex the prieſthood thereto, and ſuppoſe, that *Eſau*'s cloaths, with which *Rebekah* clad *Jacob*, were his ſacerdotal veſtments (12); but this notion is ſtrongly repugned by what ſtands on record concerning *Cain* and *Abel* (13). Thirdly, a ſuperiority over the reſt of the children is thought to have been the principal prerogative of the *Birth-right*. Again, the chief privilege of the *Birth-right* might have been to challenge the particular bleſſing of the dying parent.

(6) *Gen* xxv. *ver* 30, 34. (7) *St. Auguſt, in Pſal. xlvi.* (8) *Plin. Hiſtor. Nat. l.* 18. *c.* 31. (9) *Auctor Geopon. lib.* 2. *c.* 35. *p.* 71. (10) *See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr. ver.* 30. (11) *ver.* 31. (12) *Lightfoot Obſervationes in Geneſin. c. xxvii.* (13) *Gen.* iv.

To

[a] At the age of forty years, he gave great trouble and sorrow to his parents by marrying among the daughters of *Heth*; he took two of them, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Bashemath* the daughter of *Elon*[b]; but this wore off in time, and he was received into favour with his father again. *Isaac* now grown old and very dim-sighted called *Esau* to him, and told him, that he knew not how few the remainder of his days were to be, and therefore should be glad if he would take his weapons, his quiver and his bow, and go out and get him venison, and dress it for him in a savoury manner, as he knew how, that *his soul might bless him before he died* (D). *Esau*

[a] Gen. xxv. 24—34 [b] xxvi. 34, 35.

To conclude upon this head, the prerogatives of the primogeniture were not confined to the person of the son, on whom the blessing was conferred, so as to die with him, but descended to his posterity. So the promises made to *Jacob* in his blessing were not fulfilled in him, but in his children after him. Such was the *Pottage*, and such the *Birth-right*, which were set in opposition to each other. The *Hebrew* word חלעיטני *halbiteni*, which *Esau* uses in addressing *Jacob*, occurs no where but in this place, and therefore there is some doubt about the true interpretation of it. The LXX render it γεῦσόν με *fac me gustare*, which is not thought earnest enough for a hungry man. Some, *feed me with it*, as if he was so thoroughly tired that he could not lift his own hand to his head. Others, *give me a good deal of it*, which a very hungry man might say very naturally; and this is defended by the *Samaritan* reading, and from the affinity of an *Arabic* word, which has some relation to it in sound and signification. From the same also it may be supposed, that he asked for the thickest of the *Pottage*. Considering the whole transaction between *Jacob* and *Esau* upon this occasion as merely human, the former was guilty of a great breach of hospitality and brotherly affection at least, and cannot be excused, as most, even divines, apprehend (14).

(D) It is thought that *Isaac* only sent out *Esau* by way of probation; that is, to try whether he had good success, or not, thereby to satisfy himself in a scrupie he had whether he should bless him or no. For as by his former ill success he was reduced to the necessity of making away his birth right; so now, if the same ill luck attended him, he should take it for a sign that the blessing was to depart from him. And though he had pronounced the great blessing over *Jacob*, yet when he perceived that *Esau* had brought home the venison he sent him for, he deemed it a tacit expression of the will of God, that *Esau* should have his blessing also, and he blessed him accordingly (15).

(14) *Vide Cleric. in Genes. ubi supr.* (15) *Vide Lightfoot Observat. in Genes. cap. xxvii.*

obeyed,

obeyed, but while he was abſent, his mother; who heard the words which paſſed between his father and him, dreſſed her ſon *Jacob* in *Eſau*'s cloaths (E), and, preparing a diſh of ſavoury meat, ſent him in with it to his father, who pronounced the irrevocable bleſſing over *Jacob*. Thus was *Iſaac* deceived, and *Eſau* ſupplanted, who coming in with his veniſon juſt after *Jacob* was gone, *Iſaac* in a great agony told him he had been circumvented by his brother, and that he neither could nor would recal the bleſſing. When *Eſau* heard this he wept bitterly, and upbraided his brother with his unnatural and ſubdolous dealing, firſt, in extorting his birth-right from him and now in robbing him of his bleſſing. However, *Eſau* did ſo far prevail with his tears, and his ſorrowful preſſing intreaties, that his father bleſſed him alſo to this effect; that *his dwelling ſhould be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (F); *that he ſhould live by the ſword, and ſerve his brother, but that he ſhould ſhake off the yoke at laſt.* It

(E) Concerning theſe cloaths, it is ſaid they had been worn by *Adam* in his miniſtry, and that they retained the ineffable fragrancy of paradiſe (16). Others only ſuppoſe, that they were laid up in aromatic flowers, or other perfumes, to preſerve them from moths, and to refreſh the brain, when put on; and that it is groundleſs in the *Jews* to imagine they deſcended from *Adam* to *Noah*, and ſo downwards to *Abraham*'s family (17). Beſides, it may be aſked how it came to paſs, that *Iſaac* could part with ſo precious a relique to his ſon, during his own life-time? Perhaps this is too early to ſuppoſe there was any ſuch delicacy in apparel; but this is obviated by the near neighbourhood of *Arabia* (18). By the *ſmell of the field* ſome may underſtand a ſcent more manly than the ſteams of a perfume, eſpecially as *Eſau* was ſo great a hunter, and perpetually in the field; but that expreſſion is ſuppoſed to have a different import, and to mean, that his cloaths were exquiſitely ſcented; and this ſeems to be confirmed from the *Samaritan* reading, which after the word שדה *Shadeh* a field, has מלא full; and ſo the LXX have rendered it ὡς ὀσμὴ ἀγροῦ πλήρους and ſo the Vulgate has it, *Sicut odor agri pleni*; as the ſmell of a full field, or as it is ſupplied, *as the ſmell of a field full of ſweet herbs and flowers.*

(F) Some give this part of *Eſau*'s bleſſing a quite contrary turn, and will have it, that his lot was to be in a barren land; and that his living ſhould be by rapine and violence; and accordingly, that *Edom* was an ungrateful ſoil, not refreſhed with timely rains (19). The interpretation of the LXX, with a trifling variation of ἀπὸ,

(16) *Vide Braun. de Veſtib. Hebr. ſacerd. c.* 4. (17) *See Patrick's Comment. upon Gen. c xxvii.* 15. (18) *Vide Cleric. in Gen. c. xxvii.* 27. (19) *Idem. ubi ſupr. ver.* 39.

It was with a heavy discontented mind that he heard his lot, and his resentment wrought so strongly upon him, that at first he determined to kill *Jacob* as soon as their father should die; which coming to the knowledge of *Rebekah*, she sent *Jacob* away to *Padan-Aram*, under pretence of getting him a wife there from among her own kindred [c]. But *Esau* cooled again, and generously forgot all that had past, and finding that *Isaac* and *Rebekah* had a great aversion to the daughters of *Canaan*, he went over to *Ishmael*, and took his daughter, *Mahalath* the sister of *Nebaioth* (G), adding her to the wives he had already taken [d]; and removed with his family to mount *Seir*, not so much with a design to settle there perhaps, as to serve a present conveniency. The spot he occupied in this country took his name, and was called the field of *Edom* [e], and in a few years he became a very considerable person.

FOR, when news came to him hither, that his brother *Jacob* was on his return from *Padan-Aram*, he went out to meet him on the road with a train of four hundred followers,

[c] Gen. xxviii. [d] Gen. xxviii. 6—9. [e] Gen. xxxii. 3, in the Margin.

by making it either a prepositon or an adverb, may be taken both ways. But, on the other hand, it is observed, that if we follow our own translation, which is directly in the sense of the Vulgate, and in the sense St. *Hierom* took it, there will be still a wide difference between *Jacob*'s blessing and *Esau*'s; that in the latter there is no mention made of corn and wine; no such dominion promised as in *Jacob*'s; and that lastly, whatsoever fatness was in the soil of his country, it did not last long (20). Nevertheless, *Moses* seems to tell us, that the land of *Edom* was not so destitute as some may imagine; when he promises the king of *Edom*, that if he would permit the children of *Israel* to pass through his country, they should hurt neither the fields nor the vineyards (21): the fields may perhaps have been rather corn fields than pasture; and if this be true, the *Edomites* had their corn and wine too. As to what *Malachi* says of the infertility and desolation of the kingdom of *Edom* (22), that must, we think, be rather attributed to the cruel effects of their unfortunate wars, than to any failure in the usual product of the soil.

(G) It is observed from hence, that *Esau* paid no regard to the divine revelation, or he would not have taken the descendant of a bond-woman [*Hagar*], who could not inherit the promises made to *Abraham* and *Isaac* (23).

(20) *Patrick's Comment ubi supr. ver.* 39. (21) *Numb. xx.* 17—20. (22) *Malach.* i. 3. (23) *See Patrick upon Gen. xxviii.* 9.

with

with which he meant to honour and assist his brother, and not inject fear into him as he did. The interview was very tender on both sides, but especially *Esau*, unmindful of what most men would ever have retained, accosted *Jacob* with tears of joy and the most melting affection: he nobly refused the presents wherewith his brother would needlessly have bribed him to a reconciliation, and pressed him to hold on his way to mount *Seir*, that they might be neighbours and live together; and when *Jacob* artfully waved this invitation, under pretence of the tediousness of his marches for the sake of the children and cattle, and seemed to say he would follow him; *Esau* desired he would let him at least leave some of his followers behind to assist him and conduct him on his way; but this being rejected, he with reluctance left *Jacob* behind him, and took the presents away which had been utterly forced upon him by his timorous brother (H); who, instead of

(H) It appears very plain from what now passed between *Esau* and *Jacob* at this meeting, that the former was not so great a reprobate, or naturally so bad a man, as some have unreasonably represented him. We had resolved to touch upon this matter in the behalf of *Esau*; but finding it generously done to our hands by a very worthy divine, we shall content ourselves with the substance of what he says: *Esau* was a plain, generous, and honest Man; nor does he seem to have been more wicked than the other men of his age and times. His generous and good temper appears by his affectionate deportment towards his brother, and his speedy and utter oblivion of the injuries and slights he received from him: and though St. *Paul* calls him the prophane *Esau*, and says he was hated by God, it cannot thence be gathered that he was a wicked man, or that God punished him for an immoral life. 1. This sentence could not extend to his posterity, and is not said to be founded upon his actions. 2. God's hatred of *Esau*, was not a hatred which induced him to punish him with an evil; for he was as happy in the blessings of this life as *Abraham*, *Isaac*, or *Jacob*, if not more. His children became masters of the land of their possession much sooner than the *Israelites*; and God was pleased to command the *Israelites* not to disturb them in their rights. And if his earthly felicity was such why should we despair of his being a partaker of the heavenly? 3. If he was excluded from being the heir of the blessing, so was *Lot* and *Job*, and other good and virtuous men. 4. St. *Paul* means no more than to shew the *Jews*, that God had all along bestowed the favours which led to the Messiah on whom he pleased; to *Abraham* not to *Lot*; to *Jacob*, not to *Esau*; to the *Gentiles*, not to the *Jews*. 5. Though *Esau* be called βέβηλος, or prophane, he is never called ἀσεβὴς, or ἁμαρτωλὸς, wicked, or immoral. So that the only defect in his character

of following him, deceived him once more, and went another way [f]. *Esau* remained in *Seir* till he heard that his father *Isaac* was either dead, or upon the point to die, and went to *Mamre*, where he assisted *Jacob* at the funeral of their deceased parent, and took possession of his inheritance; for his birth-right was a spiritual prerogative, and no ways related to his father's temporal estate; by this addition to his former store, and *Jacob* being also very rich, and master of much cattle, they perceived it would be next to impossible to enjoy such large possessions, together in a country where they were both strangers; and therefore, as *Abraham* and *Lot* had done before, they parted. *Esau* returning to the country of *Seir*, being an hundred and twenty years old, married *Aholibamah* a daughter of the country, but originally of *Canaan* [g]; and from thenceforward took such measures as might be most conducive to the good and peaceable settlement of his descendants in this country.

Their country.

Now, though *Esau* might have no positive knowledge of it, yet GOD designed this land for an inheritance to his line [h], as he did that of *Canaan* for the line of *Jacob*: and this naturally leads us to give the best description we can of the realm so ordained for them; which we shall here do once for all. This country was originally, so far as we know, inhabited by a people called *Horites*, or *Horim*, whether so named from one *Hor*, or *Hori* [i], which was a name amongst them, is what we know no more, than whether mount *Hor* was so denominated from him, as some think [k]. It was called the mount or land of *Seir* from one *Seir* an *Horite*, and not from the hairyness of *Esau*, who came there long after, as *Josephus* dreamed [l]. In the *Samaritan* version it is called *Gablah*; by *Jonathan*'s *Targum Gobal*; and by *Josephus Gobolitis*; which several appellations are derived from *Geboul*, signifying a border; for it did border upon the land of *Canaan* on the south;

[f] Ibid. & xxxiii. [g] Ubi supr. xxxv, xxxvi. [h] Deut. ii, 5. Josh. xxiv. 4. [i] Gen. xxxvi. 22, 30. [k] See WELLS's Historic. Geogr. of the Old Test. vol. 1. p. 533. [l] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 20.

racter is, that he does not seem to have been so mindful of the promises made to his family as *Jacob* was; from whence, and from his temper, it appears, that he was not quite so fit to be the heir of the mercies peculiar to his family (24).

(24) *Shuckford's Connect. of the Sacr. and Profane History of the World, vol. 2. p. 198 & seq.*

but the extent of the antient country of *Seir* we take not upon us to say; and therefore can mention no other boundary. When the children of *Edom* seized on this country, it grew to be universally known under the name of *Edom*; but we cannot gather, that they extended their limits till the time they erected their monarchy, when they built *Elath* and *Esiongeber*, as is likely, on the eastern shore of the *Arabian* gulf; but in the days of *Moses* no part of their dominion abutted upon that gulf [m]. When the antient kingdom of *Edom* was in its meridian, it was, as we think, bounded on the north by the land of *Canaan* and the *Salt-sea*, or lake *Asphaltites*, on the east by *Midian*, on the south by the *Arabian* gulf, or the *Red-sea*, so called from the jurisdiction this people exercised over it, as is most likely (I); on the west it was bounded by *Amalek*.

This

[m] See Numb. xx. 17—21. Deut. ii. 1. & seq.

(I) The *Red sea*, as we commonly call it, is more properly termed the *Arabian* gu ph. By the *Hebrews* it was called *Yam Suf*, the *weedy*, or *flaggy sea*; by the *Arabians Bahr Alkolzum*, or *the sea of* Kolzum, a small town at the northermost end of it. But by the antient inhabitants of the adjacent countries it was called the sea of *Edom*, because it washed the southern skirts of the land of *Edom*. The *Greeks*, finding that the *Phœnicians* called it *Yam Edom*, mistook the word *Edom* to signify an appellative instead of a proper name; and therefore rendered it ἐρυθρὰ θαλάσσα, *Mare Rubrum*, and thence we have the *Erythrean*, or *Red-sea* (25). Others (26), however, derive the name from a certain king of the east, in, or towards, *Persia*, called *Erythras*; but by the *Red sea* they manifestly understand what we call the *Indian* ocean; and therefore we cannot think with Sir *Isaac Newton* (27), that this same *Erythras* is the *Edom* or *Esau* of scripture (28), and that he was actually the first that invented the vessels [*rates*] in which they navigated that sea. *Agatharcides* expatiates on this, and will have it, that the *Indian* ocean was called the *Red sea*; not because the *Arabian* gulph belonging to it had hills on the west of it, which when the sun shone intensely upon them, looked somewhat like burning coals; on the east he says indeed there were some red hills, and the same there are at this day; but this, he says, was not the reason why the ocean was called *Red*: nor was it because the sun in those parts, instead of darting forth bright and clear rays, shone

(25) *See Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Test. Part* 1. *Book* 1. *p.* 10. (26) *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 28. *Strab. lib.* 16. *p.* 766. *Pompon. Mel. lib.* 3. *cap.* 8. (27) *Chronol. of antient Kingdoms amend. p.* 211. (28) *Apud Phot. in Biblioth. p* 1, 322.

out

THIS tract is very hilly and mountainous, and great part of it desert. It has few or no open streams, but latent springs of water sufficient for the use of the inhabitants, who know where to find them [n]. Corn and wine, nevertheless, it seems to have antiently abounded with in some degree [o]; so that *Esau* may have enjoyed the fat of the land (K); and besides, his posterity, by their situation, were able to supply and enrich themselves with the produce of some of the finest and most fruitful soils on earth, by means of their commerce with foreigners by the *Red-sea*, in those days the greatest and most considerable trading water in the world. *Amalekitis* is by some reckoned to have been a part or province of *Edom* [p] (L),

[n] THEVENOT's Travels, Part 1. c. 32. SANDYS, Book 2. p. 107. [o] See Numb. ubi supra. [p] Vide Histor. Jul. in *Edom*. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 11. c. 1.

out only with a sanguine light, which gave a bloody hue to the surface of the sea; but he will have it derived from one *Erythras*, an obscure and fabulous prince, concerning whom he tells a very absurd and puerile story, with a very grave air. From this it appears, that the *Erythrean*, or *Red-sea* of the antients is the *Indian* ocean of our days, and that what we call the *Red sea* was considered as a branch of it.

(K) By modern travellers we are told, that this country at present is nothing less than a fertile spot (29). But it must bear a widely different face now that it is only frequented by the *Bedouins*, or wandering *Arabs*, from what it did when occupied by a settled nation, who doubtless must with great pains and industry have prepared the soil for propagation: but we have spoken of this already (30).

(L) *Josephus* divides *Edom* into *Gobolitis* and *Amalekitis* (31); but this is a division which cannot be accurately spoken of, while the *Edomites* and *Amalekites* were independent states. The habitation of the *Edomites* is also frequently called *Gebalene* (32); and especially by *Eusebius*, who uses the appellations *Gibalane* and *Idumea* indifferently to denote the same place (33). Some later writers have torn the country asunder by a very violent and needless rent, placing one *Edom* in the land of *Seir* on the other side of *Jordan* to the north, and leaving the other in the place where the land of *Seir* only certainly stood; but this is a notion very solidly confuted by the best approved of the latest geographers.

(29) *Sandys, Book 2. p.* 107. (30) *See before in the Notes, p.* 126, 127. (31) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* 11. *c.* 1. (32) *Stephan. ad voces* Γάβαλα & Γεβαλα. (33) *In Onomast. urbium & locorum ad voces,* Γεβιά, Σηειρ, Ἰάθερ.

but however it was considered in later days, it certainly was not so when the kingdom of *Amalek* flourished; and therefore we shall treat thereof separately, in the next section. We are positively told, that *Job*'s country, the land of *Uz*, lies within the limits of the antient *Edom* [q]; but some very noted geographers [r] are unwilling to grant it, for reasons which are not altogether so valid as might be wished; but they are too obscure and uncertain to be discussed here.

Now the cities and remarkable places of *Edom* were *Teman*, which being mentioned for the wisdom and counsel of its inhabitants [s], was, perhaps, the royal seat: The country around it was called *Temani*; of this part was *Eliphaz*, one of *Job*'s friends [t]. *Dedan*, a city of great dealings with *Tyre*; some of the commodities are mentioned, ebony, ivory, and fine clothes [u]; it seems to have been situated in an extremity of the country opposite to *Teman* [w]. *Bozrah* [x], *Bosor*, *Bazrah* and the like, are names of another city of *Edom*; its name implies a fortress, which has made some imagine, that it was the capital of the kingdom [y]. By the manner of the prophet's introducing it, it may be guessed to have been a considerable place in his days. *Selah* or *Petra* being words of the same signification, the one in greek, the other in hebrew, it is thought, the one is a translation of the other, and that they both intend one and the same city [z]. If this be right, it stood on a level spot of ground, encompassed all round by steep rocks and craggy precipices, and within this inclosure were many gardens and rich springs; but beyond it the country was a desert [a]. That it was thus naturally fortified, appears by several authors [b]. By one it is called the chief place of the *Nabatæans* [c], whom in another place he calls *Idumeans* [d], that is *Edomites*; and says that it was three or four days journey distant from *Jericho*. A second author also calls it a city of the *Nabatæans* [e]. A third places it near mount *Hor* [f], and calls it the capital of *Arabia* [g]. A fourth seats it ten miles west-

[q] Augustr. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 47. See also Lament. iv. 21. [r] Vide Cellarii Notit. Orb. Ant. & Relandi Palæst. Illustr. [s] Jerem. xlix. 7, 20. [t] Job ii. 11. [u] Jerem. ubi supr. ver. 8. Ezek xxvii. 15. 20. [w] Idem xxv. 13. in the Margin. [x] Isa. lxiii. 1. [y] See Fuller's Pisgah sight, lib. 4. c. 2. [z] See Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Test. Part 1. Book viii. p. 544 Fuller ubi supr. [a] Strabo, lib. 16 p. 779. [b] Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. c. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 19. p. 722. [c] Strabo, ubi supr. [d] Idem ibid. p. 760. [e] Diod. Sic. ubi supr. [f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 4. [g] Lib. xiv. c. 25.

ward

ward of *Elath* [h], a sea-port on the *Red-sea* belonging to the *Edomites*. Moreover, this kingdom had two very eminent sea-ports, *Elath* and *Esiongeber*, on the shores of the *Arabian* gulf, or *Red-sea* [i]. *Esiongeber* proved an unfortunate harbour, being rocky and very difficult, deriving its name from a ridge of rocks it had, which was thought to resemble the back-bone of a man [k], and growing at length infamous for the many wrecks which befel the shipping that frequented it, it was deserted very early; and therefore its situation is not exactly known, any further than that it stood very near to *Elath*. This [meaning *Elath*] was a fairer and more commodious haven, and for a long time was a station for the shipping, which was sent from these parts into the *Indies*. It is also called *Eloth*, *Aela*, *Ailat*, *Elat*, *Elana*, from whence you have the *Elanitic* gulf wherein it stood; and by the *Arabians* *Ailah* to this day (M). Upon the decay of *Esiongeber*, it grew into great credit and resort, and was thought worthy

[h] EUSEB. Onomast. urb. & loc. ad vocem Πέτρα. [i] 1 Kings ix. 26. [k] See PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Old and New Test. part 1. book 1. p. 7. and PATRICK's Comment, upon the above cited passage of kings.

(M) *Ailah*, or *Elath* is near the road the *Egyptian* pilgrims take, when they go to *Mecca*. In the fourteenth Century there were considerable remains of it standing. At that time an *Egyptian* governor resided in a tower there: there were no fields about it. There was formerly a castle which stood out in the sea, but that is destroyed. Our author calls it a small city, and adds, that it had belonged to those *Jews* who were turned into apes and swine (34). *Elath* and *Esiongeber* grew at last to be *ambigui juris*, according to Sir *John Marsham* (35). But not to anticipate what we may have to say upon this matter, let it for the present suffice that we observe the *Edomites* to have been so well able to defend the right they claimed of the empire of the *Red-sea*, that the *Egyptians* were anciently unable to dispute it with them, and were obliged to submit to such conditions as the *Edomites* were pleased to allow them, which are said to have been hard enough; for they were allowed but one vessel of burthen wherewith to sail to the *Indies*, and not so much as one galley (36). *Elath* was particularly so considerable a place, as to give name to the eastermost of the gulphs which terminate the *Red sea*, and had the famous metropolis of *Petra*, ten miles to the westward of it (37), as is said from very good authority, which has been followed by some geographers of first note.

(34) *Abulfeda in Descrip. Arab.* (35) *Canon. Chron. secul. xiv. p.* 367. (36) *See Vol. I. p.* 489. *Hist. de Huet, du Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc. c.* 5. (37) *Euseb. Onom. Urbium & Locorum ad vocem* Αιλα.

of being contended for; and antiently changed its maſters ſeveral times; it was wreſted from the *Edomites* by *David* [l], it was afterwards forced from the houſe of *David* by the *Edomites* when they rebelled againſt *Jehoram* [m]; *Azariah* got it from them again [n]; but his grandſon loſt it to the king of *Syria* [o]; the *Syrians* held it a long time, and after ſome revolutions and changes under the *Seleucidæ* and the *Ptolemies*, it fell to the ſhare of the *Romans*. Remarkable places in this country were farther, mount *Hor* where *Aaron* died, and the valley of *Salt*, a ſpot on which the *Edomites* were twice defeated with a great ſlaughter; and had its name, probably, from its ſalt ſprings or the ſalt found there [p].

Now though the name of this kingdom is frequently rendered *Idumæa*, and *Idumea*, as in our verſion of the bible; yet when that name occurs in the prophane and the more modern writers, it muſt not be underſtood of the antient *Edom*, which, loſing its old name, was comprehended under the general appellation of *Arabia Petræa*, and the third *Paleſtine*. The ſouthern part of *Canaan* came to be called *Idumæa*, and the whole nation of the *Jews Idumæans* ſometimes. Whence this aroſe will in part be ſeen in the cloſe of this ſection, and more amply in the hiſtory of the *Jews*.

Forms of Government.

To return to the antient *Edom*. How it was in its more early times governed is a matter of doubt, and being ſo, we can only embrace the moſt likely opinion. The *Horites* were at firſt ruled by patriarchs, or heads of families, and after that by kings which were elected into the regal office. This elective kingdom was ſome how or other interrupted and diſſolved, and the antient form took place again, the governors being ſtiled dukes, who ſeem to have ſucceeded in right of birth. Perceiving the imperfections of this kind of adminiſtration, they coaleſced under one king, thereby to be the better enabled to withſtand an invaſion from the *Iſraelites* when they came out of *Egypt*. It was governed afterwards by *Edomitiſh* kings quite down to the days of *David*, who ſubdued the kingdom; and this ſecond monarchy ſeems to have been hereditary. Theſe are the various forms of government, which ſeemed to have been exerciſed in the land of *Seir* and *Edom*, by the *Horites* and the *Edomites*, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this ſection.

Their character.

The character we have of the *Edomites* is, that they were a bold and daring people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in, as others in the ſoftening pleaſures of

[l] 2 Sam. viii. 14. [m] 2 Kings viii. 20. [n] Ibid. xiv. 22. [o] Ibid. xvi. 6. [p] Vide Salmas. Exercit. Plinian. Cap. 35. p. 613, 614.

luxury

luxury [q]. But this, we muſt tell you, is peculiarly the character of the later *Edomites*, who migrated into *Judæa*; nor ſhould we have inſerted it here, but that it ſeems to be of a piece with the genius of the people, as their great anceſtor *Iſaac* foretold it. However, though courage was to be one of their characteriſtics, and, perhaps, the chief, yet we are under no neceſſity to believe it to have been of ſo brutal a ſort as *Joſephus* repreſents above: for as they were, doubtleſs, a trading nation, it is incompatible to ſuppoſe they were a neſt of robbers and incendiaries, fewer ſuch being ever found among thoſe that are addicted to commerce, and conſequently enjoy all the world can afford them, than among lazy and ſlothful nations, and ſuch as condemn induſtry out of a vain and ridiculous notion of honour. For theſe laſt are ſure to be mean, and beggarly, rude, ignorant and baſe; the former, quite the reverſe, flouriſh in plenty and eaſe, are learned, ingenious, and brave. What therefore their anceſtor foretold of them, that they ſhould live by the ſword, perhaps, imports no more, than that they ſhould maintain their rights, whether natural or uſurped, with a high hand and a jealous eye; as all thoſe who have claimed the empire of the ſea, as they did, have for ever done. Thus for want of due authority, have we attempted the character of the *Edomites*, by drawing a parallel between them and others of later, and our own times. And, abating the difference of climates which works a difference of tempers, we cannot be much out of the way in comparing them with other trading ſtates, that flouriſh within our knowledge, who are far from living upon plunder and rapine; and in this we ſhall be more confirmed, when we come to view their behaviour towards *Moſes*; when, though they refuſed him admittance into their territories, yet they were ready to traffic with him, and ſupply him with neceſſaries, as we ſhall ſee anon. The *Edomites*, whoſe character *Joſephus* draws above, were a degenerate race, quite aliens to the liberties and noble ſpirit of their forefathers, as we may not unjuſtly ſuppoſe.

THEIR arts and ſciences were doubtleſs great, conſidering the time; many, and well-perfected; and though perhaps there may be no neceſſity to ſuppoſe, as the excellent Sir *Iſaac Newton* has done, that they were the parents of thoſe amiable ſiſters; yet may we ſafely pronounce, that they were not much, if any thing at all behind hand with the moſt antient learned nations. The invention and uſe of conſtellati- *Arts and ſciences.*

[q] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 13.

ons appear by the Book of *Job* [r], to have been known among the *Edomites*, among whom he dwelt [s], a rare instance of the early progress of astronomy, if we suppose *Job* to have ever existed, or the book it self to be of such antient date as many think. Writing is there mentioned [t] also, and ships [u], and many hints given sufficient to confirm us in a belief, that the secrets and beauties of nature, morality, and much sublime and truly-useful knowledge were cultivated among them. Nor is there wanting very ample evidence from prophane authors to make this out, as we shall take proper opportunities of shewing: and indeed it has been a common opinion of the learned, that great veneration is due to their memory on that account.

Religion. Concerning their religion we are much in the dark. They at first were right in their belief and practice, as they were descended from *Isaac*, and used circumcision; but they by degrees forgot all, erred into idolatry (for idols it seems they had *), and disused circumcision; but in the end coalesced with the *Jews*, and were ever after considered as but one nation with them in divine matters, as will be seen at the decay of their state.

History. We now resume the history of *Esau* the father of this people. The number of his family and domestics when he fixed his dwelling here is uncertain, though probably very numerous. According to the hypothesis [w], which in this very obscure case we think ourselves obliged to adopt, he settled here under one of the *Horite* kings; and therefore he lived in a private manner, and was never considered any more than as the chief of his own house; and thence is dignified with no particular title by *Moses*. Concerning this matter, we cannot but think with bishop *Cumberland*, that the *Horites* were at first ruled by several independent chiefs or patriarchs, till they were overpowered by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, who swept them before him, with the neighbouring nations. To secure themselves therefore from so great an evil for the time to come, they united under a more stable and perfect kind of government, and formed themselves into an elective kingdom, and their kings were,

Bela, the son of *Beor*: the name of his city was *Dinhabah*.

[r] Chap. ix. 9. [s] St. August. de civitat. Dei ubi supr. Lamenta. ubi supr. [t] See before, p. 112, (B). [u] Job. c. ix. 26 * See 2 Chron. xxv. in the Argument. [w] See Bishop Cumberland's Origin. Gent. Antiq.

Jobab,

JOBAB, the ſon of *Zerah* of *Bozrah*. From a ſimilitude of names he has been taken for the holy and patient *Job*, whoſe hiſtory we might enlarge on, were it not too well known, or too uncertain for us to inſert here, which, for ought we are ſure of, is as proper a place as any other. But though we are well furniſhed with help towards this obſcure task, and might, to ſhew that we have read almoſt every thing neceſſary to qualify us for the undertaking, introduce a cloud of commentators and interpreters; yet we ſhall forbear, becauſe it will naturally lead us into a very dry diſcourſe, and be perhaps very diſſatisfactory to ſome, and very diſguſtful to others. Wherefore we will only ſay, that, according to ſome, *Job* was a real, according to others, an imaginary perſon. Some ſay the book was written by himſelf in *Arabic*, and tranſlated by *Moſes* into *Hebrew*; others, that *Moſes* compoſed it originally while he was in *Midian*; others again, that it was originally written by *Ezekiel*: Some hold it to be a genuine and ſincere hiſtory: others, that it is a dramatic entertainment, or a pious fable for the inſtruction of men in the great duty of reſignation to GOD. Some place his abode in, or upon the skirts of, the antient kingdom of *Edom*; others upon the banks of the *Euphrates* (N). Some reckon him among the moſt early of *Eſau*'s deſcendants, others bring him down to the days of *Joſiah*. Having thus given a tranſitory view of the great miſt which hangs over the ſtory of *Job*, we proceed.

HUSHAM of the land of *Temani*.

HADAD, the ſon of *Bedad*, he ſmote *Midian* in the field of *Moab*, and the name of his city was *Avith*.

SAMLAH of *Maſrekah*; in his reign, or in that of his ſucceſſor, came *Eſau*, as we think, into this country.

SAUL of *Rehoboth*.

BAAL-HANAN, the ſon of *Achbor*.

(N) Some have not ſcrupled to ſay, that *Job*'s diſtemper was the foul diſeaſe; for indeed he might have been ſmitten with that as well as with any other; ſo that in this caſe there is no reaſon to believe that he drew it on himſelf. He is the patron of all thoſe that labour under that filthy affliction within the pale of the *Roman* church; but ſhe revered him before the ſaid diſeaſe was known in *Europe*. As to that miſtake about the ſepulchre without the walls of *Conſtantinople*, and that other, that the *Turks* take him to have been the chief judge of *Solomon*'s court; they have been fully detected. (38).

(38) *Bayle Art. Job.*

Hadar; the name of his city was *Pau*, and his wife's name was *Mehetabel*.

Under the three laſt, or four laſt of theſe kings, did *Eſau* and his family live as ſojourners in a ſtrange land, as *Abraham* and *Iſaac* their forefathers had done before them in other parts. This monarchy, which was plainly elective, came ſome how or other to be interrupted, and broken into ſeveral petty and independent principalities or dukedoms; and, ſeeing that the poſterity of *Eſau* exceed in the number of their dukes, it cannot be very incongruous to ſuppoſe, that they had the largeſt ſhare in bringing about this revolution. It is very accurately obſerved by a late and learned writer, that the firſt dukes of the *Edomites* are not ſtiled dukes of *Edom*, but dukes *in the land of Edom* x. From whence we gather, that the grand-children of *Eſau*, grown ſtrong and potent, could no longer brook ſubjection to a ſtrange line, and would govern themſelves; ſo that now the whole country became divided into ſeveral diſtinct juriſdictions, and under ſeveral petty princes, called dukes, both of the poſterity of *Eſau*, and of that of *Seir*, who are all collateral. The dukes in the land of *Edom* were, 1. Duke *Teman*; 2. duke *Omar*; 3. duke *Zepho*; 4. duke *Kenaz*; 5. duke *Korah*; 6. duke *Gatam*; 7. duke *Amalek*. Theſe ſeven were the ſons of *Eliphaz* the firſt-born of *Eſau*. 8. Duke *Nahath*; 9. duke *Zerah*; 10. duke *Shammah*; 11. duke *Mizzah*: theſe four were the ſons of *Reuel*, the ſecond ſon of *Eſau*; 12. Duke *Ieuſh*; 13. duke *Jaalam*; 14. duke *Korah*: theſe three were the ſons of *Eſau* himſelf, begot by him after he was an hundred and twenty years old, on *Aholibamah* his laſt wife. All theſe were the dukes in the land of *Edom*; that is, in that part poſſeſſed by the *Edomites*, and thence called after them. At the ſame time were ſeven dukes over the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of *Seir*. 1. Duke *Lotan*; 2. duke *Shobal*; 3 duke *Zibeon*; 4. duke *Anah*; he found mules (O) in the wilderneſs, as he fed

x Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacred and prophane Hiſt. Book 8. p 192.

(O) Concerning this remarkable event there is ſome variety of judgment and interpretation. The *Hebrew* word is הימים *bayemim*, which the LXX, not knowing how to render, have retained, and accordingly have ιαμειμ, and ſo have *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*. From St. *Jerom* we have ſeveral traditions of the *Jews* concerning this matter. Some thought, that by the above word

fed the asses of *Zibeon* his father; 5. duke *Dishon*; 6. duke *Ezer*; 7. duke *Dishan* *. Now seeing that the dukes of *Esau*'s line in the land of *Edom*, being more in number, may have been greater in might than those of the *Horites* in the land of *Seir*, it seems not unnatural to suppose, that these last were now expelled by the former, who seized on the land by the

* Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21.

word must be understood seas, or large waters; for the same letters are used for the word which bears that import; and will have it, that while he fed his father's asses in the wilderness, he found a collection of waters, or seas, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, an uncommon discovery in a desert, and therefore worthy of notice. Some would have it to mean *hot waters* in the *Phœnician* tongue. Some again, that he suffered wild asses to cover his tame ones, and that the swiftest breed of those creatures, called *Yamim*, sprang from thence: and most of the *Rabbins* teach, that he, first of all men, suffered asses to cover the mares in the wilderness; whence the unnatural breed of mules were shewn to the world. Now these interpretations, or suppositions, are thus combated. 1. To make the *Hebrew* word mean *seas*, it must be altered in the reading contrary to all authority and likelihood: and besides, as the *Hebrews* call great ponds or lakes, seas, it is no wonder that he found out such congregations of water; but there is nothing of that kind that can be considered in those parts, except the lake *Asphaltites*, which was made afterwards. 2. Those who render the word *hot-baths*, as the Vulgate, according to the *Phœnician* signification, seem to have read חימים *hhemim*, and to have believed, that it is synonymous with חמים *hhammim*, which signifies *hot baths*; but this is countenanced by no reading or interpretation. 3. Those who will have him to have first found out the breed of mules, are confuted by *Bochart*, with the following arguments; 1. Because mules were never called by that name; 2. Because the word מצא *matza*, which *Moses* uses, imports the finding what exists already, and not the invention of what never had been before; 3. Because they were asses which *Anah* fed, and not horses; 4. Because in scripture there is no mention made of mules to the time of *David*. In the conclusion, it is the proper name of a people, the אימים *Emim* for example; which is perfectly made out from the *Samaritan* reading; whom he found suddenly, that is, fell on them by surprize, and discomfitted them; and this is the most likely meaning of the *Hebrew* text in this place, it having the very same signification in several other places (40). However, the word is also thought to have been the name of some useful plant, or herb (41), which *Anah* first discovered.

(40) *Vide Cleric. Comm. in Gen. cap. xxxvi. ver.* 24. (41) *Vide Wagen Annot. in Tit. Talm. Sot.*

preordained

preordained diſtribution of God [y]. At the ſame time *Amalek* or his ſpurious offspring may have been driven out alſo.

Accordingly the next generation of theſe princes are ſtiled dukes of *Edom*, and had no rivals of any other family in any other part of the country, which now we ſuppoſe to have been all called *Edom*. The dukes of this ſecond race were; 1. Duke *Timnah*; 2. duke *Alvah*; 3. duke *Jetheth*; 4. duke *Aholibamah*; 5. duke *Elah*; 6. duke *Pinon*; 7. duke *Kenaz*; 8. duke *Teman*; 9. duke *Mibzar*; 10. duke *Magdiel*; 11. duke *Iram*.[z] (P). Theſe eleven were dukes of *Edom* when the children of *Iſrael* were come out into the wilderneſs; and, being diſmayed at the approach of ſo formidable a body, as yet unprovided with a ſeat, dreaded for their own country, not knowing that the *Iſraelites* were under a ſtrict injunction by no means to moleſt them. Wherefore, perceiving the imperfection and weakneſs of the regulation they were under, they united under one head or king, and prepared to maintain their ground againſt any invaſion.

To this nameleſs king, or perhaps his ſucceſſor, came meſſengers from *Moſes*, then drawing near the end of his days, to entreat a paſſage through his country for him and his peo-

[y] Deut. ii. 12. [z] Gen. ubi ſupr.

(P) In ſcripture the names of theſe kings and dukes run in a ſeemingly confuſed order; and ſome are unwilling to think that they ſucceeded in the manner we have, from biſhop *Cumberland*, placed them in (42). This difference in opinion proceeds from theſe words of the text prefixed to the liſt of the kings; *and theſe are the kings that reigned in the land of* Edom, *before there reigned any king over the land of* Iſrael (43). This is ſuppoſed to be an interpolation; and if we do not allow all the kings of the liſt to have been elder than *Moſes*, we muſt ſuppoſe the whole to be interpolated too; and accordingly, ſome take *Moſes* to have been the firſt king of *Iſrael*, and to be meant here. It cannot be proved, that any of the ſaid kings were of the line of *Eſau*: and this firſt monarchy ſet up by the *Horites* was plainly elective; whereas that monarchy erected by the children of *Eſau* was, by the very little or nothing we know of it, at leaſt ſeemingly, hereditary; for *Hadad* was a minor when *David* conquered *Edom*. But we are afraid of treſpaſſing too much on our readers patience, by running into the many particulars of this debate, and ſhall only ſay, that we have embraced that opinion, which, upon mature deliberation, ſeems to us to be the beſt founded.

(42) *See Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacr. and prof. Hiſt. Book 7. p.* 192, *& ſeq.* (43) *See Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. part 1. book* 5. *p.* 492, 493.

plc.

ple. And though it was remonſtrated to him, that the *Iſraelites* were his brethren; and as he could not but know, how they and their fathers had wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation; how they had been oppreſſed in *Egypt*; how GOD had now led them out from under their bondage, and that they had reached his borders, being in, or near, the town of *Kadeſh*; it was to be hoped he would let them paſs freely through his country, in their way to the land of *Canaan*; that if he was willing to befriend them in this matter, they would keep the highway, and not offer to turn to the right or the left, to hurt the fields, or the vineyards, or drain the wells of water, until they had quite croſſed his territories. To this the jealous king of *Edom* anſwered, that he would by no means grant it, and adviſed them not to make the leaſt attempt towards it; that if they did, they might expect to be interrupted by the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. And when theſe ambaſſadors, or perhaps thoſe of a ſecond embaſſy, urged him ſtill farther upon this important buſineſs, and made a renewal of promiſes and aſſurances of the moſt peaceable behaviour, if they might have the paſſage they ſolicited, proteſting, that they would pay for every thing they might have occaſion for on the way, and that they would be as expeditious in their marches as their feet would permit; he grew downright exaſperated at their reiterated inſtances, and, fearing that the *Iſraelites* might make ſome deſperate attempt to force the paſſage he denied them, he took the field, and marched towards them, to intimidate them, and ſhew them that he was not to be prevailed on*. However, his enmity did not run to the pitch of diſtreſſing them in matters wherein he could relieve them without danger to himſelf, and, perhaps, that they might not grow deſperate, he furniſhed them with what his country afforded for their ſuſtenance or convenience, for their money [a].

AFTER this, there is ſcarce any hiſtory ſo obſcure and interrupted as this of *Edom*; and particularly, we find no words concerning them, from theſe days to thoſe of king *David*: however, we will ſupply this chaſm in part, by obſerving, that in the mean time the *Edomites* extended their dominion, and applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and ſeized on the empire of the ſea; we mean of the *Arabian* gulf at leaſt, and the trade thereof: they dealt in very rich commodities, as it ſeems; pure gold, gold of *Ophir*, the topaz of *Æthiopia*, coral, pearls, and the like [b], and became a very conſiderable kingdom, as the moſt common opinion is.

* Numb. xx. 14, 21. [a] Deut. ii. 28, 29. [b] Job. xxviii.

But in the very meridian, as we think, of their glory, they were humbled by conqueſt, and the chiefs of them driven from their homes by the cruelties of a foreign invaſion; which how they drew upon them we have ſcarce any room to gueſs (Q). But ſo it was, that they became involved in a war with king *David*, in which they were defeated in the valley of *Salt* [c], with the loſs of eighteen thouſand men; and though this battle ſeems to have decided the fate of the kingdom, yet the *Edomites* were not ſuffered to live, but were maſſacred, wherever they could be found, for ſix months together, by *Joab*, who ſlew all the males that came into his hands; ſo that happy were they who could eſcape into ſtrange countries (R). So *Edom* was awed by the conqueror's gariſons, waſted, and depopulated, while its antient inhabitants were diſperſed into ſeveral parts. *Hadad* their king, as yet a minor, and a party with him, took the way of *Midian* (S), thinking, perhaps, to croſs the *Red-ſea*, and there underſtanding, that they and their young king would be favourably received by *Pharaoh*, they carried him thither, and *Hadad* was accordingly received and ſupported by *Pharaoh* with all the dignity becoming his royal rank; and, to compleat all the favours and kindneſſes which were unſparingly heaped on him, he had the queen's [*Taphenes*'s] ſiſter given to him in marriage [d]. But at the ſame time that *Hadad* made his way towards *Egypt*, others took different routs; ſome, flying to

[c] 2 Sam. viii. 13. 1 Chron. xviii. 12. [d] 1 Kings xi. 15, 20.

(Q) Indeed there is but very little room to gueſs at what might poſitively be the cauſe of this ruin executed upon the *Edomites*; but probably, *David* treating with them for ſome of the advantages of *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, they refuſed to hearken to him, and thereby provoked him to wreſt thoſe important places, the only marts of the very rich commodities he wanted, out of their hands.

(R) Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes this diſperſion to have been of very beneficial conſequence to the ſeveral nations they went to, ſuppoſing they carried their arts, ſciences, and induſtry with them wherever they went (44); and herein he is in part ſupported by very ample authority, as we ſhall immediately obſerve.

(S) From hence we have, after *Reland*, ſuppoſed, that *Midian* was partly bounded on the north by *Edom* (45); as if they were obliged to fly through *Midian* to go to *Egypt*: but it is more likely, that they ſtruck into *Midian*, as the ſhorteſt cut to get away from the enemy, with deſign to embark for *Egypt*, at *Madian*, or ſome other ſea port of that country, as the ſafeſt way to go into *Egypt*.

(44) *Chron. of ant. kingd. amended*, p. 209. (45) *See before*, p. 110.

the *Philiſtines*, fortified *Azoth*, or *Azotus*, for them (T), and proved a conſiderable acceſſion of power, and of very ſingular benefit to that people (U): and others, that dealt in ſhipping, took the longeſt way they could to eſcape the rage of the conqueror, and went towards, or into, the *Perſian* gulf[d]: in a word, they were diſperſed into all parts, there being no ſafety for them in their native place.

[d] See Sir ISAAC NEWTON's Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amended, p. 104, 105.

(T) According to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s hypotheſis, *Hadad* and his followers were the more kindly received by the king of *Egypt*, as he foreſaw the advantage they would be of to him, by bringing with them their ſkill in letters, aſtronomy, navigation, and the like, in which the *Egyptians* were till then ignorant.

(U) The aforeſaid chronologer holds, among other things, that ſome of them flying to the *Philiſtines* and the ſea-ports, improved the inhabitants there in the arts of navigation and commerce; and indeed it is more than once ſaid, that the *Phœnicians* came from the *Red ſea*. *Herodotus* (47) tells us ſo; and *Stephanus* (48) relates, that *Azotus* was built by the fugitives which fled from the *Red-ſea*. "The *Phœnicians* therefore came from the *Red-ſea*, in the days of "*Io* and her brother *Phoroneus*, king of *Argos*; and by conſequence "at that time, when *David* conquered the *Edomites*, and made "them fly every way from the *Red-ſea*. —— And this flight gave "occaſion to the *Philiſtines* to call many places *Erythra*, in memory "of their being *Erythreans*, or *Edomites*, and of their coming from "the *Erythrean* ſea; for *Erythra* was the name of a city in *Ionia*; "of another in *Libya*; of another in *Locris*; of another in *Bœotia*; "of another in *Cyprus*; of another in *Ætolia*; of another in *Aſia*, "near *Chius*; and *Erythya Acra* was a promontory in *Libya*; and "*Erythræum* a promontory in *Crete*; and *Erythros* a place near *Ti*-"*bur*; and *Erithini* a city or country in *Paphlagonia*; and the "name *Erythea*, or *Erythræ*, was given to the iſland of *Gades*, peo-"pled by *Phœnicians*—*Edom*, *Erythra*, and *Phœnicia*, are names of "the ſame ſignification, the words denoting a red colour; which "makes it probable, that the *Erythreans* who fled from *David* ſet-"tled in great numbers in *Phœnicia*; that is, in all the ſea-coaſts "of *Syria*, from *Egypt* to *Zidon*; and by calling themſelves *Phœni*-"*cians* in the language of *Syria*, inſtead of *Erythreans*, gave the "name of *Phœnicia* to all that ſea-coaſt, and to that only" (49).

The ſame chronologer holds, that the *Ors* of *Helladius*, the *Oannes* of *Beroſus* (50), and the *Euabanes* of *Hyginus* (51), are ſeveral names given to an *Edomite* commander, who now fled to the *Perſian* gulph, and firſt introduced the uſeful arts into *Chaldæa*; but this, we apprehend, is allowing a little too much.

(47) *l.* 1. *c.* 1. *l* 7. *c.* 89. (48) *In vocem* Ἄζωτ. (49) *See Chronol of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 108, 109. (50) *See Vol. I. p.* 184. (51) *Fab.* 274.

HADAD

Hadad, though he lived in great eaſe and ſplendor in the *Egyptian* court, yet being conſcious of his birth, unwilling to live in dependance, thirſting after his kingdom, and bitterly remembring the ſeverity of the conqueror, meditated revenge, but more eſpecially when it was told him, that *David* and the terrible *Joab* were both dead. At length the time came, when *Solomon* wallowed in all kinds of impurity, and thinking this a proper opportunity to take his revenge, he diſcloſed his mind to his brother-in-law *Pharaoh*, entreating that he would diſmiſs him. The wiſe king of *Egypt*, perceiving the great troubles and dangers which he muſt be expoſed to in executing his deſign, would have prevailed on him to lay aſide all thoughts of ſo tumultuous an undertaking; but *Hadad*, upon urging the matter, obtained a diſmiſſion, and proved a very troubleſome enemy to *Solomon*, and ſhewed the way to others, as is thought, to be the ſame; but he did not recover his kingdom again. He had a ſon by his *Egyptian* wife, and his name was *Genubath*: he had a princely education in the palace of *Pharaoh*; but *Hadad* failing in his view upon his own kingdom, he, it is likely, eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Syria*, where we find the royal family bore the name of *Hadad*.

In the mean time the kingdom of *Edom* continued under the houſe of *David* till the days of *Jehoſhaphat*, being governed by deputies or viceroys, appointed by the kings of *Judah*. And though we have, in the hiſtory of *Moab*, made mention of a king of *Edom*, who aſſiſted *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael* and *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, in the reduction of *Meſha* king of *Moab*, we there ſpeak only in the freedom of ſcripture phraſe; for that king, as he is called, attended upon *Jehoſhaphat* as a vaſſal, and not as an auxiliary[e]. However, though the hiſtory of that war does peculiarly belong to the reigns of *Jehoſhaphat* and *Jehoram*, kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, who were the principals in it, yet we have here occaſion to repeat, that this chief of *Edom*'s ſon is thought to have been ſacrificed by *Meſha* the king of *Moab*, upon the walls of the city where he was blocked up, though on the other hand, it is alſo thought to have been the *Moabite*'s own ſon[f].

We have now ſeen the time wherein *Eſau* was to be a ſervant to his brother; and now we come to that wherein he was to ſhake off his yoke, and be ſubject to him no more. For, finding a fair opportunity to recover their antient liberty, the *Edomites* embraced it, and ſucceeded. They had already

[e] See 1 Kings xxii. 47. [f] See before, 94.

ſhewn

ſhewn how ill they were diſpoſed, even towards *Jehoſhaphat*, when a part of them joined the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, in an attempt to ſurprize him, when he was unprepared for the aſſault; but fell into unaccountable confuſion, wherein the *Edomites* were all cut off by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who afterwards butchered each other [g]. But in the days of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, the whole nation of *Edom* aroſe, and, aſſaſſinating or expelling their viceroy, made themſelves a king after their own liking; and, upon advice that *Jehoram* was coming with a formidable power to reduce them, they marched towards him, and managed ſo as to hem him all round in the night-time; but this project was diſconcerted with a great ſlaughter, and they were forced to their retrenchments. This was but an indifferent beginning; but ſo it happened, that the *Edomites* could not be annexed again to the houſe of *David* *.

THUS was the long wiſhed for revolution brought about, after one hundred and fifty years of oppreſſion; but who was their chief upon this occaſion, or what he did farther, or who ſucceeded him, we are wholly at a loſs for.

AFTER this they had no attempts made upon them by the kings of *Judah* for upwards of ſixty years; in which time they muſt have had time to recover themſelves very well, and retrieve their antient ſplendor in a great meaſure. Notwithſtanding which they ſuffered a ſignal overthrow from *Amaziah* king of *Judah* in the valley of ſalt, where ten thouſand of them fell in battle, and as many of them were alſo taken priſoners. After which their capital, *Selah*, which we have ſuppoſed to have been the famous *Petra*, was taken from them by ſtorm, and ten thouſand captives were by *Amaziah*'s order thrown down from the ragged precipices which ſtood about that city, and were torn and daſhed to pieces. *Selah* was now by the conqueror called *Joktheel* [h].

WHETHER after, or before this, we cannot diſcover, the *Edomites* had a war with their neighbours the *Moabites*, wherein, being unfortunate, their king fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt him, whether dead or alive we cannot ſay, till his bones were reduced to aſhes (X). Thus have we

[g] See before, p. 94, & ſeq. * 2 Chron. xxi. 8. [h] 2 Kings xiv. 7.

(X) It is doubted, whether this be not the ſame war wherein *Meſha* king of *Moab* ſacrificed his own ſon, or the ſon of the king or chief of *Edom* (50). Our tranſlators of the bible take them to be one and the ſame event.

(50) *See before, p.* 94.

hitherto tacked together the incoherent parts of this history in the best manner we have been able. In the mean time they became subject to the king of *Babylon*, in completion of what the prophets had threatened them [i]. And when utter destruction came upon the *Jews*, and that they were carried away captive, then did their fury blaze out, so far as to cut off such of the *Jews* as attempted to escape the captivity, not forgetting the slaughter made of their forefathers by *Joab* in the days of king *David*; but for this were they threatened, that they should be repayed in kind, that, for the desolation they had forwarded in *Judah*, their own land should be desolate when the rest of the countries flourished [k]. They were for laying *Jerusalem* level with the ground, and accordingly, when the *Chaldees* or *Babylonians* were withdrawn, they made an end of the temple with fire [l]. Thus did they prosecute their revenge to the utmost, hoping, that the *Jews* were never more to be a nation, insulting God, and slaughtering the few of his miserable people, who had by his leave escaped the hands of the *Babylonians*.

Wherefore confusion was brought upon them, and violent intestine commotions and persecutions; insomuch that a great part of them left their own country, and settled in the empty land of *Judæa*, and particularly in the south-western parts [m]; and it may be, that at this time they made an end of the temple of *Jerusalem*. Those of them that staid behind in *Edom* joined the children of *Nabaioth*, and were called *Nabatæans* ever afterwards; so that the antient kingdom of *Edom* now lost its name, which was transferred to that part of the land of *Judæa*, which the refugees had pitched in, and which had never been any part of their old kingdom, but the lot of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*. And this is the *Idumæa*, and these the *Idumæans* mentioned by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and other antient writers. For because of their wicked dealing with their oppressed brethren, their kingdom was to lose all its glory, and become a desert; *strangers from the south* [n] *were to possess it*; it was never to rise, and from thenceforward to be called *the border of wickedness* [p], though it pleased God to spare a remnant of this people, by permitting them to seize on a part of their brethren's portion; by which means they came to be united into one family with them, as they were descended from the loins of one man.

[i] See Isa. xxi, xxxiv. Jerem. ix, xxv, xxvii, xlix. Lam. iv. Ezek. xxv, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi. Joel iii. Amos i, ix. [k] See Ez. xxv, xxxv. Joel iii. Amos i. Obad. i. [l] See Psalm cxxxvii. [l] Esd iv. [m] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760. [n] Obad. ubi supr. [p] Malach. i.

We

WE have now pointed out the exit of the antient kingdom of *Edom*, and ſhall proceed to the broken interrupted affairs of thoſe *Edomites* who ſettled in *Judæa*; concerning which we only know, that a decree was iſſued out againſt them from *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, commanding, that they ſhould deliver up all they had belonging to the *Jews* [q]; but what effect this took we cannot well ſay. That upon the decline of the *Perſian* monarchy, and after the days of *Alexander*, they were under the power of the *Seleucidæ*, when the antient averſion they had to the *Jews* being ſtirred up in them, they warred againſt them, under the conduct of *Gorgias* their governor for *Antiochus Epiphanes*: but they got nothing thereby but blows and great ruin; being conſtantly worſted by *Judas Maccabæus*, who at laſt took and ſacked their chief city *Hebron* [s]: their ſtrong holds, wherewith they awed the *Jews*, were forced by that valourous commander, who cut off twenty thouſand of them in the aſſault, but a reſidue of nine thouſand of them fled to two ſtrong towers [t], where they were well prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege; whence, by a bribe of 70,000 *Drachms*, a good part of them were ſuffered to eſcape. But when the treachery was diſcovered by the *Jewiſh* general, a ſtop was put to this outlet; theſe two ſtrong caſtles were alſo forced, and no leſs than twenty thouſand *Idumæans* again [t] put to the ſword. Thus was their zeal againſt their brethren rewarded as it deſerved, as ſhall be more exactly particularized in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

AFTER theſe very troubleſome times, we know not how it fared with the *Edomites* in *Idumæa*, except that they ſeem to have been continually agitated by broils and wars, till they were conquered by *John Hyrcanus*; who reduced them to the ſore neceſſity of embracing the *Jewiſh* religion, or of quitting their country. They choſe the former, and, ſubmitting to be circumciſed, became incorporated with the *Jews* [u], and, conſidering their deſcent as well as their converſion, they were upon a double account reckoned as natural *Jews*; and accordingly, in the firſt century after *Chriſt*, the name of *Idumæan* was loſt and quite diſuſed [w] (Y). And being ſo, we

[q] Eſdr ubi ſupr. ver. 50. [r] 1 Maccab. v. 65, 68. [s] ver. 4, 5. 2 Maccab. x. 18, 23. [t] Ibid. ver. 21, 23. [u] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 13 c. 17. [w] PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book 5. p. 307, 308.

(Y) The name of *Edomite* is not ſo wholly loſt, but the *Jews* make uſe of it ſtill. "The *Rabbins* ſpeak of *Edom* and *Edomites* long after "this; but thereby they do not mean *Idumæa*, or the ſons of *E-*

we here break off, referring what further relates to this people to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory. We have ſeen then, that the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, were partly ſwallowed up before by the *Nabatæans*, or *Arabians*, and partly now by the *Jews*.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Amalek.

Their anceſtor.

AMALEK was the father of this people, and from him they were called *Amalekites*, and their country *Amalekitis*. He was the ſon of *Eſau*'s firſt-born *Eliphaz* (A), by his concubine *Timna*. Notwithſtanding the ſpuriouſneſs of his birth, he is reckoned among the dukes *in* the land of *Edom* [a], which is all we know for certain concerning him.

[a] Gen. xxxvi. 12. 1 Chron. i. 36.

" *dom*, but *Rome*, and the chriſtians of the *Roman* empire. For, " fearing the diſpleaſure of the chriſtians, among whom they live, " for avoiding it whenever they ſpeak any reproachful thing of " Chriſtians, or of their religion, they uſually blend it under " feigned names: ſometimes calling us *Cuthæans*, i e. *Samaritans*; " and ſometimes *Epicureans*; and ſometimes *Edomites*; and this laſt " is the civileſt appellation they give us (51).

(A) The *Arabians* deduce his genealogy in a different manner, and make him ſome generations older than *Abraham*, as follows:

فوح	*Noah.*
خام	*Ham.*
ارم	*Aram.*
حوث	*Uz.*
عاد	*Ad.*
عملاق	*Amalek* (1)

They ſay alſo, that the *Amalekite* in antient times poſſeſſed the country about *Mecca*, whence they were expelled by the *Jorhamite* kings (2). Some hold, that *Ad* was the ſon of *Aws*, or *Uz*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*. Others, that *Ad* was the ſon of *Amalek*, the ſon of *Ham* (3); but the contrary is the

(51) *Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part* 2. *Book* 5. *p.* 708. (1) *Vide Reland. Palæſt. Illuſt. c.* 14. (2) *Pocock Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p.* 173. (3) *D'Herbelot, p.* 51, 110.

received

him. How this family came to ſeparate from the others of *Eſau's* line, wants ſome light. Perhaps it were not abſurd to ſuppoſe *Amalek* or his poſterity to have been expelled by the *Edomites*, when they cleared the land of the *Horites*; and that on account of their illegitimate deſcent, as was practiſed towards *Iſhmael* in the houſe of their great anceſtor *Abraham*. Or on the other hand, *Amalek* or his deſcendants may have been ſlighted and diſtinguiſhed with contempt by the other *Edomites*; which they ſtomaching, may have joined themſelves to the *Horites*, reſolving to ſhare fortunes with them. Very unlikely it is, that this ſingle family ſhould have been able to erect itſelf into a formidable ſtate, ſo early as to have attempted the *Iſraelites* almoſt as ſoon as they had ſet foot on this ſide of the *Red-ſea*: they muſt certainly have been joined by others; and by whom ſo likely as by the remnant of the *Horites*, and by the inhabitants of the land they ſeized on, for ſome there were [a]? The *Kenites* deſcended from *Jethro*, we know, inhabited with them; but that was in after times [b]. That there was an inbred miſunderſtanding between the *Edomites* and *Amalekites*, and that they held each other in averſion, is confirmed, in that we cannot diſcover any manner of harmony between the nations, no confederacy, no correſpondence, or the leaſt token of mutual accord.

As we can but gueſs at the cauſe of this rent in the houſe of *Eſau*; ſo are we left to do little more concerning the ſpot they pitched on, or the tract wherein they afterwards erected their kingdom. Their firſt removal cannot be ſuppoſed to

[a] See Gen. xix. 6. [b] See before, p. 118.

received opinion. Some commentators on the *Koran* (4) tell us, that the old *Adites* were of prodigious ſtature, the largeſt being an hundred cubits, and the leaſt ſixty; which they pretend to prove by the authority of the *Koran* (5). In fine, it is alſo ſaid by the *Arabian* writers, that *Amalek* was the ſon of *Azd*, the ſon of *Shem* (6). *Le Clerc* (7) is willing to adopt this notion ſo far as to think, that the *Amalekites* were a great nation before the days of *Abraham* or *Lot*; becauſe he finds that *Chedorlaomer* made war on them under that name, which he ſuppoſes muſt be proleptically taken at firſt. But conſidering, that our *Amalek* was of the houſe of *Eſau*, with whom the *Iſraelites* were commanded to be at peace, he changes his mind, and imagines they had no relation to our *Amalek*, but ſprang from ſomewhere elſe.

(4) *Jalla Lo' Dilin & Zamakſhari* (5) *Kor. c.* 7. (6) *Ebn Shohuah.* (7) *In Geneſ. xiv.* 7. & *Numb xxiv* 20.

have been at any great distance from the land of *Edom*; and indeed, from the first of their expulsion or removal to their excision, they seem to have bordered upon that country: whence *Josephus* divides the whole land of *Edom* into *Amalekitis* and *Gobolitis*[c]; but, as we have already observed, it is very inaccurately said, if we refer to these early days, when it is so evident there was no participation of counsels between the two kings, as will appear by their different conduct towards the children of *Israel*[d], when in the wilderness. In reference to this matter, and elsewhere, does the scripture divide them into quite distinct kingdoms[d]. The situation of the kingdom of *Amalek* is however pretty clearly, if not self-evidently, settled, by remarking, that it had intercourse and commerce with *Egypt*[e] (B); that it had a way leading into the country of the *Philistines*, and into the land of *Canaan* (C). Whence we conclude it to have been bounded by *Canaan*

[c] Joseph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 1. [d] See 1 Chron. xviii. 11. [e] See Joseph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 8.

(B) This seems to be clear from *Josephus* (8), who makes *Amalekitis* to extend between *Peluſium* and the *Red-sea*, and from the *Arabian* historians, who make the *Amalekites* to have been even masters of *Egypt* (9); for it were hard to suppose they have no manner of foundation for their story, and that the whole is entirely false in all its articles. That they had communication with *Egypt*, may farther appear from the *Egyptian* they left behind them on their return from sacking of *Ziklag*, who fell into the hands of *David* (10). Finally, it is expressly said in scripture, that they had *of old* inhabited *the land — even unto the land of Egypt*.

(C) This is naturally supposed by their expedition against *Ziklag* (11) in the country of the *Philistines*, which they took and burnt, and from other instances of the same kind, which we shall not here enumerate; but this we the rather insist on; because so miserable and broken a people as they were at that time, cannot well be supposed to have been able to break through any other country to get at *Ziklag*: and had they not the situation we have given them, they must have crossed some part or other of the kingdom of *Edom*, at that time in its meridian, which it is not likely would have been allowed them; for there seems to have been no manner of understanding between the nations, as we have elsewhere said: and it is plain, that they lay to the south of the *Philistines* by the words of *David*, who being asked by *Achish* where he had been, he answered, that he had been *against the south of* Judah, *and against the south of the* Jerahmeelites, *and against the south of the* Kenites (12);

(8) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 8. (9) *See before, p.* 72, 73. (10) 1 *Sam. xxx.* (11) *Idem ibid.* (12) 1 *Sam. xxvii.* 10.

but

naan on the north; by *Egypt*, or its dependant territory, on the ſouth; by *Edom* on the eaſt; and by the deſerts towards the ſea on the weſt; or perhaps by the margin of the ſea itſelf. And this we deliver ſimply as our own opinion, wherein, however, we are not alone [f], and forbear to perplex the reader with a variety of opinions, which are not ſo happily ſupported as this. Here then, and hereabouts, was their abode, till they ceaſed to be a nation; their limits extending with their encreaſe of power, and ſhrinking in again as they dwindled away.

THE cities of this country we are wholly at a loſs for, except we follow *Joſephus*, who places the famous city of *Petra* under the juriſdiction of the *Amalekites* [g] (D).

THEIR religious and civil cuſtoms we know nothing of poſitively. That they originally uſed circumciſion cannot be diſputed; and, for ought we know, they may have continued the ſame practice to the end; but whether they were doomed to utter deſtruction for any crying ſins that prevailed among them, beſides the horrid outrage they committed on the diſtreſſed *Iſraelites* [h], we do not read. *Their cuſtoms.*

THEIR religion was at firſt, doubtleſs, the ſame that was taught in the houſe of *Abraham*; but by what degrees they erred therefrom, and how far they went aſtray, we have no knowledge of. *Joſephus* [i] mentions their idols, but the ſcripture terms them the idols of mount *Seir* [k]; ſo that they ſeem to have more properly belonged to the *Edomites* than to the *Amalekites*. *Their religion.*

THEIR arts, their ſciences, and trade, we can only gueſs at from their ſituation; for it is probable they had the knowledge and commerce of thoſe times, pretty much in common with their neighbours the *Edomites* and *Egyptians*, and thoſe of the ſea-coaſts of *Judæa*. And this is the leſs diſputable, as *Their arts, &c.*

[f] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. illuſt. [g] Vide JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 3. c. 2. [h] Exod. xvii. [i] Antiq. l. 9. c. 10. [k] See before, p. 136.

but did not think fit to ſay, he had been againſt the *Amalekites*, who lay in the ſouth. Add to this, that the *Simeonites* lay next to them (13).

(D) We muſt here note, what *Joſephus* ſays, that thoſe who inhabited *Gobolitis* and *Petra* were called *Amalekites* (14); but ſeeing the ſame author divides the whole kingdom of *Edom* into *Gobolitis* and *Amalekitis* (15), how comes it, that they dwelt not in this laſt diviſion? it is an enigma we know not how to unriddle.

(13) *See* 1 *Chron. iv.* 42. (14) *Joſeph. Ant. l.* 3. *c.* 2. (15) *See before in the Notes, p.* 131.

their king is placed in so high a sphere of majesty, and themselves stiled the first of the nations, as we shall see anon. Much the same may be said of their manners, genius, and policy.

Their government.

Concerning their government thus much appears, that it was monarchical; and that the first, or at least one of the first, of their kings, was called *Agag* [l]; as was also their last [m]; from whence it has been imagined, that all their intermediate kings bore the same appellation.

Their history.

The *Amalekites* stepped early, if not the very first, into the government of this country; and very remarkable it is, that they grew up to such a sudden height of power and splendor, that their king is spoken of as far above all others; for *Balaam*, foretelling the future majesty of the *Jewish* state, expresses himself, that their king *shall be higher than Agag*, and stiles them, *the first of the nations* [n] (E); which seems to countenance the extraordinary things the *Arabian* historians have concerning the *Amalekites*; as that they conquered *Egypt*, and possessed the throne of that kingdom for several generations [o] (F).

But

[l] Numb. xxiv. 7. [m] 1 Sam. xv. 8. [n] Numb. ubi supr. & ver. 20. [o] See before, p. 72, 73.

(E) It was sudden, according to the hypothesis we have adopted (16): for thereby the kingdom of *Amalek* is not likely to have been much, if any thing at all, older than that of *Edom*, which we have shewn to have commenced at the *Exodus*; and therefore, when *Balaam* expressed himself in so high a strain concerning *Agag* and his monarchy, it could not have been of much above forty years standing. The expression of *Amalek*'s being *the first of the nations*, our version turns otherwise in the margin, *the first of the nations that warred against Israel*. Much the same turn does *Onkelos* give it; but if we compare what is said of *Agag* himself but thirteen verses before, we shall not be at any great loss for the right, or, at least, natural explication of the passage before us; which doubtless means, that they were the greatest and most noble nation of that time; and this is the most generally approved opinion. In *le Clerc*'s version they are stiled the *first fruits of the nations*; by which in his commentary he understands them to have been the most antient and potent nation; and to have been before any of those which proceeded from the loins of *Abraham* and *Lot*.

(F) What the *Arabic* history says of these *Amalekites*, bears an affinity with what the *Egyptian* records report of the *Phœnician* shepherds; for they were at length expelled by the natives (17),

(16) *See before*, p. 148 (A). (17) *Ex libro Mirat. Cainat. dicto.*

and

BUT not to deviate from the authority we muſt rely on, it appears, that this kingdom was haughty and inſolent in its very cradle; and no ſooner heard, that the *Iſraelites* had croſſed the *Red-ſea*, than they reſolved to cut them off. The ſcripture mentions none but *Amalek* [q] upon this occaſion; which, whether it is ſpoken of the king alone, or collectively of the whole nation, is not agreed. *Joſephus* relates, that they had no leſs than five kings, who laid their heads together, and joined forces to carry on this turbulent deſign [r] (G). To paſs this over, ſo it was, that the *Amalekites* fell on the rear of the *Iſraelites*, as they were on full march from *Rephidim* to mount *Horeb*. Some havock they made; but it returned ſeverely upon themſelves, as ſoon as *Joſhua* could get the fighting men into order; by whom being in their turn aſſaulted, a long and bloody battle enſued: but in the end the *Amalekites* were put to a precipitate flight, with the heavy doom on their head, that for this outrage *their* name *ſhould be put out from under heaven* [s],

IN the mean time, however, it pleaſed GOD to make uſe of them in conjunction with ſome of the *Canaanites*, as his inſtruments for the puniſhment of the diffidence and diſobedience of the *Iſraelites*, when they thought to have waſhed away their ſinful perverſeneſs by a fool-hardy attempt, in contradiction to the expreſs decree of GOD, that not one of them from twenty years and upwards ſhould have ſight of the land of *Promiſe* [t]. The ſlaughter the *Amalekites* help to make of the *Iſraelites* upon this occaſion, will be told in the hiſtory of *Canaan*.

AFTER this they ſeem to have miſſed no opportunity of vexing the choſen nation, till they were ripe for the exciſion

[q] Exod. xvii. [r] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 3. c. 2. [s] Exod. ubi ſupr. [t] Numb. xiv. 29, 30.

and are ſuppoſed, as is ſaid by us of the *Canaanites*, to have fled into *Africk* (18); and that the *Amalekites* were ſometimes comprehended under the general denomination of *Phœnicians*, may be obſerved hereafter.

(G) What *Joſephus* here ſays need not be ſuppoſed to imply, that the *Amalekites* were divided into many kingdoms. It is poſſible, and very probable, that ſome of the petty kings of *Canaan* joined the king of *Amalekitis* now, as he did ſome of the *Canaanites* afterwards, to prevent the *Iſraelites* from entering into their borders. This junction may have been paſſed over by *Moſes*, who thought it enough, that he mentioned the principal and ring-leader of the aſſault.

(18) *Vide Reland. Palæſt. Illuſtr. p.* 82.

denounced

denounced againſt them. They confederated with *Eglon* king of *Moab*, and the *Ammonites* [u]; and afterwards with the *Midianites* under *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, to root out the *Iſraelites*, and poſſeſs themſelves of the land, as they had vainly projected; but what ſucceſs they had in the attempt, and how they in the end fell by their own ſwords and thoſe of their friends and allies, we have already related at large [w].

After this there is a very wide gap in the hiſtory of this people, which reaches even to the days of *Saul*. At this time their king was a very graceful perſon, and of noble preſence and addreſs, which ſtood him in good ſtead; for on account of theſe his perſonal accompliſhments, was his life ſpared (ſay they) in the general maſſacre of his ſubjects [x]. But with all this ſpecious outſide, he is upbraided as an inſolent and mercileſs tyrant. Under this prince the nation was grown ripe for the exciſion they had been threatened with about four hundred years afore. And, as a forerunner of it, the *Kenites*, their inmates, were warned to leave their country, and ſeek ſome other ſeat, for fear they ſhould be involved in the impending calamity [y]. As ſoon as the *Kenites* had obeyed the ſummons, the *Amalekites* were invaded by *Saul*, at the head of two hundred and ten thouſand men (H). And by theſe numbers, being ſorely oppreſſed, and quite diſabled from making any head, they were all cut off, except *Agag*, and ſome who were ſo happy, for the preſent, as to fly their country, or hide themſelves in ſuch retreats where they were not diſcovered: not even the mother, or the infant at her breaſt, was ſpared; and the whole country was made deſolate. *Agag* and the beſt of the cattle only were ſuffered to live. However, *Agag* did not long enjoy this favour; for it was no ſooner related to *Samuel* that he was alive, than he was ſent for by the prophet, with whom all his inſinuating addreſs, and hopes that *the bitterneſs of death was paſſed*, availed him nothing: he was hewn in pieces by *Samuel*, or at leaſt by his order, in *Gilgal*, before the lord [z].

[u] See before, p. 121. Antiq. lib. 6. c. 8. Joseph. l. 6. c. 9.
[w] See before, p. 91.
[x] Joseph.
[y] See before, p. 118.
[z] 1 Sam. xv.

(H) *Joſephus* makes this army to have conſiſted of no more than 70,000 men, and tells us, that the country was ſo poſſeſſed by them, that the *Amalekites* could hardly eſcape, if they attempted to fly any where (19); but this is ſaid at random, as we think.

(19) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 8.

The

THE poor remnant of the *Amalekites*, who escaped the sword of *Saul*, possessed themselves of their desolate country again, and lived, for ought we know, in peace, till such time as *David* was driven to ask protection of *Achish* king of the *Philistines*, dreading the murderous jealousy of *Saul*, and had *Ziklag* allotted to him. At this time the *Amalekites* are mentioned as associated with the *Geshurites* and *Gezrites* (I). The *Amalekites*, thus picking up again and gathering strength, were slaughtered once more by their new and near neighbour *David*, who thought it perhaps a duty incumbent on him to compleat the work, which *Saul* had left unfinished. So once more were the *Amalekites*, man and woman, butchered and dispersed, their country in good part ruined, and all the cattle that came in the enemy's way driven off [a].

THE *Amalekites* meditated revenge for this cruel injury, as they doubtless called it, and, mustering their strength, went up to *Ziklag* the abode of *David*, who happened then to be absent with his small party, so that the town was left defenceless; wherefore they easily made themselves masters of the place, and burnt it with fire; but touched not the lives of any of the inhabitants, which, considering what they had suffered so lately from *David*, may seem to have been a great piece of humanity in them; but this is not allowed them (K). Among their captives were *David*'s two wives, *Ahinoam* the *Jezreelite*, and *Abigail* who had been wife to *Nabal* the *Carmelite*; and having thus succeeded to their wish, they thought to secure what they had got by an expeditious return homewards, and determined not to stop by the way, till they should reach such a place, which was perhaps

[a] 1 Sam. xxvii. 9.

(I) Who these *Geshurites* and *Gezrites* were is uncertain. They are taken for reliques of the *Canaanites* (20); but by the words of the text it might be imagined they were originally of this country; for *those nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to* Shur, *even unto the land of* Egypt (21).

(K) It is said they were a poor covetous people, who intended to sell them for slaves, and make money of them (22); or wanted servants for their own use, and therefore shewed this mercy: but if we may be allowed a conjecture of our own, they kept their prisoners alive to supply the loss of those who had lately perished by the hand of *David*; and this does not seem to be a very unnatural supposition.

(20) *Vide Cleric. & Patrick, upon* 1 *Sam. xxvii.* (21) 1 *Sam. xxvii.* 8. (22) *See Patrick on* 1 *Sam. xxx.* 2. *& Cleric.*

a pleasant

a pleaſant ſpot, affording water and a refreſhing ſhade, and pretty well out of the reach of the enemy. Hurrying on with this precipitation, they left behind them one of their number, an *Egyptian* by birth, who, by ſome means or other, was ſo weak that he could not keep pace with them. *David* in the mean time had notice of the revenge the *Amalekites* had taken on him, and purſued them very eagerly, and in his way took this *Egyptian*, who informed him of the place where they intended to halt, to rejoice and reſt themſelves. The *Amalekites* arrived at the appointed place, and gave a looſe to their triumph, with great mirth and jollity; and it ſeems they recreated themſelves ſeveral days together. As they were in this careleſs poſture they were deſcried by *David*, from the neighbouring hills towards the cloſe of day; and after they had ſpent the whole night in debauchery, and were repaired to reſt, which was towards the break of day, they were ſet upon by *David* and his men, and a ſlaughter was begun among them, which continued till the ſetting ſun; ſo that not a ſoul of them eſcaped the edge of the ſword, except four hundred young men, who rode upon dromedaries, and who, leaving all their companions and booty behind them, were burthened with nothing but the doleful news of ſo woeful a miſchance, after ſuch uncommon ſucceſs in their attempt upon *Ziklag* [b].

Thus by degrees were the *Amalekites* reduced; and at laſt the fatal blow was given to them, in the days of *Hezekiah*, by the *Simeonites* *, who utterly deſtroyed and diſperſed them, and kept their country in poſſeſſion: and this is the imperfect account we have of the exit of the *Amalekites*, as *Balaam* had propheſied long before, *Amalek was the firſt of the nations; but his latter end* ſhall be, *that he periſh for ever* [c].

But it happened afterwards, that a man of *Amalekitiſh* blood had taken ample revenge on the *Jews*, had not God interpoſed, as it were, by a miracle; for *Haman* is called an *Agagite*, or *Amalekite*; and it is well known, how near he was to the fruition of his bloody will againſt the *Jews*; but this fact, being tranſacted in another country and period, muſt be related elſewhere. That, however, may be called the laſt act of the *Amalekites*; and here therefore this ſection concludes.

[b] Sam. xxx. 17. * See 1 Chron iv. 40—43. [c] Numb. xxiv. 20.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of Canaan.

WE have already [a] given the hiſtory of the anceſtors of this nation, and of their origin, and therefore ſhall not repeat it here.

CANAAN the ſon of *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah*, had eleven ſons, *Sidon* or *Zidon*, *Heth*, *Jebuſi*, *Emori* or *Amori*, *Gergaſi* or *Gergaſhi*, *Hivi* or *Hevi*, *Archi* or *Arki*, *Sini*, *Arvadi*, *Zemari*, and *Hamathi*. Theſe were the fathers of the following tribes or nations; the *Sidonians* or *Zidonians*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Gergaſites* or *Gergaſhites*, the *Hivites* or *Hevites*, the *Arkites*, or *Archites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, and the *Hamathites* [b]. Five of theſe are known to have dwelt in the land of *Canaan*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Gergaſites* or *Gergaſhites*, and the *Hivites* or *Hevites*. To theſe are added two others, the *Perizzites* and *Canaanites*; and theſe make up the ſeven primary nations of the *Canaanites*: but how the *Perizzites* came to be a diſtinct body; or whence the *Canaanites* are peculiarly ſo called, is a difficulty, can, at beſt, be only gueſſed at. Theſe ſeven nations laboured in particular under the evil influences of the curſe denounced by *Noah* againſt their ungodly anceſtor *Ham*, being doomed in the end to expulſion, and exciſion, and ſubjection. Whether the ſix other nations we have mentioned are to be reckoned among the inhabitants of the land of *Canaan*, by us commonly ſo called, is ſeemingly affirmed by ſome, and denied by others, who think they were exempt from the ruin which was to light on the other ſeven; being countenanced by the ſilence which may be obſerved concerning them in the wars, the other *Canaanites* had with *Joſhua* and his ſucceſſors. For therein is no mention made of the *Sidonians*, the *Arkites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, or the *Hamathites*; which is much, ſeeing they were primary nations or families. We therefore are of opinion, that they were not included, elſe ſo many petty ſtates or kingdoms could never have been particularized, and theſe paſſed over. Being thus, we muſt ſeek for theſe ſix original tribes elſewhere. It cannot well be otherwiſe, than that the ſeven nations, as they are called, were ſubdivided into many little kingdoms; for little, very

[a] See Vol. I. p. 267. [b] Gen. x. 15.

little,

little, they must have been, since we must look for them all within the scanty limits conquered by *Joshua*. Within that small compass we have no fewer than the following number of *Canaanitish* kings, said to be subdued by him; the king of *Jericho*, the king of *Ai*, the king of *Jerusalem*, the king of *Hebron*, the king of *Jarmuth*, the king of *Lachish*, the king of *Eglon*, the king of *Gezer*, the king of *Debir*, the king of *Geder*, the king of *Hormah*, the king of *Arad*, the king of *Libnah*, the king of *Adullam*, the king of *Makkedah*, the king of *Beth-el*, the king of *Tappuah*, the king of *Hepher*, the king of *Aphek*, the king of *Lasharon*, or *Sharon*, the king of *Madon*, the king of *Hazor*, the king of *Shimron-meron*, the king of *Achshaph*, the king of *Taanach*, the king of *Megiddo*, the king of *Kedesh*, the king of *Jokneam* of *Carmel*, the king of *Dor*, the king of the nations of *Gilgal*, and the king of *Tirzah*, thirty one in all [c] (A); who were either all, or most of them, comprehended under the primary denominations of the seven nations, the *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Amorites*, the *Gergasites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, or *Canaanites* (B), properly or peculiarly so called. Nor were these all the branches of the *Canaanites*, who were possessed of the *land of promise*. But how to assign a place to each particular we know not; wherefore we shall only divide the country in general between the seven tribes or nations, as well as we can, which is all the geography we shall give of this country here.

Their country

The limits of the country of these *Canaanites* in general, as seems, are thus marked out by *Moses* [a], from *Sidon* to *Gaza*, from thence over to *Sodom*, and thence to *Lasha*, thereby, as is thought [b], stretching out the four lines which comprehended the whole country. Whether all the descendants

[c] Joshua xii. 9. 24. [a] Gen. x. 19. [b] See Wells's Geog. of the Old. Test. Vol. I. chap. 7.

(A) But we must not for this suppose there were no more than thirty one in the whole country that bore the royal title. These are only all that were conquered by *Joshua*. The scripture history acknowledges, that the *Canaanites* were never wholly subdued by him; and we may infer, that many had the title of king, who never had much hurt from *Joshua*.

(B) These seven are a contraction, we must suppose, of the ten nations that were promised to *Abraham*, the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, the *Hittites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Rephaim*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Gergashites*, and the *Jebusites* (1). We may touch on this matter anon.

(1) *Genes. xv.* 19, 21.

of *Canaan* were included within this compaſs, is not poſitively known, but it is likely to have been the original ſeat of them all; but whether thoſe we muſt hereafter look for in *Syria*, and elſewhere, were terrified thither by the ſucceſſes of *Joſhua*, or whether growing too numerous for ſo ſmall a territory, they naturally tranſplanted themſelves into other parts, may be diſputed by ſome; though we embrace the latter opinion, being therein, in ſome meaſure, countenanced by *Moſes*, who tells us, that *the families of the* Canaanites were *ſpread abroad*[c], juſt before he gives us their firſt extent. Thus much we will add on this head. It is clearly evident from ſcripture and the *Jewiſh* writers, that no part of the country on the other ſide *Jordan*, not even that inhabited by the tribes of *Reuben*, and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, was reckoned into the land of *Canaan*[d]: But to it may be annexed what once made the moſt beautiful part of this land, though ſince a deteſtable lake; we mean the vale of *Siddim*, ſince called *Pentapolis* from its five cities, *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, *Zeboim*, and *Bela*. The ſoil of this vale was much of the ſame nature with that about the city of *Babylon*, being productive of *Bitumen*, and ſuch combuſtible ſubſtances. *It was well watered every where before the Lord deſtroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comeſt unto Zoar*[e] Such was this vale, which needs no further deſcription to give us a due and perfect idea of it.

Now the ſeven nations above-mentioned, the *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Gergaſites*, the *Hivites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Canaanites*[f], divided their country among them after this manner: The *Hittites* dwelt about *Hebron*; for of the children of *Heth Abraham* bought the cave of *Machpelah*[g]. The *Gergaſites* had the *Jebuſites* and *Canaanites* for their neighbours[h], as is thought[i]; but it does not plainly appear. The *Amorites* were antiently in the neighbourhood of *Hazezon-tamar*[k], and in the valley of *Eſhcol*[l]. The *Amorites* were alſo on the other ſide of *Jordan* and the *Dead-ſea*, by the conqueſt they made of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*[m]; but that conqueſt, as we have already obſerved, was no part of *Canaan*. The *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, were divided into two diſtinct bodies, and inhabited two diſ- *divided.*

[c] Gen. x. 18. [d] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſtr. Tom. 1. c. 1.
[e] Gen. xiii. 10. [f] Deut. vii. 1. Joſh. iii. 10. Acts xiii. 19.
[g] Gen. xxiii. [h] Joſh. xxiv. 11. [i] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſtr. lib. 1. c. 27. [k] Gen. xiv. 7. [l] Ver. 13. Num. xiii. 23. [m] See before, p. 85, 102.

tinct

tinct diviſions, the ſea ſide to the weſt, and the river ſide to the eaſt [n]. The *Perizzites* ſeem to have been near *Beth-el*; for *Abraham* pitched his tent in the beginning, between *Beth-el* and *Ai*, and the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* are ſaid to have been then in the land [o]: moreover, we find, that they dwelt in the mountains, together with the *Hittite* and the *Jebuſite* [p]; though they are elſewhere forgot when theſe are mentioned [q]. It appears alſo, that the *Perizzites* were not far from *Shechem*, they being mentioned, together with the *Canaanites*, to have been near that city [r]. They ſeem alſo to have extended beyond the portion of *Ephraim*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* as far as *Beth-ſhean* and the valley of *Jezreel*, and to the ſouthward, where they ſeem to have been with the *Rephaim* [s], into the tribe of *Judah* [t] (C). The *Hivites* are ſaid to have dwelt under *Hermon* [u], and in *Gibeon* [w], and in mount *Lebanon* [x]. The *Jebuſites* inhabited the mountains, and held the city of *Jebus*, afterwards *Jeruſalem* (D).

The cities of this country, beſides thoſe of the *Pentapolis* when it flouriſhed, that can be fixed with any tolerable degree of certainty, were *Hebron*, *Jebus*, *Jericho*, *Bethel-*

[n] See Numb. xiii. 29. & Joſh. xi. 3. [o] Gen. xiii. 3, 7. [p] Joſh. xi. 3. [q] See Numb. xiii. 29. [r] Gen. xxxiv. 30. [s] Joſh. xvii. 15, 16. [t] Judg. i. 4, 5. [u] Joſh xi. 3. [w] Ver. 19. [x] Compare Joſh. ix. 7. with Judg. iii. 3. See alſo 2 Sam. xxiv. 7.

(C) The *Perizzite* appears to have been a wanderer; whence poſſibly *Joſephus* divides the land of *Canaan* into no more than ſix provinces (2).

(D) Some (3) divide them into but two ſorts by the lump, the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, merchants and ſhepherds, as the two words nearly import; for *Perizzite* originally ſignifies a villager. The ſame are unwilling to ſuppoſe that thoſe appellations belong to any two particular tribes; or that either of them deſcended from any ſingle ſon of *Canaan*; but that they were mixed multitudes: but as they are conſtantly named as diſtinct tribes, and in order with the reſt, we know not how to decide upon this matter. The names indeed of theſe tribes and of this people in general are a little vague and uncertain: ſo the whole body of the ſeven nations is ſuppoſed to be ſignified ſometimes by the *Amorites*, juſt as all the people of the ſeven united provinces are now properly called *Hollanders*, who are more potent than any of the reſt (4).

(2) *Antiq. l.* 5 *c.* 1. (3) *Cumberland's Origin. Gent. Antiq. p.* 132. *See alſo Bedford's Script. Chronol p.* 202. (4) *See Patrick upon Gen. xlviii.* 22.

Shechem,

Shechem, and *Beth-ſhean*, concerning which, as they ſtood under the *Canaanites*, we have nothing particular to add.

Now to ſpeak of the cuſtoms, manners, arts, ſciences, and language of theſe ſeveral nations, we may ſuppoſe, that in ſome points they differed widely from each other, according as their ſituation led them into different courſes of life (E). *Their cuſtoms, &c.*

We

(E) It is hard to ſay any thing particular of the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, and the *Rephaim*, or to point at the exact places where they dwelt. The *Kenites* we have largely inſiſted on already; but however, though the name be the ſame, we know not how to think theſe the ſame people. Theſe are mentioned as a tribe of the *Canaanites*, who were to be delivered up to the executive juſtice of the *Iſraelites*; whereas thoſe we formerly touched on are repreſented as a people who lived in a great degree of friendſhip with them. The *Chaldee* interpreter calls them *Schalmites*; whereby they are underſtood to have been pacific, and at no enmity with *Iſrael*. This indeed ſounds them the ſame with the *Kenites* of *Jethro*'s family. Whether or no the appellation of *Kenite* may have belonged to two diſtinct families we know not, but it appears pretty plain by ſcripture, that there was a difference in their manner of life: for on the one hand we are told, that it was unlawful for them to drink wine, to plant, to ſow, or to dwell in houſes, and that they conformed to this injunction, and led their life accordingly (5). Where we find this we underſtand alſo, that for their obedience to their laws they were to eſcape the hand of *Nebuchadnezzar*: whereas the *Kenites* of *Jethro*'s line and kindred are ſaid to have pitched *their neſt upon a rock*, which ſeems to imply, that they built them a city for a ſafe habitation; and what is more, they were carried off with the ten tribes of *Iſrael* by the *Aſſyrian* (6); but we have dwelt ſufficiently on theſe. The *Kenizzites* there is little or nothing ſaid of, nor do we know where they dwelt. The *Kadmonites*, from the import of their name, are allowed to have dwelt in the eaſt, and the *Jeruſalem Targum* (7) expreſly calls them, the *children of the eaſt*. The *Rephaim* are moſtly placed in *Baſhan*, where *Og* the laſt of their race reigned (8). They were, as their name declares, men of a gigantic ſtature. A writer (9) of great learning and repute has a remarkable thought concerning the *Rephaim*; he fancies, they were the *Gephyræi* who followed *Cadmus* into *Greece*. He obſerves, that in the *Chaldee* they are called גִּבָּרַיָּא *Gebari*, or *ſtout men*; and hence he has room for his conjecture. The race of the *Rephaim* indeed was quite extinguiſhed upon the death of *Og*; but the name may have been aſſumed by others. From the little here collected, we may obſerve, why theſe four are omitted in ſpeaking of the land of *Canaan* in

(5) *Jerem. xxxv.* (6) *See before, p.* 118. (7) *Gen. xv.* 19.
(8) *Deut. iii.* 11. (9) *Reland Palæſt. Illuſtr. p.* 141.

We need not say, that the *Canaanites* on the sea-side were merchants, in which capacity we shall consider them at large, when we come to speak of them as *Phœnicians*; for by that name, it is commonly agreed, they were afterwards known to the *Greeks*: accordingly the *Seventy*, instead of *the kings of the* Canaanites, *which were by the sea*, have rendered it, *the kings of the Phœnicians, on the sea-coast*. And by the same, the whole *land of Canaan* is called the *country of the Phœnicians*[Y], though those only were properly so called who inhabited the sea-coast: and these we shall dwell upon more particularly under the head of *antient Phœnicians*. The other *Canaanites*, who had an inland situation, were employed in pasturage partly, and partly in tillage, and in the exercise of arms, in which they will be seen to have been well versed. Those of them who dwelt in the walled cities and fixed abodes cultivated the land, as we may suppose; and those who wandered about, as particularly the *Perizzites* seem to have done, by what we have just before said of them, grazed cattle. So that it is easy to discern among them the several distinct classes of merchants, and consequently seamen, and artificers, soldiers, shepherds, and husbandmen, if not students. As much as they were divided in interest and ways of life, we shall perceive by their history, that they were ready to join in the common cause; that they were very well appointed for war, whether offensive or defensive; that their towns were well fortified, and themselves well furnished with weapons to battle it in the field; that they particularly had warlike chariots, so dreadful among the antients, and which they are thought to have borrowed from the *Egyptians* (F); that they were daring, and obstinate, and almost invincible;

[Y] Jos. cap. 5. com. 1. 12.

the days of *Moses*, though they seem all to have possessed the region designed for *Abraham* and his seed. The *Rephaim*, we see, were in *Bashan*, which, as we have observed, was no part of the land of *Canaan*; the *Kadmonites* also were on the east of *Jordan*; the *Kenites* were, as seems upon the whole, a tribe of the *Midianites*, and therefore these three could not be reckoned among the tribes of *Canaan*, they being foreigners to that country; though it happened, that they also did, in part, fall to the *Israelites*, as was promised. To conclude it is not plain, that any of these four nations were of the sons of *Canaan*.

(F) This is *Cumberland*'s thought, who supposes a part of them to have abode two hundred years in *Egypt*; and that the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, when named together, must be understood of those mingled

vincible; and, in the example of the *Gibeonites* beneath, we ſhall ſee they wanted not craft and policy. The language they ſpoke was well underſtood by *Abraham*, as ſhould ſeem; for by what appears, he converſed very readily with them, upon all occaſions; but for their manner of writing, whether they had any originally of their own, which conſidering all things cannot well be doubted, or whether they had it in common with the other nations then ſubſiſting in that part of the world, who all ſpoke the ſame tongue, or very nearly the ſame, or whether they borrowed it at firſt from the *Iſraelites*, may be conſidered, when we come to ſpeak further of the *Hebrew* language [z].

Their Religion.

THEY retained the pure religion quite down to the days of *Abraham*, who acknowledged *Melchiſedec* to be prieſt of the moſt high GOD; and *Melchiſedec* was indiſputably a *Canaanite*, or, at leaſt, dwelt there at that time, in high eſteem and veneration (G). They never offered to moleſt *Abraham*; on the contrary, they were ready to oblige him in every thing, a noble example of which we have in the behaviour and good intentions of *Ephron* towards him, in the affair of the cave of *Machpelah*. To ſay no more upon this ſubject, we muſt hence allow, that there was not a general corruption of religion among the *Canaanites* at this day, but it muſt be granted, that the very *Hittites*, ſo ſeemingly commendable in the days of *Abraham*, degenerated apace, ſince they were become the averſion of *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, who could not endure the thoughts of their ſon *Jacob*'s marrying among the daughters of *Heth*, as their ſon *Eſau* had done, to their great grief [a]. So that about this time we muſt date the riſe mingled tribes of all the *Canaanites*, who had been engaged in fierce wars with the *Egyptians*; and further, that theſe two bodies are particularly marked down for deſtruction, as they were the moſt warlike and ſkilful in martial affairs, training up their children to the ſame diſcipline, and the moſt likely to give the *Iſraelites* trouble (10).

[z] See SHUCKFORD's Connect. of the ſacr. and proph. Hiſt. Vol. I. Book 2. p. 110. See Vol. I. p. 337.

[a] See before, p. 125.

(G) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (11) concludes, that they perſevered in the true religion till the death of *Melchiſedec*; but that afterwards they fell away therefrom, and began to embrace idolatry, now ſpreading, as he thinks, from *Chaldæa*. They are ſaid to have been given to the ſuperſtition of the antient *Perſians* (12).

(10) *See Cumberland Origin. Gent. Antiqu. p.* 132, 133. (11) *Chronol. of ant. Kingdoms amended, p.* 188. (12) *See Shuckford's Connect. of ſacr. and proph. Hiſt. Vol. I. Book* 5. *p.* 335.

of (H) those abominations, which subjected them to the fierce wrath of God, and made them unworthy of the land of their possession. In the days of *Moses* they were become incorrigible idolaters, for he commands the *Israelites* to *destroy their altars*, and *break down their images*, statues or pillars, *and cut down their groves* (I), *and burn their graven images with fire*. And lest they should pervert the *Israelites*, it was as strictly enjoined them not to intermarry with them; but *to smite them, and utterly destroy them, nor shew mercy unto them* [b]. By this we may form an idea of their fearful errors. They are accused of the cruel custom of sacrificing men, and are said to have passed their seed through fire to *Molech* [c]. The custom of sacrificing men they are charged with, as they were the ancestors of the *Phœnicians*, and therefore we shall not repeat what we have already [d] said on that subject, nor anticipate what we may have to add in our *Phœnician* section. Their morals were as corrupt as their doctrine; adultery, bestiality of all sorts, prophanation, incest, and all manner of uncleanness, are the sins laid to their charge, and which brought on the calamities they were doomed to [e]: and this may serve as a supplement to the character of this people, after their fall from the right way.

Their government. Concerning their government thus much may be said, That they were comprehended under a great number of states,

[b] Deut. vii. 1---5. [c] Levit. xviii. 21. See before, p. 99.
[d] See Vol. I. p. 305. [e] Levit. xviii.

(H) It is the opinion, however, of bishop *Cumberland* (13) that the *Canaanites* were idolaters before the congress of *Melchisedec* and *Abraham*, which we know not how to allow.

(I) The original word is *Asharim*, which we render *groves*; but it is interpreted to mean wooden images of *Astarte*. One of the reasons given to corroborate this opinion is, that *Gideon* is said to have thrown down the altar of *Baal*, and to have cut down the grove that was by it; whereas by the *Hebrew* text, it was upon it, as it is also by the *Greek* of the LXX: wherefore, say they, the *Asherah* upon the altar could not have been a grove, but must have been an image, and none more likely than that of *Astarte* (14). Sir *Isaac Newton* remarks upon the whole passage, that the *Canaanites* had no temples. *Moses commanded Israel to destroy the altars, images, high-places, and groves of the Canaanites, but made no mention of their temples, as he would have done, had there been any in those days* (15).

(13) *Origin. Gent. Antiquiss.* p. 427. (14) *Selden de Diis Syris, Syntagm.* 2. (15) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amended*, p. 221.

and

and under ſubjection to limited chiefs, or kings as they are called; and tranſacted all their buſineſs in popular aſſemblies: ſo *Abraham* bowed not down to the king of the children of *Heth*, but to themſelves; ſo *Ephron* ſeems to have acted with *Abraham* with the participation of his whole tribe: ſo *Hamor* king of *Shechem* would not conclude upon what anſwer he ſhould make to what the ſons of *Jacob* propoſed to him, till he had conſulted his citizens upon what he ſhould, or ſhould not do, in the caſe; and throughout all their tranſactions the ſame tenor of conduct in their princes will be obſerved by every attentive reader: nor is it likely, that ſo many petty kingdoms ſhould have been ſtanding when *Joſhua* invaded them, had exorbitant ambition and luſt of rule been known among them; but as nature, perhaps, taught them, That every man as an individual, and every ſtate as a collective body, is free and independent, ſo they may thereby have been reſtrained from invading each other's rights, or elſe one or a few muſt have ſwallowed up the many; and though this opinion may be combated by the ambitious cruelty of *Adonizebek*, that one example will have no other effect upon this argument, than a ſingle exception has to a general rule; that the main body of them thought and acted upon different principles appears pretty plain. This is as much as we need, or can well ſay concerning their government, laws, and policy.

Their hiſtory.

We now come to their hiſtory, the beginnings of which are too dark and unſettled for us to dwell on them, and too heavily laden with the hypotheſes of the great men, who have turned their thoughts towards their antiquities. Wherefore, taking ſcripture and the natural lights reflected therefrom for our principal guides, we ſhall touch as lightly as may be upon what the learned have advanced, as it were, from their own ſtock. When we conſider the ſituation and diſtance of this country, we cannot but think it was at firſt peopled by *Canaan* and his deſcendants upon the firſt diſperſion after the flood (K). What concerns they originally had with *Egypt*, are rather gueſſed at, than confirmed to us, in

(K) There is an old tradition which ſays otherwiſe; for it tells us, that this country did originally belong to the children of *Shem*, by virtue of a diviſion made among the ſons of *Noah*; but that the children of *Canaan* diſpoſſeſſed them (16): whence it is argued, that God did but ſtrict juſtice in reſtoring the line of *Shem* to their rightful poſſeſſion.

(16) *Epiph. Hæreſ.* 46. *n.* 84.

reſpect of the time when they were tranſacted; but, finding that there was a ſettled averſion among the *Egyptians* in the days of *Jacob* againſt ſuch as fed cattle, it is thought, the *Phœnician* ſhepherds or *Canaanites* may have warred upon, and oppreſſed the *Egyptians* before *Abraham* removed into *Canaan*; though this is liable to ſome objections (L): Therefore we muſt here acknowledge, as we did formerly, our great ignorance in this matter, and diſſatisfaction with what the learned have advanced upon it. All therefore we can pretend to in this matter is, to mark out, as we go along, the times, in which the learned have been induced to fix what *Manetho* tells us of the *Phœnician* ſtrangers in *Egypt*. In conformity to this, it is pretended [f], that ſome of them, upon the increaſe of their families, being ſtraitened for want of room, moved ſouthwards, as *Moſes* intimates, as others did northwards, ſuch as the *Hamathite* and *Arvadite*; and that the former penetrated far into *Egypt*, or at leaſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Arabian* ſide of that country, which they will have to have been *Goſhen*. Here, ſay they, did they ſettle even under *Mizraïm* himſelf, erected a ſeparate kingdom, and differing from the pure *Egyptians* in religious matters, and in way of life, fierce contentions aroſe between them, which ended in a total expulſion of them, in the manner we formerly related in the hiſtory of *Egypt*; and this, ſay they, was effected in the days of *Abraham*.

We have reckoned the vale of *Siddim*, where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, into the antient country of *Canaan*; and it happens to be the ſcene of the firſt action we find, for certain, of this people. The inhabitants of this vale were invaded by *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, and reduced to a tribute (M), which

[f] See Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p. 351, 352, ſeq. & Bedford's Scripture Chronol. p. 201, 202, 250, 251, 252, 253, 337.

(L) For we think it is pretty obvious, that the *Egyptians* muſt have looked on *Abraham* as a *Phœnician* or *Canaanitiſh* paſtor, when he was among them; but we do not perceive, that they had him any how in averſion, quite the contrary is certain (17).

(M) By an old tradition we have already mentioned, this war upon the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim* was a very juſt one; for if it be true, that the land of *Canaan*, of which this was undoubtedly a part, originally belonged to the children of *Shem*, from whom it

(17) *See Gen. xii.*

was

which they paid for twelve years ſucceſſively; but in the thirteenth they rebelled, which drew on them a ſecond war, which we ſhall come to anon.

IN the mean time the other parts of the country received *Abraham* with great hoſpitality and veneration, two or three years after this invaſion; but ſoon after his arrival, the whole land was oppreſſed by famine, and the *Canaanite* is now expreſly ſaid to have been in the land (N). The dearth drove *Abraham* into *Egypt*: whence we learn, that the whole country at this time was in great want[h]. The famine was of no long continuance, and *Abraham* returned into this country again, and found that the *Perizzite* was alſo in the land; whence, it is thought, they are ſpoken of as new comers, and that they had lately been expelled from *Egypt*, or dreading an expulſion, had voluntarily forſaken that kingdom; and the rather, becauſe *Abraham* and *Lot* ſeem now to have been ſtraitened for want of room, which cauſed their ſeparation, as if the country was now become more populous than they at firſt found it (O). And now was the whole land promiſed to *Abraham*[i].

THE five kings of the vale of *Siddim*, BERA king of *Sodom*, BIRSHA king of *Gomorrah*, SHINAB king of *Admah*, SHEMEBER king of *Zeboim*; and the king of *Bela*, or *Zoar*, rebelled in the thirteenth year after they had been ſubdued by *Chedorlaomer*, and made tributary to him, as we have already obſerved. Wherefore *Chedorlaomer* with his allies marched

[h] Gen. xii. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 9. [i] Gen. xiii.

was forcibly taken by the children of *Ham* (18), no wonder, that the kings of the eaſt, who were of that deſcent, laid claim to this country in general, and to this moſt lovely ſpot in particular; for *Elam* deſcended from *Shem* (19).

(N) According to what you read in the preceding note, this means no more than that the *Canaanites* had invaded the country before *Abraham* came thither. But we muſt remember, that this is building a ſuperſtructure upon a very weak foundation, a tradition: much the ſame may be ſaid upon the paſſage afterwards, that the *Perizzites* were alſo in the land.

(O) But upon this we may ſtart one queſtion, which in this caſe cannot be readily anſwered; How came ſuch a weak prince as *Hamor* king of *Shechem* to have ſo much ground to ſpare, as he afterwards talks of, when he hoped to make an union with *Jacob* (20)?

(18) *See before in the Notes, p.* 165. (19) *Gen. x.* 22.
20) *See Gen. xxxiv.* 21.

hither again in the fourteenth year, taking ſeveral other nations or tribes in his way; or rather he fetched a circuit to come at them, reducing, among others, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites* of *Hazezon-tamar*. At laſt he fell on the five kings of *Siddim*, who were reſolved to diſpute their rights with him; but they fell under the preſſure of the enemy once more; and all the inhabitants were either ſlain in battle, or carried a way captive, or obliged to fly to the mountains and their cities. *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the reſt were pillaged with the utmoſt rigour and ſcrutiny. Amongſt the priſoners was *Lot*, which rouſed up *Abraham* to undertake his reſcue; which he did moſt effectually [k].

At this time *Melchiſedec* (P) was king of *Salem*, and prieſt

[k] Gen. xiv.

(P) The *Jews* will have him to have been *Shem*, out of a vain reluctance, that their father ſhould have had any ſuperior among the *Canaanites*; and they are not without their advocates for this opinion among the Chriſtian writers, and ſome of them very eminent: we will give the words of a very learned prelate of our own church upon this point..... "I am glad, that I can cite *Grotius* "to abet my opinion [That *Melchiſedec* was the *Shem* of *Moſes*, and "the juſt judge of *Philo Byblius*] thus far, that he ſaith in his notes "on *Hebr.* vii. 1. *Melchiſedec* is the man meant by *Sydyc* in *Philo* "*Byblius*. And that *Shem* had this title of *Melchiſedec*, or *the juſt* "*king*, as *Pompey* was ordinarily called *Magnus*, and *Octavius* call-"ed *Auguſtus*, is the judgment of the eldeſt and learnedeſt *Jews*, "and of many modern men learned in *Jewiſh* antiquity; to "whoſe judgment herein I ſubſcribe with great ſatisfaction. And "whereas others think him ſome ſmall king of *Canaan*, I concur "thus far with them, that I believe he neither had, nor ſought "any large dominions for himſelf (21)..... This then is a favourite opinion we ſee, and no doubt the great man, whoſe words theſe are, had perfectly ſatisfied himſelf, that the thing muſt have been ſo. But as eminent a prelate (22) of our own differs ſo far from the former, whoſe words we have given above, that he wonders how any Chriſtian can entertain ſuch a notion, ſo evidently deſtroyed by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* (23), where it is expreſly ſaid, that *Melchiſedec* was not γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, *his deſcent* or *pedigree was not counted from them* [the *Jews*] which is not true of *Shem*. "Nor could *Shem* be ſaid to be *without father or mother*, whoſe "genealogy is evident from *Adam*. Nor was *Shem*'s prieſthood, "if he had any, of a different order from *Levi*'s, who was in his "loins, as well as in the loins of *Abraham*. And therefore it can-

(21) *Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p.* 174. (22) *See Patrick upon Gen. xiv.* 18. (23) *vii.* 6.

"not

prieſt alſo of the moſt high GOD (Q): and as *Abraham* was returning from the war, he preſented him with bread and wine (R); that is, gave him an entertainment of meats and drinks

" not be ſaid, that *Levi* paid him tithes in the loins of *Abraham*;
" but it would be as true, that he received tithes in the loins of
" *Shem*. For, according to this interpretation, he was in the loins
" both of him that received tithes, and of him that paid them;
" and ſo the whole argumentation of the apoſtle falls to the ground.
" But ſetting aſide theſe, and other Chriſtian reaſons, there is no
" cauſe that we can diſcern, why *Moſes* ſhould call *Shem* (whom
" he ſo often mentions) by any other name than his own: nor is
" it likely, that *Shem* reigned in the land of *Canaan*, which now
" was in the poſſeſſion of his brother's ſon. Nor could *Abraham*
" be ſaid to *ſojourn there as in a ſtrange country*, if his noble anceſtor
" *Shem* had been king there (24)." Theſe arguments muſt be allowed to be very ſtrong, and it is pretty clear, that the notion which obtains among the *Jewiſh* writers is of no very antient date. *Joſephus* expreſly calls *Melchiſedec* a *Potentate of the Canaanites* (25). The *Arabians* deduce him from *Peleg* (26). To paſs over ſome notions of the church, and of ſome heretics, concerning him, which are pretty wide from our preſent purpoſe; he was both a king and a prieſt; which offices were antiently joined in one perſon, of which ſeveral inſtances are obſerved in antients writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*.

(Q) *Salem* is by *Joſephus* (27) called *Solyma*; who alſo ſays, that *Melchiſedec* was the firſt founder of it; that he erected a temple in it, and officiated as a prieſt, calling it *Jeruſalem*; whereas its former name was *Solyma*. But what he ſays in this caſe has no weight with the moſt accurate and learned of the Chriſtian writers, who, for the moſt part, have a different notion. There is a *Salem* mentioned in the New Teſtament (28); which is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame where *Melchiſedec* reigned (29). The *Arabians* will have it, that *Jeruſalem* was built by twelve neighbouring kings, who, touched with a deep veneration for *Melchiſedec*, built it in honour of him, or for his convenience; which when they had done, he called it *Jeruſalem* (30).

(R) As he is generally acknowledged to have been a type of Chriſt, ſo ſome have diſcovered in this bread and wine a near relation to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper: but this is a pious miſtake; the words of *Moſes* mean what *Joſephus* (31) explains; it was no more than a refreſhment of meats and drinks, which he offered to *Abraham*, according to the hoſpitality of thoſe times; *eating of bread*, in the ſcripture phraſe, is feaſting.

(24) *Idem. ibid.* (25) *De Bell. Judaic. l.* 7. *c.* 18. (26) *Hotting. Smeg. Orient. p.* 256, 200, 306. (27) *Idem ubi ſupr.* (28) *John iii.* 23. (29) *See Patrick ubi ſupr.* (30) *Eutych. Annal. p.* 67. (31) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 10.

to

to refresh him, and received from him tythes of all (S); having blessed him in the name of the most high God, possessor, or creator, of heaven and earth. The king of *Sodom* was at this remarkable interview, and seems to have acted a very generous and modest part, claiming nothing of all that *Abraham* had re-taken from the enemy, except the persons of his subjects, leaving the rest to his disposal and discretion: but he met with as generous a return from *Abraham*, who, so far as in him lay, made him ample restitution of all that belonged to him, whether persons or goods; but *Aner*, *Eshcol*, and *Mamre*, his *Canaanitish* confederates, who were all three *Amorites*, were to do as they pleased; and how far they followed *Abraham*'s example, is not said [l].

Now for fifteen years there is a dead silence as to the affairs of this people; but about this time a severe judgment was executed on the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim*. Living in great ease and affluence, they were grown to such a height of impiety, that there was no room for mercy on them; which if it could have been obtained, by the intercession of *Abraham*, they had been spared from the wrath of God now, as, by his arms before, they were snatched out of the hands of their enemies. The sin they suffered for was bestiality [m], which, from the chief city of that vale, *Sodom*, has since born the name of Sodomy. The particulars of this catastrophe we have already given [n] in speaking of *Lot*; and shall now only say, that the four cities of this fertile and pleasant spot, *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, were destroyed by a rain of brimstone and fire, or thunder and lightning, from the Lord out of heaven, and the whole vale was consumed [o]; and thenceforward became the *dead* or *salt-sea*, or lake *Asphaltites* (T). Thus perished a branch of the *Canaanites* with their whole

[l] Gen. xiv. [m] Gen. xix. p. 76. [n] See. before p. 76. [o] Gen. ubi sup. Deut. xxix. 23.

(S) It is remarked (32), that the words of the text itself are so ambiguous, that there would have been no knowing whether it was *Abraham* that gave, or *Melchisedec*, had not the apostle (33) explained it: whence *Eupolemus* thought *Melchisedec* had bestowed gifts upon *Abraham*. Of what kind the tithes were that *Melchisedec* received from *Abraham*, is not known; but we may enlarge on this in the life of *Abraham*.

(T) How this terrible subversion was effected, is thus accounted for. The vale being full of slime-pits (34), or places whence *Naph-*

(32) *See Patrick ubi supr. ver.* 19. (33) *Hebræus ubi supr. ver.* 2. (34) *Gen. xiv.* 10.

tha

whole territory; all saving the city of *Bela*, henceforward called *Zoar* [p].

THE *Hittites* after this treated with *Abraham*, who desired to purchase the cave of *Machpelah* for a burial-place; and their behaviour towards that incomparable patriarch deserves well a place here. In a public assembly they offered him the choicest of the sepulchres to deposite his dead in, and that in the most respectful terms. But, when he signified his desire to have a separate place for his family, and had cast his eye upon the cave of *Machpelah*, belonging to one of their tribe, called *Ephron* the son of *Zohar*, with whom he desired them to intercede in his behalf: *Ephron* himself, who is supposed to have presided in this assembly, generously offered to make him a present not only of the cave he wanted to purchase, but of the ground or field also where it stood, and pressed him much to accept of it; but by the noble spirit of *Abraham* he was disappointed so far as to be obliged to sell the field and the cave to him for four hundred shekels, which he looked upon as a trifle between *Abraham* and him; so great was his desire of retaining the favour and friendship of *Abraham* [q].

NOTHING occurs after this, that we can take notice of here, for the space of about one hundred and twenty eight years. At this time reigned *Hamor* in *Shechem*, a poor kingdom and weak; though *Hamor* himself seems to have been worthy of a better dominion, and a better chance than befel him. He sold a piece of ground to *Jacob* *. At *Shechem* it happened, that *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob* coming to see, and converse with the daughters of the land, she was observed by *Shechem* the son of *Hamor*, who was violently smitten with a liking to her, and forced, and deflowered her; but having a real passion for her, and being sensibly affected with the wrong he had done her, he would have pacified, and persuaded her to consent to marry him. And speaking also to his father *Hamor*, he entreated him to use his endeavours,

[p] See before, p. 78. [q] Gen. xxiii. * Gen. xxxiii.

tha and *Bitumen* were extracted, is supposed to have been universally impregnated with igneous matter, and the lightning darting upon it, or flashing along the surface of it, kindled the combustible parts (35), which had the fearful effect of turning this once inchanting paradise into a loathsome lake. But we shall speak of this lake hereafter in the geography of this country, as it was under the *Jews*.

(35) *Vide Cleric Dissertat. de Sodomæ Subversione*, §. 4.

deavours, that he might have *Dinah* for his wife. Accordingly *Hamor* went to *Jacob*, to communicate the ardent inclinations his son had for *Dinah*, and to ask his consent. But the injury and affront were stifly insisted on by *Jacob*'s sons, who were present, as was also *Shechem* himself. This last finding, that the others were highly exasperated at the violence he had committed on their sister, profered all the satisfaction their hearts could wish, if they would but forgive him, and let him have her. *Shechem* thought he had gained his point upon the answer he received from them; which was, That if he, and all of his tribe or city, would consent to be circumcised, he should have his will. *Shechem* willingly submitted to this painful proposal, and so did his father *Hamor* for his sake; for he had an especial love for him above all his other children. Wherefore returning to the city, they assembled the people in the gate, and bespoke them to this effect; That seeing that *Jacob* and his family dwelt with them in great harmony, and that there was full room enough for them all, it would be very prudent to unite with them by reciprocal marriages; that indeed there was a pretty hard condition insisted on, which was, that they should all be circumcised; but that the pain thereof would be amply compensated by such an accession of wealth, as must flow in upon them by being one people with *Jacob*. The men of the city, partly out of affection to *Hamor* and *Shechem* we may suppose, and partly upon the last consideration, declared they were ready to be circumcised, and circumcised they were; but while they laboured under the sores and inconveniencies of this compliance (U), upon the third day they were all suddenly cut off, by two of *Jacob*'s sons at the head of their servants; every one of them perished by the edge of the sword, and their wives, and children and cattle, and household-goods, and all belonging to them fell a prey to the sons of *Jacob*, *Simeon* and *Levi*, who had perpetrated so horrid a violence upon a parcel of helpless, and, to all appearance, innocent people †.

† Gen. xxxiv.

(U) (36) "And began to be a little feverish: For the greatest "pain and anguish the *Jews* observed was upon the third day after "circumcision, which very much indisposed them (37). And "indeed *Hippocrates* says the same of all wounds and ulcers, that "they are then most inflamed by a conflux of sharp humours to "them."

(36) *Patrick upon Gen. xxxiv.* 25. & *Vorsti. Annota. p.* 95.

(37) *Eliez. Pirke*, c. 29.

Hitherto

HITHERTO we have been obliged to give the hiſtory of this people by incoherent pieces, and ſo we muſt continue to do: there is no connection, no ſucceſſive train of events to be expected here. When *Moſes* drew towards the ſkirts of the promiſed land, for the firſt time, the *Canaanites* in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of the country were joined by the *Amalekites* [r], who we may ſuppoſe, were eager to take their revenge upon the *Iſraelites* [s]. Theſe, underſtanding that ſpies had been in the land from *Moſes*, drew towards the frontiers; and the *Iſraelites* attempting to enter their territory againſt the expreſs decree of GOD, were by them repulſed with a great ſlaughter quite to *Hormah* [t].

WHETHER before or after this, is not preciſely known, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* invaded the children of *Moab* and *Ammon*, and diſpoſſeſſed them of their country on the other ſide *Jordan* and the *Dead ſea* [u]: this conqueſt is celebrated by the moſt antient poem [w] that is extant among profane writers.

ARAD (W) was a king in the ſouth-eaſt of *Canaan*, when *Moſes* had a ſecond time reached the ſkirts of the promiſed land; and being informed of their coming by the *Way of ſpies* (X), he went out and attacked them, and took ſeveral of them priſoners; but fortune changed countenance on him, and he was vanquiſhed by them, and his country doomed to utter deſtruction [x]. Arad.

SIHON the *Amorite* ſoon after this, reſiding in the antient country of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, was entreated by meſſengers from *Moſes* for a free paſſage through his country, Sihon.

[r] Numb. xiv, 43.
[s] See before p. 101.
[t] See before, p. 153.
[u] Numb. ubi ſupr.
[w] Numb. xxi. 27.
[x] Ibid. ver, 1, 2, 3.

(W) It is doubted, whether this be the name of the king himſelf or of his city. There was a city of this name, and one of *Canaan*'s ſons was ſo called, according to the LXX and the *Vulgar*, who ſo tranſlate the *Hebrew* of *Arvad*; who therefore may have given his name to this country, and the city may have been called after him (38).

(X) This is ſuppoſed to be a road or a way, ſo called from the ſpies who entered the country formerly eight and thirty years before. Some underſtand it, that the king heard ſpies were coming into his country. The *Hebrew* word here rendered ſpies הָאֲתָרִים *haatharim*; which the LXX have retained as the name of the place, and called it Ἀθαριμ.

(38) *Vide Patrick & Cleric. in Num. xxi.* 1.

ith

in his way to *Canaan*: but this requeſt he arrogantly rejected; and, inſtead of complying, marched out againſt him; but it was a very unfortunate expedition. He was defeated at *Jaazar* with a total overthrow, which was enſued by the entire loſs of all he had, to *Moſes* and his people.

Og. Og king of *Baſhan* is reckoned a king of the *Amorites* [y], and was of the race of the giants, or *Rephaim*, and the very laſt of them. His iron bed-ſtead of nine cubits in length we have already mentioned [z]. He was a dreadful enemy [a]. His whole kingdom took its name from the hill of *Baſhan*, which is compared to God's hill [b], and has ſince been called *Batanæa*. In it were no leſs than ſixty walled towns, beſides villages [c]. This country afforded an excellent breed of cattle [d] and ſtately oaks [e]. In ſhort, it was a plentiful and populous territory. *Og*'s reſidence was at *Aſhtaroth* [f] (Y) and at *Edrei*, at, or near, which place he was vanquiſhed, as he was eſpouſing the cauſe of *Sihon*, and attempting to ſtop the progreſs of *Moſes* and his people. He fell in battle, he, and all that belonged to him; and his whole kingdom, and all therein was transferred to the *Iſraelites* under *Moſes* [g].

The news of what *Moſes* had done on the other ſide *Jordan*, to *Sihon* and *Og* kings of the *Amorites*, was matter of aſtoniſhment we may ſuppoſe to the *Canaanites* of every denomination; but when they alſo heard, how the waters of the river had been divided to give the *Iſraelites* a paſſage over to them, their hearts melted, and their ſpirits failed them. *Jericho* was the firſt place that felt the fury of the approaching exciſion, being diſmantled by the ſhouts of the *Iſraelites*, the ſound of the ſeven rams-horns, and the circumvection of the ark of the covenant; and in it no ſoul was ſpared but the harlot *Rahab* and her family, who had been inſtrumental in ſaving the ſpies that had been ſent by *Joſhua* into this city, which was now turned to a heap of aſhes and rubbiſh,

[y] Deut. iii. 8, 11. [z] See before p. 93. [a] Vide Josephi. Antiq. l. 4. c. 5. [b] Pſal. lxviii. 15. [c] Deut. iii. 4, 5. Joſh. xiii. 30. Joseph. Antiq. ubi ſupr. [d] Deut. xxxii. 14. Pſal. xxii. 12. [e] Zech. xi. 2. Iſa. ii. 13. [f] Joſh. xii. 4. [g] Numb. xxi. 33, 35.

(Y) This city being elſewhere called *Aſhtaroth-Karnaim* (39), or the *two-horned*, has given room to ſuppoſe it derived its name from the goddeſs *Aſtarte*. But, as is obſerved, it might as well be ſuppoſed, that the city was in the ſhape of a half-moon (40).

(39) *Gen. xiv.* 5. (40) *See Patrick on the above paſſages of Geneſis.*

being

being burnt with fire; and the man curſed that ſhould ever attempt to rebuild it [h].

The king of Ai.

THE men of the city of *Ai* and their king then rouſed up, and were permitted by GOD to repulſe a body of three thouſand of the *Iſraelites*, killing thirty odd of their number, by way of puniſhment on the whole congregation, for the iniquitious practices of one perſon at the ſacking of *Jericho*. The king of *Ai* very rightly apprehended the war was not decided by ſo ſlight a favour of fortune on his ſide; and therefore ſent to the men of *Beth-el*, who were his ſubjects, and owed him homage, to repair to him, that they might ſtrengthen his arms againſt the enemy. It was not long ere he had advice, that *Joſhua* was moving towards him. In general, he apprehended *Joſhua*'s intent was to beſiege him; but he knew nothing of a ſtratagem that was formed, and of ambuſcades that were laid to ruin him, and deſtroy his city. He ſaw *Joſhua* appear before his walls with no very formidable force, and at once reſolved to fight him: which he no ſooner offered to do, than the *Iſraelites* faced about and fled; which when he ſaw, he ordered every body to come out of the city, and help to purſue the enemy, that feigned only to run from him. By this means his city was left deſtitute of all defence, every body being at the heels of the *Iſraelites*; which, when it was known to a party, who lay in ambuſh, they roſe up, ſeized upon the city, and ſet the out-ſkirts of it on fire. The king of *Ai* turning his head backwards, ſaw the ſmoke of his city aſcending up to heaven; and in the midſt of his conſternation he ſaw alſo the enemy ſtop ſhort, ſhout, and face about upon him. His return to the city was intercepted by thoſe who had ſet it on fire, and were now advancing to aſſiſt in cutting him off. The men of *Ai* perceiving therefore that their city muſt periſh without reſource, and that they were to be attacked as it were on all ſides, their hearts ſunk within them, and they all fell by the edge of the ſword, except their king, who was taken alive, and led to *Joſhua*. And after this ſlaughter of their army, their city was viſited by the *Iſraelites*, and there the ſcene of blood was acted over again upon the women, and thoſe who were found in and about it; ſo that in all, there fell this day 12,000 ſouls, who were all that belonged to this deſtined place, which was now turned into a deſolate heap, as it ever afterwards continued. The captive king was hung upon a tree till even-tide, when his body was taken down, toſſed into what had been the gate-way of the city, where he had

[h] Joſh. vi. 26.

uſed

used to sit in judgment perhaps, and buried under an heap of stones, which were thrown on him: so ended the kingdom of *Ai* [i].

Upon this the whole country was rising up in arms to fight *Joshua*; but *Gibeon*, a city of the *Hivites* [k], far stronger and more considerable than *Ai*, and renowned for the courage of its citizens [l], heard what had been done to the kingdoms of *Jericho* and *Ai*, and trembled; and the inhabitants despairing to be able to withstand the torrent, which was now broke into their country, by strength, they resolved to try what art could do. And consulting what could be done in so dangerous a conjuncture, they came to the resolution of sending to *Joshua* some ambassadors, who should be dressed in old tattered garments, with clouted shoes, with dry mouldy bread, and wine-skins, or bottles old, and rent, and bound up: and all this they contrived, that their ambassadors might seem to come from some very far country. With this sordid equipage did they set out for *Joshua*'s camp in *Gilgal*; where being arrived, they told him, they were come from afar off to seek his friendship; and being questioned as to their sincerity, they answered equivocally, and being still farther pressed upon the point, they replied with great submission, That they were actually of a very far distant country; and that the fame of the Lord God, and what he had done for *Israel* in *Egypt*; and since then, by the destruction of *Sihon* and *Og*, those mighty kings, had been the inducements which had brought them so far from home, being sent by the unanimous vote of all their countrymen, that they might make their homage, and desire to be accepted into a league with *Israel*; and as a proof that in all they had said they had confined themselves to strict truth, they produced their dry and mouldy bread, which they averred they had taken hot out of their houses the day they set out: our bottles of wine, said they, were new, and see how they are rent; our garments and shoes were the same, but they are worn out by reason of our very long journey. In all this they acted their parts with the utmost cunning and prevarication, and being too easily believed, gained their point, by persuading *Joshua* and the *Israelites* to make a league with them. Thus did they over-reach their enemies, and thereby save their lives. At the end of three days their whole artifice was discovered; but then they valued it not, having brought the *Israelites* under a solemn engagement to protect them as

[i] Josh. vii, viii. [k] Josh. ix. compare ver. 3. with ver. 7. [l] Josh. x. 2.

friends:

friends: but in the concluſion they fared not ſo well as they, perhaps expected, being condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; that is, to be ſlaves, or very little better [m].

Adonizedek.

WHEN *Adonizedek* king of *Jeruſalem* heard, how *Jericho* and *Ai* had been utterly deſtroyed, and, what was worſe to the common cauſe, that the *Gibeonites* had ſubmitted to *Joſhua*, he was divided between diſdain and fear. But reſolving to make an example of the *Gibeonites*, thereby to deter others from following ſo pernicious and ſo inglorious an example, he called in *Horam* king of *Hebron*, *Piram* king of *Jarmuth*, *Japhia* king of *Lachiſh*, and *Debir* king of *Eglon*, to join him to fight againſt *Gibeon*; and accordingly they all went againſt it, and beſieged it. The inhabitants in this diſtreſs diſpatched notice to *Joſhua* of what was befallen them, and begged his ſpeedy ſuccour to reſcue them from their enraged countrymen. The effect of this was, that the five kings, as they were beſieging the city, were furiouſly aſſaulted by *Joſhua*; ſo that they were obliged to riſe from before it, and make off in great confuſion. As they were flying away, and had almoſt reached *Beth-horon*, there came down a dreadful tempeſt of hail-ſtones, of ſuch enormous ſize that they knocked them on the head, and did more execution among them than the ſword of *Joſhua*. Thus perſecuted by the heavens above, and preſſed by the *Iſraelites* in the rear, they fled as chance directed them, not knowing whether they were going. By ſo general a diſperſion it is poſſible that many of them might have come off with life, had not the ſun, at the command of *Joſhua*, ſtopped his career, that the *Iſraelites* might ſee to overtake, and deſtroy the ſcattered multitude. And now the five kings, ſeeing nothing but deſtruction and deſolation before their eyes, made the beſt of their way to a cave near the city of *Makkedah*, the only glimpſe of hope they had left. Happily, as they thought, they reached this aſylum, but were ſome how or other diſcovered to be there; and information thereof being carried to *Joſhua*, they ſoon ſaw the mouth of their cave ſtopped up with great ſtones: and under this diſmal confinement did they remain, till the action of this miraculous day was concluded; when, being viſited and dragged out, they were thrown before the congregation of *Iſrael*, the chiefs of whom trod on their necks: which done, they were all five put to death, and their dead bodies were hung, each on a tree; and there they hung till the ſetting ſun, when they were taken down and toſſed into the

[m] Joſh. ix.

mouth of the cave, which was again filled up with great ſtones, as a monument of their fall and unhappy end. This was the fate of the five confederate kings, while ſome of their ſubjects were ſo fortunate as to get into certain fenced cities, and ſo eſcape for the preſent *.

Jabin. JABIN king of *Hazor*, when he heard this, and that moreover *Makkedah*, *Libnah*, *Lachiſh*, *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir* had been ſubverted, and all their inhabitants put to the ſword, and that not a ſoul had been left alive in one of them: and again, that *Horam*, king of *Gezer*, and his whole force, had periſhed in attempting to relieve *Lachiſh*: Such a crowd of calamities together made him reſolve to raiſe all the tribes of the *Canaanites*, to withſtand the deſtruction, which ſo imminently threatened them all. He ſent therefore to *Jobab* king of *Madon*, to the king of *Shimron*, to the king of *Achſhaph*, to the kings on the north of the mountains, to thoſe in the plains ſouth of *Cinneroth*, and in the valley, and on the borders of *Dor* on the weſt, and to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, on the eaſt and weſt, and to the *Amorite*, and the *Hittite*, and the *Perizzite*, and the *Jebuſite* in the mountains, and to the *Hivite* under *Hermon*, in the land of *Mizpeh*. Theſe all confederated together againſt *Iſrael*; they were as the ſand on the ſea-ſhore for multitude, and were very ſtrong in horſe and chariots, a dreadful enemy for *Joſhua* and his people to deal with, who were utterly unprovided of both. Being thus united, they encamped near the waters of *Merom*, ſince called the lake *Samachonitis*. Here, as they lay conſulting together, they were aſſaulted by ſurprize, driven out of their camp, and broken into as many diſtinct bodies, perhaps, as they were tribes, each tending homewards. But the main body of them ſeem to have fled with their faces towards the great *Zidon*, weſtward, and *Mizrephoth-maim*; while another multitude ſcoured towards the valley of *Mizpeh* eaſtwards. But they were every where ſo furiouſly and effectually purſued, that moſt of them fell by the way. *Jabin* himſelf had the luck to eſcape for the preſent, but he periſhed with his city ſoon afterwards; for *Hazor* was ſoon after taken, her inhabitants all cut off, there was not one of them left, and herſelf burnt with fire. This city was reckoned as the chief of all the cities belonging to the kings of this confederacy, and therefore was treated with the greater rigour; but the reſt of the cities of theſe princes, which alſo fell into the hands of *Joſhua*, were ſuffered to

* Joſh. x.

ſtand

ſtand, though none of the inhabitants were ſpared in any of them [n].

NO loſſes, though ever ſo grievous, could for a conſiderable while break the ſpirits of the *Canaanites*; they ſtood their ground, and roſe up ſo thick and ſo faſt one after another, that they kept *Joſhua* employed ſix years [o]: And in the end great numbers are ſuppoſed to have left their country, and, travelling towards *Afric*, to have ſettled themſelves there at laſt, erecting a monument in memory of the calamities which had driven them from their native place, and inveighing againſt *Joſhua* by a very injurious appellation, as will be obſerved hereafter in the hiſtory of that continent. In their way thither they are ſuppoſed to have ſeized on the lower *Egypt*, where they erected a monarchy, which ſubſiſted under ſeveral of their own kings; but being at laſt overpowered, were forced, ſome of them, farther weſtward into *Afric*: and thus are they made out to have been the *Phœnician* paſtors, who lorded it ſo long, and ſo rigorouſly over *Egypt* [p].

AFTER the *Canaanites* had been ſucceſſively defeated, and at length diſperſed, and reduced, the *Anakims* [q] *(Z)*, who alſo inhabited ſome of the mountains of the land, a fierce and barbarous race, and of an origin diſtinct from the *Canaanites*, as is thought, were invaded and cut off; and thus was the whole country, as it were, poſſeſſed by the *Iſraelites*.

BUT ſtill the *Canaanites* of ſeveral denominations were ſtrong and potent, and held no mean ſhare of the country; and, for nineteen or twenty years, the remainder of *Joſhua*'s days, they were very little moleſted; being ſuffered to breath, while the important buſineſs of dividing their country by the conqueror could be regulated and adjuſted.

[n] Joſh. xi. [o] USSER. Annal. [p] See before in the Notes, p. 247. [q] Joſh. ubi ſupr.

(Z) Theſe are held to have been what we call giants, and are derived from one *Arba*, who ſeized on the city of *Hebron*, from whom it was called *Kirjath Arba*, the city of *Arba*. From *Arba* deſcended *Anak* (41), who, it ſeems had three ſons, whom we ſhall mention hereafter. From *Anak* the *Anakims* derive their name; but whether they were a numerous family, or really more bulky than their neighbours, is far from being aſcertained: their name has various derivations aſſigned it, which are many, and doubtful, and unſatisfactory; nor can we hope for any certainty in matters ſo antient, and at the ſame time ſo imperfectly touched on as this family is in ſcripture.

(41) *Joſh. xiv.* 15. *xv.* 13, 14.

This diviſion being marked out, the *Canaanites* were on all ſides invaded again by the tribes of *Iſrael*, who wanted each to drive them out of their reſpective lots. The *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* in *Bezek* were accordingly invaded by the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, and there fell of them ten thouſand men. Being thus routed in the field, they retreated to the city of *Bezek*, where *Adonibezek*, the king of that place as his name imports, reſided. This king is infamous, with all men, for his ſingular cruelty and inſolence; for, by his own confeſſion, having taken ſeventy kings captive, he cut off the thumbs and great toes of each, and made them expect their meat under his table, like ſo many dogs. The city itſelf was now aſſaulted and carried; and all thoſe within the walls were put to the ſword, which may be called the ſecond ſlaughter of this diſpute. *Adonibezek* himſelf was in the city at this time, though he, it ſeems, eſcaped: but he was overtaken in his flight, and his thumbs and great toes were cut off; a juſt requital, as he himſelf acknowledged, for his former cruelty; but his life was undeſervedly ſpared, he being carried alive to *Jeruſalem*, where he died; for that city had been taken and burnt before; but whether by *Joſhua* formerly, or the tribe of *Judah* now [r], is not very clear (A).

Immediately after this the *Canaanites* were invaded in ſeveral other parts, and particularly in *Hebron* and *Debir* two,

[r] Judg. i. 3—8.

(A) *Jeruſalem* is mentioned as taken by *Joſhua*; but, as may be obſerved, the *Canaanites* laid hands again on ſeveral places which *Joſhua* had torn from them; and the ſame may have happened at *Jeruſalem*: for though it is by moſt commentators imagined, that the *Iſraelites* held the town, and the *Jebuſites* the fortreſs of *Zion* ever afterwards; *Joſephus* 42) plainly enough tells us, they had both the fort and the city when *David* gave them their fatal blow; and, conſidering the temper and inſolence of the *Jebuſites*, it is not likely, that, while they poſſeſſed the citadel, they would ſuffer the *Iſraelites* to live quietly in the town. Upon the whole, though the place may have been reduced by *Joſhua*, and re-poſſeſſed by the *Jebuſites* again, and reduced a ſecond time by the tribe of *Judah* now, yet it is likely, there were always diſputes between the *Jebuſites*, and the *Iſraelites*, and that theſe were driven out by thoſe a ſecond time; and that in the days of *David*, the *Jebuſites* had both the city and fortreſs in their own hands, as *Joſephus* aſſures us above. *Joſephus* (43) ſeems to be right here, when he tells us the tribe of *Judah* did now attack *Jeruſalem*, but did not ſucceed in their attempt.

(42) *Joſeph. l.* 6. *c.* 7. (43) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 2.

cities

cities which had formerly been deſtroyed by *Joſhua*, but were now in the hands of the *Canaanites* again, an inſtance among many others of the ſame kind, of the reſolution of this people, and their reluctance to quit their poſſeſſions. And in general the *Canaanites* in the high lands or mountains were reduced; but thoſe in the low country were able to keep their ground, becauſe they had chariots of iron. *Hebron* was by this war put into the hands of *Caleb*, who thence expelled the three ſons of *Anak* [f] (B).

THE *Jebuſites* were alſo aſſaulted by the *Benjamites*, but they could not be diſlodged. Thoſe about *Beth-el* had the houſe of *Joſeph* to deal with, and fell by fraud, their city being betrayed by one of the inhabitants, unwarily ſeized on by the hands of the enemy. But thoſe of *Beth-ſhean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*, made head againſt the attempts of the children of *Manaſſeh*, and preſerved their ſeveral juriſdictions entire. The *Canaanites* alſo that dwelt in *Gezer* could not be expelled by the *Ephraimites*; and thoſe of *Kitron* and *Nahalol* ſtood their ground againſt the poſterity of *Zebulun*, though they ſubmitted to a tribute. The inhabitants of *Accho*, *Zidon*, *Ahlab*, *Achzib*, *Helbah*, *Aphik*, and *Rehob*, inſtead of being driven out by the tribe of *Aſher*, ſeem to have impoſed what conditions they thought proper on them, and barely to have ſuffered them to hold any part of their lot. Thoſe who held *Beth-ſhemeſh* and *Beth-anath* were an over match for *Naphtali*; but in the end they were made tributa-

[f] ver. 9—20.

(B) The names of theſe ſons of *Anak* are *Ahiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai* (44); concerning whom we ſhall only remark what *Bochart* has fancied, as to the import of their names. To begin with their father *Anak*, his name he makes to ſquare with the *latin* name *Torquatus*; the eldeſt, or firſt of the brother's name *Ahiman* or *who is my brother*; that is, *who is my equal*. By the name of *Sheſhai* the ſecond, he ſuppoſes him to have been ſix cubits high, as *Goliath* is ſaid to have been. *Talmai*, the name of the third, he derives from *Talam* a *Furrow* * ; as if he ſeemed in length equal to the furrow of a field. This is an ingenious thought, ſome may ſay, and ſome may think it a little preſumptuous. *Joſephus* (45), as his cuſtom is too frequently, gives us a fearful account of theſe inhabitants of *Hebron*, "Among the ſlain, ſays he, were found ſome gigantic "forms, who not only exceeded the ordinary ſize of men, but diſ- "fered alſo from them in aſpect and voice..... Some of their bones "are expoſed as a prodigy to this day.

(44) *Numb. xiii. 22.* * *Canaan lib. 1. c. 1.* (45) *Ubi Supr.*

ries. The *Amorites* preſſed hard upon the children of *Dan*, and confined them to their mountains, denying them all the benefits of the low country; nor would they ſuffer them to have the mountains to themſelves neither; but would keep mount *Heres* in *Aijalon* and in *Shaalbim* in their own hands: but though they dealt thus with the *Danites*, according to their own pleaſure, they were reduced at laſt to a tribute by the joint forces of the houſe of *Joſeph* and of *Dan*, and their coaſt or border aſcertained, *from the going up to Akrabbim from the rock, and upwards*[t] (C).

THUS upon the diviſion of their country, and the attempts made by the ſeveral tribes to drive them out, the whole land
6 was in a ferment of war, which ended with no great ſucceſs on either ſide; and the adverſe parties ſeem to have been pretty equally matched. So that although it is certain that multitudes of this people were ſlain in the wars of *Joſhua*, and that, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, many of them fled the land in queſt of more ſure and quiet abodes twenty years before; yet ſuch was their number remaining, or valour, or ſuperior skill in war, that, after all their calamities, take them which way you will, they ſeem to have been but little inferior to the *Iſraelites*. Nor after this do we miſs one tribe of them, except the *Gergaſites* (D).

THE *Canaanites*, the *Sidonians*, and the *Hivites* of mount *Lebanon*, from *Baal-hermon* to *Hamath*, were left to prove

[t] ver. 21—36.

(C) For want of knowing the exact ſituation of the places here mentioned, we are at a loſs to underſtand, whether the *Amorites* were left maſters of a ſmall, or a large territory. Obſcurities of the ſame kind there are many; but our reader, we hope, will upon this occaſion, and all of a like nature, paſt or to come, excuſe our want of preſumption; or that we do not pretend to ſhew him the exact ſituations of places, which from the beſt light we have, can hardly be gueſſed at, and muſt for ever, it is likely, remain a diſpute among ſuch as have time to waſte, and little elſe to do, or think of.

(D) We are poſitively told, they fled into *Afric* (46), where they fixed their ſeat; whence their being omitted is very rationally accounted for; and though it were difficult to think, that none belonging to the other tribes accompanied them, or trod afterwards in their foot-ſteps; yet may we hence conclude, that the *Gergaſites* were the chief of the fugitives from this country, which we ſhall reſume when we come to *Afric*.

(46) *Gemar. Hieroſolymit. ad tit. Shebitih, c ap.* 6.

Iſrael,

Iſrael, to exerciſe them with temptation to idolatry and ſin (E), and the more immediately devoted nations, the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Amorites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites*, dwelt, as it were in common, with the children of *Iſrael* in their promiſed land. Being thus blended together, they in time wrought ſo upon the unſtable minds of the *Iſraelites*, as to perſuade them to intermarry with them, and ſerve their gods [u], thereby captivating their minds, as they afterwards did their bodies.

FOR in a very few years, nine or ten, or thereabout, *Jabin* II. *Jabin*, whom we may reckon the ſecond of the name, ſeeing he reſided at the very ſame place with the former, was permitted by GOD to deal with the *Iſraelites*, as the inſtrument of his wrath. This prince, it is likely, rebuilt *Hazor* (F), which had been deſtroyed with ſuch rigour by *Joſhua*, re-eſtabliſhed the royal ſeat there, was maſter of nine hundred chariots

[u] Judg. ii. 21—23, iii. 1—7.

(E) Here we ſee a remarkable diſtinction made between the *Canaanites* of *Joſhua*'s conqueſt, and thoſe who were not ſo; as if theſe, who were only their borderers, were more proper, or more likely, to tempt the *Iſraelites*, than thoſe who were actually inmates with them. Whence, whether we are to conclude, that the idolatry of the former was more enchanting than that of the latter, or their luxury more enticing; or whether at all there was any real difference between them, we leave the reader to fancy. Both religious and political reaſons have been aſſigned for this mercy towards the *Canaanites*; of the former is, That the *Iſraelites* might not grow ſluggiſh for want of ſome to waken and ſtir up their courage, and to keep up martial diſcipline among them, and that they might always be in a more immediate ſtate of dependance on God, or look conſtantly up to him for ſuccour (47). Of the latter, That no part of the country, which was too extenſive to be thoroughly inhabited by the *Iſraelites*, might lie deſolate, ſo as to be left for a harbour to wild beaſts, who might by their encreaſe prove a more dreadful and pernicious enemy than the *Canaanites* (48).

(F) We think with thoſe who ſuppoſe this *Jabin* to have deſcended from the other, who fell by the hands of *Joſhua*; and that he now ſeized on the ſpot where *Hazor* formerly ſtood, and rebuilt that city; which, ſeeing he was ſo powerful a prince, is no unlikely matter, though ſome make a ſcruple of it. Whether *Jabin* was an appellation common to all the kings of *Hazor*, we have not to ſay from poſitive authority, though it ſeems to have been a common cuſtom in theſe parts for kings to ſucceed each other under the

(47) *See Patrick upon Judg. iii. 2. 9. and Deut. vi. 22.*

(48) *See Exod. xxiii.*

chariots of iron (G), which, and the reſt of his hoſt, were under the command of *Siſera*, who dwelt in *Haroſheth of the Gentiles* (H). *Jabin* therefore reduced the *Iſraelites* to a ſtate of ſlavery, and mightily did he oppreſs them for twenty years. But whether he held them in general under ſubjection, or the northern tribes only, is a matter of uncertainty. But whether his dominion over them was total or partial, it expired at the end of twenty years, as we have ſaid. News was brought to *Siſera*, that the *Iſraelites* had been ſtirred up to rebellion, and that they were actually in arms, conſulting together, how they might ſhake off his maſter's yoke. Whereupon he prepared the nine hundred chariots of iron, and iſſued a proclamation, requiring the men of war to aſ-

ſame appellation, as *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, *Agag* in *Amalekitis*, &c. He is in the text called king of *Canaan*; which, whether it refers to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, or to the whole body of the *Canaanites* in general, we take not on us to ſay.

(G) The number of theſe chariots, which are all along taken for the ſcythed ſort, is much wondered at by the learned. Whether he had ſuch a multitude of them before he warred upon *Iſrael*; or whether, by reducing them, he at once enlarged his empire, and augmented his forces, is not ſaid; though it is probable he had not ſo many before. But what ſhall we ſay to *Joſephus*, who acquaints us, That *Jabin* did actually reſide at *Azor* [*Hazor*] ſituate near the lake *Samachonitis*, and that he had an army of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 3000 chariots (49). If *Bochart* wonders, as he does, at the 900 chariots the ſcripture gives him, obſerving, that *Mithridates* had but 100 in his army, and *Darius* but 200 (50); what muſt he have thought of *Joſephus*'s 3000? Indeed, not only in the number of the chariots, but in that alſo of the horſe and foot, he is too large to be eaſily credited; nor perhaps is it always ſafe to lend an attentive ear to that hiſtorian. And it is to be noted, that notwithſtanding he on this ſide ſo vaſtly exceeds what the ſcripture ſeems to intend, he agrees therewith in the number of the *Iſraelites*, who roſe up to recover their rights, reckoning them at only 10,000 (51). What authority he had for this very extraordinary exceſs in the numbers of the *Canaanites* againſt the *Iſraelites*, we know not: but his view may have been to do honour in this example, as in others, to his countrymen and forefathers, with the *Romans*, who gloried chiefly in their military exploits, and in what their fathers had done before them that way.

(H) If *Hazor* was not rebuilt, then *Haroſheth of the Gentiles* bids fair to have been the royal ſeat. It is called *of the Gentiles*, as is ſuppoſed, from a confluence of all ſorts, who came now to put themſelves under the protection of *Jabin*'s growing empire.

(49) *Antiq lib.* 5. *cap* 6. (50) *Hierozoic. Part* 1. *lib.* 2. *c.* 9. (51) *Joſephus ubi ſupr.*

ſemble

ſemble together, to march out againſt the *Iſraelites*, who were but ten thouſand ſtrong, with *Deborah* and *Barak* at their head. They came to a battle, and *Siſera* was beaten, and irretrievably routed, and a general ſlaughter was made of his army, quite to the gates of *Haroſheth of the Gentiles*: and being himſelf in great danger of the purſuers, he quitted his chariot, and truſted to his feet (I), directing his ſteps to the tent of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who was at amity with *Jabin*. He found *Jael*, *Heber*'s wife, in the tent door, who, perceiving the hurry and diſorder he was in, entreated him to ſtep in, and fear nothing; which he did, and ſhe covered him with a rug, or ſome ſuch thing, ſo as not to be ſeen, or to prevent his taking any harm, while he repoſed himſelf after the fatigue of the battle and flight. He had not lain long ere he complained of being very thirſty, and begged a draught of water; inſtead whereof his kind hoſteſs preſented him with a bowl of new milk, of which when he had drank his fill, ſhe covered him up again. Then he called out, and bad her, if any one came to enquire if ſhe had any man within, to anſwer no, and to ſtand at the tent door for that purpoſe. Now, being greatly fatigued, he fell into a deep ſleep, and *Jael*, taking one of the tent nails and a hammer, trod ſoftly up to him, and drove the nail into his temples, and ſo killed him. By this time *Barak* had reached the tent in queſt of *Siſera*; and *Jael* with a triumphant air went out to him, and invited him to the ſight of the man he ſought, whom he here ſaw dead, with the nail ſmitten into his temples. So fell *Siſera*; and thus was *Jabin*'s glory eclipſed, and his domini-

(I) The particulars of the battle are not recorded in the ſacred text; but thence it very plainly appears, that there was ſomething miraculous and extraordinary in this defeat of *Jabin*'s hoſt, thunders, lightnings, and frightful ſounds rumbling in their ears, ſo that the heavens had the principal ſhare in this overthrow. And *Joſephus*, that we may not wonder at the ruin of ſo mighty a power by ſo contemptible a handful of the *Iſraelites*, tells us very circumſtantially, That the armies were no ſooner engaged, than there aroſe a furious wind, which drove ſuch a tempeſt of hail and rain into the face of the *Canaanites*, as ſtifled and blinded them, and benumbed their finger, to that degree that they were in all reſpects diſabled from action; ſo that they were eaſily broken and diſperſed, and trampled to death by the horſe, and torn to pieces by their own chariots, which, together with the execution made on them by the *Iſraelites*, quite diſſipated this mighty multitude, and reduced them to nothing (52).

(52) *Joſephus ubi ſupra.*

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ons forced from him by the children of *Israel*, by whom he was persecuted to destruction [w] (K).

Now what the *Canaanites* did, or what was done against them, after this, for a long series of years, we cannot say. Thus much appears, They had been able to maintain their ground in several parts, and particularly in *Jerusalem*, till the time that *David* was king of *Israel*. When the *Jebusites*, who held that city, or at least the fortress of *Zion*, saw *David* actually advanced up to them to besiege them, they posted their lame and their blind (L) to defend them, saying they were

[w] Judg. iv.

(K) *Josephus* gives us the particulars of his downfal. *Jabin* met *Barak* as he was in full march against *Hazor*, and was encountered by him and slain; and *Hazor*, the seat of his empire, was laid level with the ground: and thus fell the empire of the *Jabins* in *Hazor* a second time (53), according to this historian.

(L) Who, or what, these lame and blind were, is made a doubt; it is disputed, whether we must with *Josephus* (54) understand them to have been persons actually labouring under the infirmities of lameness and blindness, or whether something else is here to be understood, as others think. *Bochart* (55) deems this so plain a case, that he wonders how some great men had puzzled their brains with finding out a solution of it; and holds it past dispute, that this was a flourish of thrasonism in the *Jebusites*, who planted their lame and their blind, that is, their most infirm and unfit people, to defend them: while our own Dr. *Gregory* (56), who has a whole dissertation about it, understands them to have been the gods of this people, who, as the psalmist expresses it, *had eyes, and saw not, and feet, and walked not* (57) and this opinion is supported by these very plausible arguments; 1. How could *David* distinguish the halt, or the lame, or the blind from able men, when posted upon lofty walls, since those infirmities are not discernable but near at hand? 2. How can it be supposed there was such a number of these unfortunate persons in so small a city as might serve such a purpose? 3. And why should *David* say, as he does, that *his soul hated them*; when it would have been but natural in him to have commiserated their unhappy condition? From these arguments it is concluded, that it was not the lame and the blind of the city, whom the *Jebusites* relied on, but their idols, which in the *Psalms* are described in the sarcastical words we have inserted above, and which they planted upon their walls, by their power or influence to keep off the enemy; which they hoped would have been so efficacious a means of preserving them, that they trusted *David* would be unable to

(53) *Idem ibid.* (54) *Ibid. lib.* 7. *c.* 2. (55) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 26. (56) *In Patrick's commentary upon this passage.* (57) *Psalm cxv.*

prevail

were enough to keep off ſo mean an invader, relying wholly on the ſtrength of their walls and ſituation. But they were diſappointed, being carried by ſtorm (M). But the circumſtances of this event, and how it fared with the gariſon and inhabitants, are not told [x].

THIS was doubtleſs a very ſevere blow upon the *Canaanites* in general, and muſt have perplexed them much: and they muſt again have been deeply humbled when they were invaded in *Gezer* by *Pharaoh*; upon what provocation given by them, or whether any, is utterly unknown (N); and their city burnt, and themſelves put to the ſword. This city was

[x] 2 Sam. v. 6—9.

prevail againſt their ſuper natural operations. And here a parallel caſe is drawn in reference to the *Palladium*, the city of *Troy* being ſuppoſed to be impregnable while that remained with them: and ſome ſuch, or the ſame, notion may have obtained among the *Jebuſites* now, touching their god or gods (58). To this we ſhall add one chimerical notion of a *Jewiſh* rabbi upon this event. He pretends, that when *Abraham* bought the cave of *Machpelah* of the children of *Heth*, he formally covenanted with them, that when his poſterity ſhould come to be poſſeſſors of the land (which they had a foreſight of) they ſhould not touch the city of *Jebus*; and that now they engraved this covenant his forefather *Abraham* had made with them upon their walls, pretending, that *David* could not attempt them, but by the breach of the covenant his forefather *Abraham* had made with them (59).

(M) We have already obſerved, that according to *Joſephus* (60), the *Jebuſites* were in poſſeſſion both of the city of *Jeruſalem* and the fortreſs of *Zion*; to which he adds, that the lower town was eaſily carried by an aſſault, with *David* at the head of it; but that the caſtle or fortreſs held out, till *Joab* ſucceeded in the important ſervice of aſſaulting that.

(N) A late commentator is of opinion, that *Pharaoh* attacked the *Canaanites* at this place, out of complaiſance to *Solomon*, who had married his daughter; for, apprehending the *Jews* to be very little acquainted with the arts of conducting a ſiege, he ſuppoſes they were not able to maſter this city of *Gezer* (61), which, how it came to be ſo much ſtronger than *Jeruſalem*, and the fortreſs of *Zion*, and many other places by them ſubdued, we cannot ſay. This *Pharaoh* is by a learned chronologer, who takes this to have been the firſt expedition the *Egyptians* made out of their own country, called *Rameſſes Miamûn* (62).

(58) *Vide Cleric. in* 2 *Sam. v.* 6. (59) *Eliezer Pirke, cap.* 36. (60) *Ubi ſupra.* (61) *Vide Cleric. in* 1 *Reg. ix.* 16. (62) *Marſh. Can. Chron. ad Sæc.* 13, 14.

afterwards

afterwards rebuilt or repaired by *Solomon*, he receiving it in right of his wife, *Pharaoh*'s daughter [y].

THUS oppreſſed by the *Iſraelites* on the one hand, and by the mighty power of *Egypt* on the other; and the glory of *Solomon* ariſing towards its meridian, the remnant of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites* were reduced to the grievous ſtate of bondage and ſlavery; whence it is gathered, that they were now brought to ſo low an ebb as to be unable to anſwer the demands of a tribute; wherefore being admitted into a covenant, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, with king *Solomon*, he would not cut them off, but employed them in the heavy labour of carrying on his vaſt and ſumptuous works. And this ſervility was entailed on their poſterity [z]; for, although it is apparently certain, that they upon their firſt reduction became proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* religion, yet it is thought, they were diſtinguiſhed from the *Jews*; and reckoned of a more ignoble blood, and as born to drudgery. This is ſuppoſed to have been their fate, and thus are they thought to have been blended with the *Jews*; though it is far from being poſitively known (O). And now it remains only for us to obſerve, That among the tribes of the *Canaanites*, enumerated above to have been laden with the yoke of *Solomon*, the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called as we have hitherto ſpoken, are omitted: theſe therefore, we may conclude, bore none of the burthen, but remained whole and independent in their poſſeſſions on the ſea-coaſt, and ſprung afterwards to a great height of fame; continually improving themſelves in navigation, commerce, and the uſeful arts; and becoming comprehended under the famous appellation of *Phœnicians*.

SECT.

[y] 1 Kings ix. 46. [z] See ver. 20, 21. See alſo Ezra ii. 55, 58. and Nehem. xi. 3.

(O) We will give you the moſt obvious texts of ſcripture which relate to this matter; it is firſt ſaid, *And all the people* that were *left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites*, and *Jebuſites which* were *not of the children of Iſrael, their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Iſrael alſo were not able utterly to deſtroy, upon thoſe did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-ſervice unto this day* (63). And at the return from captivity, there is mention made of the *children of Solomon's ſervants. . . . . And the Nethinims and the children of Solomon's ſervants were three hundred and ninety two* (64): And elſewhere are the *Nethinims and the children of Solomon's*

(63) 1 *Kings ix.* 20, 21. (64) *Ezr. ii.* 55, 58.

ſervants

SECT. VII.

The History of the Philistines.

WE have already observed, that this people descended from the *Casluhim* partly, and partly from the *Caphtorim* [a], both from the loins of *Mizraïm*, the son of *Ham*, the son of *Noah*. This is their origin; whence it appears, that *Egypt* was their first Seat: nor have we ought to add concerning the origin of this people, except we acquaint you more particularly, than we have already [b], with the improbable notions, as we think them, of some of the learned concerning the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim* (A). But *Their Origine.*

[a] See Vol. I. p. 366, 367. [b] See Vol. I. ubi supr.

servants mentioned together (65); and in these last texts our translators refer us back to the first, as if they were the children of the *Canaanites* on whom *Solomon* imposed a tribute of bond-service. But there is a difficulty to account for the smallness of the number, so that commentators are willing to deduce these mentioned upon the return from *Babylon*, from some other origin. Perhaps we shall find some traces of them in *Josephus*, who, with some variation from scripture, having acquainted us, That *Solomon* reduced a stubborn remnant of the *Canaanites*, inhabiting between mount *Libanus* and *Hamath*, made them his tributaries, they paying their tribute in servile works and labour; to which purpose they were to furnish *Solomon* with a certain number of slaves agreed on, who were to till the ground, and go through other sorts of drudgery; and over these, says he, were six hundred officers appointed to set them their tasks, and keep them to their work (66). Afterwards enumerating those who returned from *Babylon*, he reckons up six hundred and fifty, who passed for *Israelites*, but could not make out their extraction: others of uncertain genealogy there were five hundred twenty five; and of servants that attended upon the whole multitude, seven thousand three hundred thirty seven (67). These three numbers, making eight thousand five hundred and twelve, may, it is likely, have been *Canaanites*; but still the number is too small, except we suppose, that the far greatest part of the better sort were blended with the *Jews* so intricately, that there was no distinguishing between the pretensions of each, and moreover, that multitudes of them remained behind in the place of their captivity.

(A) As that the *Casluhim* were the antient *Colchi* described by *Herodotus*, and the *Caphtorim*, the *Cappadocians* in *Asia minor*, which though we have rejected already (68), we may have occasion to resume hereafter.

(65) *Nehem. xi.* 3. (66) *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 8. *c.* 2. (67) *Idem ibid. lib.* 11. *c.* 4. (68) *See Vol. I. p.* 366.

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we have, as much as poſſible, forborn to perplex our reader with what can afford no ſolid fruit, and only feed us with the ſlender fare of little better than groundleſs gueſſes, advanced with a preſumption, which we admire how it ſhould have poſſeſſed the minds of men, otherwiſe modeſt and ſcrupulous enough. Therefore we ſhall ſay no more of the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, whence the *Philiſtines* derive their origin, than that they certainly were of *Egypt*, as we have ſaid; and that conſequently the *Philiſtines* came from that country. From *Egypt* they migrated into, and ſeized upon, the land, which was afterwards called by their name; concerning which we ſhall ſay no more here than is barely neceſſary.

Their Country.

The land or country of the *Philiſtines*, known to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Palæſtine*, grew in time to ſuch a height of note as to communicate its name to the whole region, of which it was only a part; ſo that all the *land of Promiſe* became comprehended under this name, which is moſt commonly uſed, even in our days, in the ſame extent, it having prevailed always among the Chriſtians of the *Greek* and *Roman* churches, from whom we have received it. This celebrated name is very apparently derived from *Philiſtine*, which the *Greeks* altered into *Palæſtine*, though ſome pretend to derive it from the *Greek* it ſelf (B), but therein they are certainly miſtaken. Diſmiſſing this obſcurity, we ſhall proceed to mark out the boundaries of this country; which, from what we have ſaid above, may be aptly ſtiled the proper *Palæſtine*. It was a ſlip of land ſtretching along the ſea-ſide; bounded on the eaſt, by the tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*; on the ſouth by *Amalekitis*, and partly, but very little perhaps, by *Edom*; on the weſt by the *Mediterranean*, or *Midland-ſea*; and towards the north it interfered with the tribe of *Dan*. It was a country much longer than broad, but neither way conſiderable for its dimenſions, being ſcarce forty *Engliſh* miles in length; but what it wanted in extent it made up in fertility of ſoil. Towards the ſea it is a plain country, but three or four miles up it begins to ſwell into hills and mountains; whence it is moſt beautifully diverſified with hill and dale, mountain and valley, productive of the moſt luxuriant gifts of nature, and rich in proſpects, which way ſoever the eye be turned. Rivers in this country there are none to ſpeak of; but that defect is ſupplied by exuberant ſprings, and brooks,

(B) Deriving it from *Peluſium*, the famous *Egyptian* city of that name; from whence this people are ſuppoſed to have come; which name they deduce from a *Greek* word ſignifying *dirt*: but of this more hereafter.

and rills, down the ſides of mountains. The temper of the climate, nature of the ſeaſons, and natural hiſtory of this delicious ſpot we dwell not on here, referring our reader to the geography of the *land of Promiſe*, of which it was a part, and a very noble one.

BUT we cannot ſo paſs over the cities of this country, which we will here enumerate and deſcribe as well as we can, beginning from the ſouthermoſt. *Gaza*, the moſt renowned of them all, ſtood upon the ſkirts of the deſert which led to *Egypt*, and was built within two or three miles of the ſea, as from the moſt authentic accounts is gathered. What it was in its firſt days cannot be known; but in time it became conſiderable for ſtrength, beauty, and extent. In the *Hebrew* it is called *Azza*, and *Aza* was it called by the *Syrians* [c]; which has been altered into *Gaza*, which, ſay they, ſignifies a treaſury in the antient *Perſian*; and this name it had becauſe *Cambyſes* in his war with *Egypt* made uſe of it as a magizine [d]. But this is rejected as a mere notion: nor indeed is it a concluſion, ſuppoſing it to be true, that *Cambyſes* did make ſuch a uſe of this city, nothing, as we have ſaid, being to be poſitively determined from a ſimilitude of names and appellatives in different languages.

IN later times it was alſo called *Ione*, and *Minoa* [e]; and the ſea which waſhed along the ſhore from *Gaza* to *Egypt* was called, ſay they, the *Ionian* ſea, *Gaza* being called after *Io* [f]. This city is placed at one of the four corners of the *land of Promiſe* by *Moſes* [g], and was in the lot of the tribe of *Judah*, according to the diviſion *Joſhua* made of the whole land [h]. But though it was attempted, and carried, yet the *Philiſtines* poſſeſſed it again, and kept it [i]. Whether or not it had originally the ſame ſituation which it appears now to have had, cannot be known; but it is probable, that it from the beginning ſtood upon, or near, the ſame ſpot. It ſtood upon an eminence about three miles from the ſea, as we have ſaid, and was of very difficult acceſs for the depth of the ſands which ſurrounded it [k]. But by another author we underſtand it to have been ſcarce a mile diſtant from the ſhore [l], a difference we ſhall not take on us to reconcile. If a well-eſteemed traveller of our own nation be not miſtaken in the place, it is now upon a hill, ſurrounded by delicious vales, and

[c] STEPHAN. ad vocem Γάζα. [d] POMPON. Mel. lib. 1. c. 11. [e] STEPHAN. ubi ſupr. [f] Idem ad vocem Ιονιον. [g] See before, p. 158. [h] Joſh. xv. 47. [i] Judg. i. 18. iii. 3. [k] ARRIAN. l. 2. p. 150. [l] STRABO. l. 16. p. 759.

thoſe

thoſe again encloſed with a chain of hills [m]; but he mentions not a word of deep ſands about it, which if ſo difficult, as is ſaid above, he could not have paſſed over. But though he differs from the antient hiſtorian [n], who gives us the ſituation of this city in reſpect of the ſoil about it; yet he ſeems to agree with the geographer [o] from whom we have its laſt mentioned diſtance from the ſea, computing it at ſeven furlongs, which fall ſhort of a mile [p]: but his expreſſion on this point is obſcure, and we cannot build on it. For the more convenient communication with the ſea, it had a ſea-port, *Majuma* [q], a place of no great account, as ſeems, till *Conſtantine* took notice of it, and called it *Conſtantia*, in honour of his ſon *Conſtantius*. The antient name of this ſea-port is not aſcertained; but *Julian*, out of hatred to the memory of *Conſtantine*, altered its name *Conſtantia* into the *Port of Gaza*, or *the maritime part* of the ſaid city [r]: and from hence we find, perhaps, *Gaza* in the plural number, *Gazæ*. *Majuma* is alſo called the *maritime Gaza*. There is no ſign that it ever was a commodious place for the entertainment of ſhipping; but a ſhift was made with it, where no place more convenient was to be had; and doubtleſs the ſhipping which belonged to, or frequented it, were of a nature proper for ſo indifferent a ſtation; though perhaps, on the other hand, the port may have been altered from what it was by the incroachment of the ſea, but we read nothing of this; parallel caſes, indeed, happen almoſt every day. *Anthedon* ſeems alſo to have been another ſea-port belonging to *Gaza*, ſituate to the ſouthward of *Majuma*; but of what antiquity, or how far, or whether at all, it depended on *Gaza*, cannot be ſaid: it was not quite three miles diſtant from it. We ſhall have occaſion to mention it as a place of ſome note hereafter. We will not particularize the hiſtory of *Gaza*, and ſhall only ſay, that it ſeveral times groaned under the miſeries of war; that it was ſometimes in a flouriſhing ſtate, with mighty walls and coſtly edifices (C); ſometimes in a low

[m] Sandys Trav. Book 3. p. 149. [n] Arrian. ubi ſupr. [o] Strabo ubi ſupr. [p] Sandys ubi ſupr. [q] Sozomen Hiſtor. l. 5. c. 3. Marc Diac. in vit. S. Porphyr. c. 8. [r] Sozomen ubi ſupr. Marc. Diac. ubi ſupr. [s] Hieron. in Dan. xi.

(C) It is now a miſerable place; "Yet there are ſome reliques "left, and ſome impreſſions that teſtify a better condition. For "divers ſimple roofs are ſupported with goodly pillars of *Parian* "marble,

low depreſſed condition. After ſeveral viciſſitudes it lay neglected ſo far, that in the New Teſtament it is called a deſert [t]; ſuch a deſert as it is now we may ſuppoſe, weak in inhabitants, and defenceleſs [u]; for ſo fertile a ſpot can never be called by that miſerable appellation [w], according to the common acceptation of the word with us. In this city they chiefly worſhipped a deity called *Marnas* [x]. Its name is remembred with *Tyre* and *Sidon* [y], when its ſiſter cities are either forgot, or omitted, as not worthy of a place among the conſiderable places of this ſea coaſt.

THE ſecond place we ſhall give to *Aſcalon*, *Aſkelon*, *Aſhkelon*, or *Aſkalon*, a great and noble ſea-port of this country, by antient accounts ſixteen, by modern, twelve miles to the north of *Gaza*; and known to us ſtill under the ſame name it bears in ſcripture, and in the writings of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, by whom it was had in a religious veneration. Nor do we find any conſiderable variation from this name, except that the *Greeks* ſometimes lengthened it into *Aſcalonion*. This city, as well as *Gaza*, is reckoned into the lot or tribe of *Judah*, and was taken by them, but not held. The ſituations of *Gaza* and this city cannot be diſputed, ſince they may be ſaid to ſtand at this day, and have been often viſited; therefore we ſhall multiply no words upon ſo needleſs a diſpute. By *Joſephus* [z] we underſtand this city to have ſtood upon a ſpacious plain, and, in his days, extremely well fortified. Though we have placed this city on the brink of the ſea, and made it a ſea-port of itſelf, yet there is a *Ma-*

[t] Acts viii. 26. [u] See SANDYS ubi ſupr. [w] Vide eund. & ANTON. GALL. apud RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſt. p. 788. [x] STEPHAN. ubi ſupr. HIERON. Epiſt. 11. ad LÆT. [y] LUCAN lib. 3. [z] De Bell. Judaic. l. 3 c. 1.

" marble, ſome plain, ſome curiouſly carved. A number broken " in pieces do ſerve for threſholds, jambs of doors, and ſides of " windows, almoſt unto every beggarly cottage. On the north- " eaſt corner, and ſummit of the hill, are the ruins of huge " arches ſunk low in the earth, and other foundations of a ſtately " building. From whence the laſt *Sanziak* conveyed marble pillars " of an incredible bigneſs, enforced to ſaw them aſunder ere they " could be removed; which he employed in adorning a certain " moſque below in the valley." The *Jews* are ſilly enough to think this the building *Samſon* pulled down upon the *Philiſtines* (2), We muſt note by the by, that our traveller ſeems to confound *Majuma* and *Gaza* with each other.

(2) *Sandy's Travels, l. 3. p. 149. 4. Ed.*

juma [a] given to this, as well as to *Gaza*, which, whence it was necessary, cannot be precisely said; it may, perhaps, have been a distinct part of the city next to the sea-side; or, perhaps, *Ascalon* was not quite so close thereto, but it might require the convenience of a more immediate port-town to intervene; or the harbour of *Ascalon* may have been rendered unfit for the reception of shipping, as we have before observed in the speaking of *Gaza*, whence a necessity arose of seeking some other place near, and of erecting a town there. But, to have done with these conjectures, let us proceed to things we are more sure of. *Ascalon* was famous among the antients on many accounts. It was the birth-place of *Semiramis* the *Assyrian* empress, which puts us in mind of the lake that is said to have stood near this city, wherein the goddess *Derceto*, her mother, plunging herself for shame of her rash amour, was transformed into a fish [b]. This city is noted for the place which originally produced the kind of *Onion*, called the *shalot* [c], which is supposed thence to have borrowed its name (D). It is famed also for its wines [d], and very remarkable for its great flights of pigeons [e], which, whence they encreased to such extraordinary numbers, will be told hereafter: nor must we forget the cypresses [f], which were here admired, or the extraordinary wells attributed to *Abraham* and *Isaac* [g]. The changes this city underwent will be shewn in the course of this work. It is now dwindled to almost nothing.

We now strike up into the country to *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, which lay about twelve miles north-easterly of *Ascalon*. This was a city of extraordinary fame among the antients. It had an inland situation, and is said to have been built by one who fled from the *Red-sea*, who called it after his wife, whose name was *Aza* or *Capra* [h]. But this seems at least, to be a mistake; we hear of none that fled from the *Red-sea* but the *Edomites*; and that they, under some chief, may have re-

[a] Joan. Hierosoly. In Act. Concil. Constantinop. Tom. V. [b] Diodor Sic l. 1. par. 1. p. 65. [c] Stephan. ad vocem Ἀσκάλων. [d] Alex. Trall. l. 8. c. 3. & Albert. Aques Histor. Hierosol. l. 9. c. 15 and 51. [e] Philo. apud Euseb. d. Præpar. Evang. l. 8. [f] Dioscorid. de re Med. l. 1. c. 121. Plin. lib. 12. [g] Origen. cont. Celsum. l. 3. Euseb. ad vocem Φρέαρ. [h] Stephan. ad vocem Ἄζωτος.

(D) This seems at first sight to be a very oblique derivation; but the *Latin* of this plant is *Ascalonia*, whence the *French* have their *Echalote*, which we have curtailed into *Shalot*.

paired

paired and fortified this place is probable enough; but that they impoſed this name [*Azotus*] on it, we cannot allow, it being very evidently a corruption of the *Hebrew* name *Aſhdod*, which was in uſe long before the *Edomites* were driven out of their country. But to continue what we find concerning this city, it ſtood in a champain country, which produced great plenty of corn [i]. It held out againſt the longeſt ſiege recorded in hiſtory, if it be true, that *Pſammitichus* laboured twenty nine years in the reduction of it. Here ſtood the temple of *Dagon*, and here was he peculiarly worſhipped.

ALMOST eaſt from hence lay the city of *Gath*, of principal fame, as being the royal ſeat in the middle times of this people; but it dwindled away very early, ſo that we have few or no materials towards a deſcription of it. It is famed for the remnant of the giants, or *Anakims*, who there fixed their abode.

NEARLY north-weſt of this city, about nine miles diſtant, was *Ekron*, corruptedly *Accaron*, concerning which we can only ſay, that it was the northermoſt of the five cities; that it was conſequently a frontier town; that the famous idol *Baal-zebub* was there worſhipped; that it faded away to a great degree of obſcurity, and that, although the name, and even conſiderable veſtiges of what it had once been, ſubſiſted for many ages, it happens, that no mention is made of it in prophane authors.

THESE were by way of eminence called the five cities of the *Philiſtines*, and the whole country was ſometimes from them called *Pentapolis*; and here their five lords reſided. Other cities they had, as *Gerar*, venerable as it was the antient ſeat of their firſt kings; but its exact ſituation being by no means determined, we for that reaſon paſs it over with the bare mention of its name, and for the ſame reaſon we ſhall be quite ſilent as to what concerns their other places of leſs note.

THEIR moſt antient form of government was adminiſtred by kings, who were all honoured with the appellation of *Abimelech*; ſuch were the kings of this people, father and ſon, who had to do with *Abraham* and *Iſaac*: but as we have obſerved concerning the *Canaanites*, and as will be plainly ſeen in the following hiſtory, theſe firſt kings were under great limitations. The ſceptre departed from this race very ſoon; for, in the days of *Moſes*, their monarchy was revolved into an ariſtocracy of five lords, who ſeem to have been in

Their government, cuſtoms, &c.

[i] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 12.

part independent of each other, though they were also apparently obliged to act in concert for the common cause. After this they had a king over them, which, how they submitted to, or whether it was their choice or not, we cannot say. This second race of kings are called, so far as we know, by the appellation of *Achish*, though they were also called *Abimelech*. Three of these we think we have some account of, but their power seems to have been circumscribed within very narrow bounds; they were subject to the control of their imperious nobles, and particularly of the lords, the five we think, who seem to have subsisted under these kings; so that these princes, it is likely, were set up, to act merely as umpires, and to appear at the head of affairs, cyphers of state, without any extent of power. This kind of mixed government can be to none so aptly applied as to that of *Poland* in our days. We find little or no mention of this second race of kings. They held their residence at *Gath*, during their best times, from whence the royal seat was removed to *Ascalon*, and from thence to *Gaza*. In a word, we may say, that the *Philistines* had very violent notions of liberty. They did not circumcise, and, in their earliest times, at least, held adultery in the greatest abomination.

Their character, language, arts, and inventions, &c.

After what we have said we need not remark, that they were a very warlike people; but to it we must add, that they were ingenious and industrious. Their character must be considered at different times; for we may say, they were not always the same people. In the days of *Abraham* and *Isaac* they were, most assuredly, a righteous and hospitable nation; and so in great measure they may have been, under all their first race of kings: upon whose decay, a revolution in government, religion, and morals, may have ensued, all together. From henceforward they became like other idolatrous nations, the same enormities crept in, and prevailed among them. They are constantly mentioned in scripture as strangers, and though possessed of a most valuable part of the *Land of Promise*, yet God would never suffer them to be driven out, they being *Egyptians* by descent, and not original natives, whose land only was promised to *Abraham* and his seed. Their arrogance and ambition were great, and their inveterate enmity (E) against the *Israelites* was such, that one would

(E) And from a passage in *Chronicles* (3) it is guessed to have been of very antient date; where it is said, that the *men of Gath*

(3) 1. vii. 21.

the

would be almoſt tempted to think, they were created on purpoſe to be a thorn in the ſide of that choſen people; for though the hand of GOD was ſelf-evidently againſt them ſeveral times, and particularly when they detained the ark, yet they hardened their hearts, and cloſed their eyes againſt conviction, flattering themſelves, that they might one day compaſs their ends againſt the *Iſraelites*. They ſeem to have entertained a very fond veneration for their deities, in which they perſiſted, though they, with their own eyes, ſaw the ſhame and ignominy which befel them, when in the preſence of the captive ark; and were even ſtupid enough to imagine notwithſtanding, that their gods might prevail againſt him, who had ſo greatly ſhamed them. They were much addicted to trade, which they, conſidering their ſituation, may have exerciſed from the beginning; but by the acceſſion of the fugitive *Edomites* in *David*'s time [k], they roſe to ſo great a reputation as merchants, that the *Grecks*, it ſeems, reckoned them the moſt conſiderable people that way, and from them called all the country bordering on them *Palæſtine* [l]. Their language was not ſo different from that ſpoken by the *Hebrews*, as to cauſe any apparent difficulty for them to converſe together, as will be perceived by their intercourſe with *Abraham* and *Iſaac*; ſo that in all this region the ſeveral nations ſpoke one and the ſame tongue, perhaps indeed with ſome variation of dialect. They had doubtleſs the arts and ſciences in common with their moſt learned and ingenious contempo-

[k] See before, p. 143, 144. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p. 37.

[l] See CUMBELAND Origin.

ſlew the children of Ephraim, who would have taken their cattle from them. This incident is no where elſe to be found, and there are various thoughts concerning the ſenſe we muſt take this paſſage in. As to the time it was tranſacted, moſt allow it to have been while the children of *Iſrael* were ſojourners in *Egypt*. It plainly appears by the next verſe, that *Ephraim* himſelf was living at the time. The *Targum* ſuppoſes his children miſcomputed the time they were to ſerve in *Egypt*, and began too early an attempt upon their promiſed land. Dr. *Lightfoot* (4) makes the men of *Gath* to have been the aggreſſors, and ſuppoſes the *Ephraimites* only ſtood up to defend themſelves and cattle. But taking the words in the firſt ſenſe, which ſeems moſt obvious, they may ſerve to account for the reaſon why *Moſes* would not conduct the *Iſraelites* by the way of the *Philiſtines*. If this be the caſe, it muſt have been ſome horrid injury, or very uncommonly reſented.

(4) *Annotat. in Gen. ſub fine.*

raries; and, perhaps, some of them in greater perfection than any where else. They had giants among them, who, whether they were originally of the breed of the *Anakims*, who retired hither when they were expelled *Hebron* [m], or whether they sprang from accidental births is not a very clear matter. We must not forget, that the bow and arrow is attributed to their invention (F), and that they were particularly skilful in the use of the same.

Their religion. Their religion was different at different times: under their first race of kings, they were of one religion with the *Hebrews*: *Abimelech*, in the sin he had like to have committed with *Sarah* through *Abraham*'s timidity, was favoured with a divine admonition from God; and by his speech and behaviour at that time it seems, as if he had been used to converse with God. In after-times they erred into endless superstitions, and a very multifarious idolatry, each of the principal or five cities seeming to have had an idol of its own. *Marna*, *Marnas*, or *Marnash* [n], was worshipped at *Gaza*, and is said to have migrated into *Crete* (G), and to have be-

[m] See before, p. 179. [n] Hieronym. in Esai.

(F) It is supposed (5) that before they removed from *Pelusium*, where they are thought to have first inhabited, as we shall shew hereafter, they had occasion to annoy the enemies, who then infested them, at a distance; whereupon the bow and arrow came into their head, wherewith they armed their stoutest men, whom they called *Cherethites* (6), a name which includes this whole nation, as will be observed hereafter.

(G) The migration of this god may be naturally enough accounted for, if true it be that the *Philistines* planted the island of *Crete*; and it must be also, that the inhabitants there were a colony from *Gaza* in particular, the peculiar place of his worship. The *Philistines* are in several places of scripture (7) called *Cherethites*: particularly, they are so called by the *Egyptian* (8), whom *David* laid hands on, when he was in pursuit of the *Amalekites*, who had burnt *Ziklag*; whence we may infer this to have been their *Egyptian* name, or the name they were known by in *Egypt*. Where they are elsewhere called *Cherethites*, as in our version, the LXX write them *Cretes*, or *Cretans*; and this is the best part of that foundation whereon the learned have built their notion of deriving the *Cretans* from the *Philistines*; and from hence they proceed farther, and derive the *Curetes* also from them, which we may consider hereafter.

(5) *See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p.* 245. (6) *Bochart. Can. l.* 1. *c.* 15. (7) 1 *Sam. xxx.* 14. 16. *Ezek. xxv.* 16. *Zephan. ii.* 5. (8) 1 *Sam. ubi sup.*

come

come the *Cretan Jupiter*. *Dagon* was worshipped at *Azotus*; he seems to have been the most grand, the most antient, and most favourite god they had: to which may be added, that he, perhaps, subsisted the longest of any [o], that did not straggle out of the country, as we are not sure he did. To him they attributed the invention of bread-corn, or of *Agriculture*, as his name imports [p]. We cannot enter into the common notion of his being represented as a monster, half man, half fish; or consequently into another, almost as common, that he is the same with the *Syrian* goddess *Dercето*, who we are told, was represented under some such mixed form. Our opinion is, that his idol was in shape wholly like a man; for we read of his head, and his hands, and his feet [q] (H). He stood in a temple at *Azotus*, and had priests of his own, who paid a very constant attendance on him, as one would think [r]. Next to *Dagon* was *Baal-zebub*, the god of *Ekron*.

[o] See 1 Macc. 10. [p] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 299, (H 3). [q] See FULLER's Pisgah-sight, Book 2. c. 10, § 32. [r] See 1 Sam. v. 3, 4.

(H) That he had feet, we understand from a *Greek* reading of the LXX in *Fuller* (9), where mention is made of *Dagon*'s mutilation, which runs thus, ἀμφότερα τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἀφηρημένα. Here we are told that the soles of his feet were off; that is, his feet. In the edition before us, which is after the *Vatican* copy, we read τὰ ἴχνη τῶν χειρῶν, or *the soles of his hands*, which seems absurd. We have never observed, that the *Greek* word Ἴχνος is put for the *palm of the hand*. And we the rather reject this reading, because a very senseless tautology follows it; for it is said, that the *wrists of his hands* were gone also. Whence it must appear that *hands*, in the first place, are corruptly placed for *feet*, and that *Dagon* had hands, and head, and face, and feet. Sure no one, allowing this, will give him a fish's tail: that would make him *Horace*'s monster indeed. And here we cannot but note the fondness of the generality of the learned, rather to derive his name from דג *Dag*, a fish, than from דגן *Dagan*, bread-corn (10): it seems no difficult matter to choose which we are to stick by. From this last etymology it may be rationally enough supposed, that they borrowed their idolatry from *Egypt* (11); and that *Dagon* is a copy of their *Isis*, to whom much the same invention is attributed. Not that they brought it away with them from *Egypt*; from thence, their history plainly assures us, they brought a pure system of religion; and we do not remember, that *Moses* mentions the *Egyptians* as idolaters once throughout all his writings.

(9) *Pisgah-sight, Book 2. c. 10. §. 32. in the Margin.* (10) *See Vol. I. p. 135.* (11) *See Shuckford's Connect. of the sacr. and proph. Hist. Vol. I. p. 344.*

In the text of the New Testament he is *Beelzebub*, and the *prince of Devils*. His name is rendered, *Lord of flies*; which on the one hand is held to be a mock appellation bestowed on him by the *Jews*; but on the other it is more rationally supposed, that he was so stiled by his votaries, as *Hercules Apomyos*, and others among the heathens, from driving away flies; and he, it is not unlikely, may have been the parent of the other pagan deities, who are famed for the same pretended power. This is certainly the truth of the matter; for *Ahazia* [s] in his sickness had never sent to consult him under that name, if it had carried any opprobry or reproach along with it. How, or under what form, he was represented is uncertain: Some place him on a throne, and attire him like a king; others paint him as a fly [t]: a very wide difference. To have done with this obscurity, it appears, that he became an oracle in highest repute for omniscience and veracity; that he had priests of his own; and that he in the middle times at least, was much sought after by those who were anxious about futurity, or solicitous concerning other hidden matters. *Dercето* we take certainly to have been the goddess of *Ascalon* [u]; but, as we are herein only supported by prophane authority, without the least countenance from scripture, we shall not insist on it. *Gath* is seemingly the only city of all the five unprovided with a deity; wherefore, as the scripture declares, that *Ashtaroth* [w], or *Astarte*, was worshipped by this people, we are ready to place her at *Gath*, and the rather, as this of all their cities may have had most communication with *Sidon*; but concerning her we must be silent here, seeing we shall have a more proper opportunity to touch on her hereafter. To speak in general concerning their religious rites and ceremonies, which is all we can do; it appears, as if they erected very large and spacious temples, or else very wide halls for the celebration of their solemn seasons and festivals [x], for such they surely had; that their religious offices were attended with much pomp, and a great concourse from all parts; and that they presented their gods with the chief of their spoil, and carried them about to war with them. We do not find in scripture, that they sacrificed their children, and yet the *Curetes* (I) are derived from them.

It

[s] 2 Kings i. 2. [t] Procopius Gazeus. [u] Vide Diod. Sic. l. 2. p. 65. [w] 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. [x] Judg. xvi. 27.

(I) The *Curetes* did sacrifice their children to *Saturn* (12); and from the similitude this name bears to *Cherethites* or *Philistines*, it has

(12) *Ister apud Porphyr. l. 2. § 56.*

been

IT is now time for us to think of the hiſtory of this extraordinary nation. They came directly out of *Egypt* (K); but upon *Their hiſtory.*

been advanced, that they are the ſame (13); but as we have no warrant for ſaying the *Philiſtines* practiſed ſo barbarous and unnatural a cuſtom, we may venture to pronounce, that they learned it not from them, but borrowed it elſewhere.

(K) This we take to have been really the caſe, and ſo do many of great authority; but there is alſo another opinion concerning this matter. For it is thought there is a great affinity in name between the *Caſluhim* and *Colchi*; whence it has been taught, that they migrated firſt into the country of *Colchis*, now *Mingrelia*; and from thence returning towards *Egypt*, in their way, ſeized on the country of the *Avims*, and there fixed their abode. *Bochart* (14) takes this to be plainly proved by what is ſaid of the agreement between the *Colchi* and the *Egyptians* in *Herodotus* and others; therein forgetting, that the *Philiſtines* did not circumciſe, which *Herodotus* aſſures us the *Colchi* did. Again, nothing can be poſitively aſſerted in this matter, by what the ſame author relates, who ſpeaks of them as dwelling in *Colchis* in his time, where they had abode ſo long that it was doubtful when they ſettled there firſt; ſo that from him there is no ſolid argument to be deduced, that the *Colchi* he ſpeaks of were the *Caſluhim* of *Moſes*. In like manner the *Caphtorim*, from whence alſo the *Philiſtines* are derived, are placed in *Cappadocia*, a country of *Aſia minor*, adjoining to the country of *Colchis*. Here, ſay they (15), we find the city called *Side*, and the country *Sidene*, mentioned by *Strabo*: and, becauſe *Side* in *Greek* and *Caphtor* in *Hebrew* ſignify a pomegranate, therefore, in all likelihood, the ſame country was by the *Hebrews* called *Caphtor*, and by the *Greeks Sidene*. But, to ſhew that nothing can be fixed from ſuch a manner of arguing, it may not be amiſs to add, that the *Caphtorim* are on the other hand ſuppoſed to have dwelt in *Afric*, on the bay of the great *Syrtis*, which is ſuppoſed to have been called כף-תור *chaph-thor*, the *circular ſhore*, as it forms a ſemicircle; and that the pomegranate was ſo called by the *Hebrews*, becauſe it firſt came from that part of *Afric*, conſonant to what *Pliny* writes concerning the origin of that fruit (16). We have already declared our ſentiment as to the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, and muſt therefore refer the reader to the place where he may find it (17). It would be in vain for us to touch on the hiſtory of the *Philiſtines* before they removed out of *Egypt*, or from the laſt place of their abode, before they came into the land of the *Avims*; but we will, however, briefly inſert what ſome have been tempted to ſay upon that very obſcure ſubject. According to biſhop *Cumberland* (18), they

(13) *Bochart. Caſtle, &c.* (14) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 31. (15) *Bochart. ubi ſupr.* (16) *Vide Cleric. in Gen. x.* 14. (17) *See Vol I. p.* 366. (18) *on Sanchon. p.* 372.

cohabited

upon what motive is not poſitively known, no more than the time of their removal: and, finding that the *Avims* [y] were a people ſeated in a pleaſant and fruitful land, and that they were ſtrong enough to expel them, they made their attempt, and ſucceeded. We are not much inclined to think them a very numerous multitude when they firſt ſettled in this their conqueſt; for their king, even in the days of *Iſaac*, grew jealous of that patriarch's power, which is no great ſign that his own was very exorbitant; though poſſibly they may have been ſettled there many years before, and muſt conſequently have been very much increaſed to what they were at firſt. But, ſuppoſing this kingdom or ſtate to have been but weak in its beginnings, as moſt others have been, we proceed, continuing with the next notice we have of their affairs.

Abimelech I. Abimelech (L), their king in *Abraham*'s days, was an holy and juſt perſon, and one who had intercourſe with God. He reſided at *Gerar*, of which place he is called king, and had like to have been drawn into a very fatal ſnare by the too great caution of *Abraham*; who, coming into this kingdom to be out of the ſtench of the vale of *Siddim*, then reeking under the calamitous judgment of heaven, pretended, that *Sarah* was not his wife, but his ſiſter. *Abimelech* ſaw her, and was ſmitten with love of her; and, underſtanding ſhe was a ſingle woman, reſolved to take her to his bed, and he took her accordingly to him with that intent: but, ere he accompliſhed his deſires, he was warned by God to return the woman to her concealed huſband, and that immediately,

[y] Deut. ii. 23.

cohabited with the *Phœnices* or *Canaanites* in *Goſhen*, that is, that ſide of *Egypt* next to *Arabia*; but finding their country invaded by their kindred, the other ſons of *Mizraïm*, they left it to avoid the miſeries of the impending war between the paſtors and the pure *Egyptians*; that is, they removed into the land where *Abraham* found them.

(L) One *Philiſtinus*, whom *Joſephus* (19) makes a ſon of *Mizraïm*, is ſometimes reckoned their firſt king (20), from whom that *Jewiſh* writer derives the name of *Paleſtine*. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is alſo likely, that either they borrowed their name from *Peluſium*, or *Peluſium* from them; for here, or hereabouts, did they firſt ſettle, as is by moſt allowed (21); and it will not be much out of the way if we ſuppoſe they founded that city, and dwelt there till force or inclination made them remove.

(19) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 7. (20) *Vide Hiſt. Jul. in Regn. Palæſt.*
(21) *See Vol. I. p.* 367.

upon

upon pain of death. *Abimelech* hereupon excuſed himſelf to the divine viſion upon the innocence of his intentions; and ſeeming to have freſh in mind the terrible overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, *Lord*, ſays he, *wilt thou alſo ſlay a righteous nation?* As if he would take vengeance on his people for a crime he was going ignorantly to commit. But he had the comfortable anſwer from the viſion or dream, That GOD knew well, and approved his integrity, and had prevented him in his intentions; and, to conclude, that *Abraham* ſhould, at his requeſt, pray for him, and all would be well again. Being thus admoniſhed, he firſt acquainted his ſervants with what had happened, and all were inſtantly ſeized with a general dread for the conſequences which might enſue: Then, calling *Abraham* to him, he asked what he had done to him, that he ſhould miſlead him into ſo dangerous an error; or what offence he had ever committed againſt him, that he ſhould tempt him to ſuch a ſin, as might have proved the ruin, not of himſelf only, but of his whole kingdom alſo. Indeed, ſays he, you have not uſed me well; what have you obſerved in the morals or behaviour of me and my people, that you ſhould imagine, we would offer any violence to you out of deſire for your wife? The anſwer he received from *Abraham* to all this, was a frank confeſſion of the truth, he acknowledging, without diſguiſe, that he feared they had not been endued with right notions of GOD and his laws, and that he ſhould certainly be deprived of his life, that they might enioy *Sarah*. Moreover, that in ſaying ſhe was his ſiſter, he had not ſpoken wrong, ſhe being really ſo; and, to ſalve the matter in ſome meaſure to the king's good liking, he acquainted him, That in ſtrange places it had always been his cuſtom to make her paſs for his ſiſter, only for fear of the worſt. *Abimelech* was ſatisfied with what he heard; and in conſequence thereof, and in obedience to the divine admonition, not only returned *Sarah* to *Abraham*, but in ſo doing, made him a very noble preſent in ſheep and oxen, and in ſervants, both men and women; declaring to him withal, that he was welcome to live in what part of his dominions he beſt liked. To *Sarah* he ſaid, *Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand* pieces *of ſilver: behold, he* is *to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that* are *with thee, and with all* other: *thus ſhe was reproved.* In this manner did *Abimelech* acquit himſelf of the divine admonition, and, upon the prayers of *Abraham*, he and his whole houſe were reſtored to their natural faculties, of which they had been deprived for *Sarah*'s ſake, the LORD having ſtruck them

them all with barrenneſs and impotency (M). Ever after this, *Abimelech* lived in perfect harmony with *Abraham*, and that the ſame might be tranſmitted down to their poſterity, *Abimelech*, with the participation of *Phichol* the chief captain of his hoſt, propoſed an oath to *Abraham*, whereby he ſhould bind his poſterity to live in love with his, and deal by them juſt as he had dealt by him. This was readily embraced by *Abraham*; but firſt he deſired a diſpute might be ſet right, concerning a well which *Abimelech*'s ſervants had forcibly taken from him. *Abimelech* declared he never had heard a word of this outrage till that moment, and that nothing of the kind ſhould have been then to be complained of, had *Abraham* informed him of it. And that this matter might be terminated in ſuch a manner as to admit of no farther diſpute, he accepted of ſeven ew-lambs, in teſtimony, that as *Abraham* had been at the charge of digging the well, it belonged of right to him, and to him alone. Theſe ſeven ew-lambs, which were ſet apart for this end out of a very great herd of other cattle, ſheep and oxen, he accepted, together with the reſt, from whence they were picked, and the deſired covenant was made; then *Abimelech*, roſe up, and *Phichol* the chief captain of his hoſt, and they returned from whence they came [z] (N).

Abimelech

[z] Gen. xx. xxi.

(M) "Or with ſuch ſwellings in the ſecret parts, that the men "could neither enjoy their wives, or the women, who were with "child, be delivered (22)." They muſt have been very ſenſible of ſuch an alteration as this; but it is on the other hand ſuppoſed to have been ſomething imperceptible, both by the men and women, and a matter not to be diſcovered, but by length of time; and thence it is concluded, that *Abraham* and *Sarah* were a conſiderable time at *Abimelech*'s court (23). Nothing can be poſitively determined in this caſe from the words of the text. We find this whole ſtory quite altered by *Joſephus* (24), who ſays, *Abimelech* was taken with ſo violent a fit of ſickneſs, that his life was deſpaired of; that in the midſt of it he had a dream, which admoniſhed him concerning *Sarah*; that finding himſelf upon the mending-hand, he called together his friends, and diſcloſed to them his dream, and the violence of his paſſion; and that thereupon he made up the matter with *Abraham*, and ſo on.

(N) In the text it is, *they returned into the land of the Philiſtines* (25); as if they had come out of it to make a league with *Abraham*, who was ſtill a ſojourner in *Paleſtine*: it can therefore mean

(22) *Patrick upon Gen. xx.* 18. (23) *Vide Cleric. in Gen. xx.* 17. (24) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 13. (25) *Gen.* 21. 31.

no

ABIMELECH the son of *Abimelech*, and therefore called the second (O) of that name or appellation, succeeded his father in the kingdom of the *Philistines*, and reigned also at *Gerar*, and had almost the same transactions with *Isaac*, as his father had with *Abraham*. He seems to have been actuated by the very same principles with his father, and, by what appears, he well deserves to be stiled a just and pious prince. In his days came *Isaac* to *Gerar*, sore pressed by famine, and conducting *Rebekah* with him, whom in imitation of his father, he gave out as his sister or cousin. Whether *Abimelech* and his subjects had remembrance of that fallacy before, and what had like thereupon to have ensued to the grievous detriment of the whole nation; or whether the morals of this country were still so pure, and chastity and hospitality in such due and high esteem, that they abhorred the thoughts of an impure or troublesome attempt, we take not on us to say; but so it was, that *Rebekah* was unmolested by suitors of any sort: and *Isaac* was perfectly at his ease upon her account. However, it is pretty evident, that *Abimelech* himself, at least, had a shrewd suspicion that they were man and wife; for looking one day out of his window, as it is expressed, he saw *Isaac* caressing *Rebekah* in such a manner, as convinced him they were much nearer related than they pretended to be. Wherefore, he called *Isaac* to him, and asked him how he could be so deceitful, pretending that she, who was really his wife, was no more than his sister? To which *Isaac* pleaded his father *Abraham*'s excuse. *Abimelech* replied, It was by no more than that *Abimelech* returned to the place of his own abode, as if a distinction was now made of that part of the country occupied by *Abraham*, which, by the covenant made, was now considered as his own, and no longer under the jurisdiction of the *Philistines*. *Abimelech* II.

(O) Some (26), between these two *Abimelechs*, place *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was so kind to *Abraham* (27), which, perhaps, is the best, if not the only ground of such a surmise. It is supposed he may have been surnamed the *Hittite*, either from having conquered that tribe, or from having entered into a league with them (28); but nothing of this kind is to be depended upon or believed. This second *Abimelech* is the natural successor of the former, as appears by his name or appellation, and by the series of time: his father was contemporary with *Abraham*, as he was with *Isaac*; but so plain a case can admit of no dispute with any, but such as are fond of nothing else.

(26) *Theophil. Antioch.* (27) *See before*, p. 171. (28) *Vide Hist. Jul. in Regn. Palæst.* p. 76.

no means kindly done of him, for that ignorantly some or other of the people might have lain with her, and thereby have involved the whole nation in a most dangerous sin (P). Which to prevent, he made proclamation of the matter, and forbad any to seek *Rebekah* to lie with her, or attempt to hurt her husband, upon pain of death. Nothing can well be added to give us a more favourable idea of this upright king than his behaviour in this case; doubtless he was no stranger to what had happened in a like case to his father; and having the fearful judgments of God before his eyes, he had faith therein, and dreaded to incur the wrath of God. And very remarkable it is, that though, considering the dreadfulness of his apprehensions, it might have been expected, that he would have driven out *Isaac* from his dominions, as one who, either maliciously or ignorantly, had exposed his whole nation to irretrievable ruin; yet, instead of that, he suffers him to abide in the land till he began to look on him more as a dangerous rival, than a harmless inmate. Then indeed, when the *Philistines* beheld the prodigious increase of *Isaac*'s store, they envied him, and studied to make him uneasy: and at last *Abimelech* himself sent to *Isaac*, desiring he would seek some other abode, pretending, he could not be at rest while he had so powerful and near a neighbour. This request, though seemingly conceived in very modest and friendly terms, took not effect; *Isaac*, as seems, only removing from one part of

(P) Notwithstanding this *Abimelech* makes so amiable a figure in the writings of *Moses*, *Josephus* (29) represents him as a very ill and corrupt person; and, to mend the matter, tells his story in a very broken manner. Passing over what relates to *Rebekah*, and *Isaac*'s denial of her for his wife, he says, that *Abimelech* did behave with much outward respect to *Isaac* upon his first arrival in his country; but in time, finding him to be more in the favour of God than himself, he broke with him, and burned with envy of him, and gave him all the ill-natured trouble he could upon all occasions. But in the end, perceiving the man's increase, and well knowing the corruption of his own heart, he began to be afraid of the consequences his inhospitable breach might bring on him and his, and thought it best to propose to him the covenant which was made between him and *Abraham*; for he all along takes this *Abimelech* for the same that conversed with *Abraham*, thereby to blacken him the more, as a man of no faith or simplicity of intention; and besides, thereby makes him abundantly too old, except he supposes *Abimelech* to have been but a child, or a mere lad, when *Abraham* first removed into the land of the *Philistines*.

(29) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 18.

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the country to another; for violence in thoſe days was neither uſed or dreaded, except in very extraordinary caſes, or maintained by the falſe and inhuman gloſſes and arguments, which have ſince been too frequently advanced to prove the neceſſity or wiſdom of it. Hot bickerings and contentions after this aroſe between the *Philiſtines* of *Gerar* and *Iſaac*'s ſervants, who opening the wells which *Abraham* had dug, and which the *Philiſtines* after his death had ſtopped up, and wanting ſtill more water, ſought for new ſprings, and dug new wells, which the *Philiſtine* herdſmen claimed as their right; whence the wells thus diſputed, which were two, were one of them by *Iſaac* called *eſek*, or *contention*, and the other *ſitnah*, or *hatred*. By theſe vexations and obſtinate claims, they put *Iſaac* upon ſhifting his place a ſecond time. *Abimelech* at laſt, remembring, we may ſuppoſe, the covenant between his father and *Abraham*, and plainly perceiving, that *Iſaac* was favoured with GOD's ſpecial favour and bleſſing, thought it his duty, or his intereſt, to renew the aforeſaid covenant; and taking with him *Ahuzzath*, an intimate friend, and *Phichol* (Q) the chief captain of his hoſt, went to *Iſaac*, who at firſt wondered to ſee them, after what had paſt, and plainly told them as much. To which they anſwered, That they plainly ſaw GOD was with him, and that he was riſing to a high pitch of power and proſperity; and therefore deſired to enter into bonds of friendſhip with him by a new covenant, or by a revival of the old; deſiring no other terms, than that the *Philiſtines* and their poſterity might be uſed and conſidered by *Iſaac* and his poſterity, as he and his family had been conſidered and uſed by *Abimelech* and his people. They were all three then entertained by *Iſaac*, and the league they deſired was mutually ſworn to next morning, and they departed in peace [a].

THE hiſtory of the *Philiſtines*, hitherto pretty clear and circumſtantial, is all at once involved in an impenetrable miſt, through which we can only perceive, that the men of *Gath* fell on the children of *Ephraim*, and ſlew them for at-

[a] Gen. xxvi.

(Q) The chief captain of his father's hoſt, as may be remembred, was alſo called *Phichol* (30); but, as it is impoſſible, or very highly improbable at leaſt, that this was the ſame man, we conclude *Phichol* to have been a title of honour or dignity; and that as the king was conſtantly called *Abimelech*, his chief miniſter or general was conſtantly called *Phichol*.

(30) *See before, p.* 204.

tempting

tempting to drive off their cattle [b]. When this happened, or the particulars of it, or the conſequences that enſued, we know not [c].

For a very long ſeries of years we hear nothing of this people, and are only left to gueſs, that they in the mean time diſſolved their antient form of government, and contracted an averſion to the *Iſraelites*; for when they are next mentioned, they are repreſented under diſtinct juriſdictions, and at ſtrife with the children of *Iſrael*.

They eſcaped, as ſeems, the fury of *Joſhua*; but ſoon after his death *Gaza*, *Aſkelon*, and *Ekron* (R) were taken from them by the united tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah* [d]; but they poſſeſſed the ſaid cities again in a very ſhort time [e]: but whether they recovered them by force of *Arms*, or whether they were reſtored to them by the conquerors, is not ſaid.

About one hundred and twenty years after the reduction of the three cities above-mentioned, the *Philiſtines* held the *Iſraelites* under their yoke, till they were delivered by *Shamgar*, who ſlew ſix hundred of this people with an ox-goad (S) [f]. Nor muſt we forget, that the *Philiſtines* ſuffered in common with the *Iſraelites* [g], by the furious incurſions and ravages of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* kings of *Midian* [h].

A ſecond time they oppreſſed the *Iſraelites* in conjunction with the *Ammonites* in the days of *Jephthah* [i].

A third time they reduced the *Iſraelites* by the permiſſion of God, and kept them very ſtrictly under, forty years. In the mean time was *Samſon* born to check their pride, and give them

[b] 1 Cron. vii. 21. [c] See before, p. 196, (E) [d] Judg. iii. 18. [e] Judg. xiv. 19. [f] iii. 31. [g] See Judg. vi. 4. [h] See before, p. 120. [i] See before, p. 102.

(R) Here *Joſephus* (31) tells us of only *Askelon* and *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, as ſubdued, and, by an unpardonable inaccuracy, reckons them to the *Canaanites*. But for *Gaza* and *Ekron*, or *Accaron*, ſays he, they were in the flat country, very ſtrong in chariots, and well able to make good their defence, whereby they ſaved themſelves from the calamities of their neighbours.

(S) It is worth obſerving, that *Joſephus* (32), who is ſo fond of extraordinary events, and ſo apt to make more of them, than, it is likely, he found them, quite paſſes over this. We will not dwell on the niceties which are offered to explain or illuſtrate this action. A parallel caſe is found in *Homer*, where *Lycurgus* puts to

(31) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 2. (32) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 5.

flight

them great trouble (T). He, when grown up, was ſmitten with love of a damſel of this country, who dwelt at *Timnath*. At the celebration of the nuptials thirty young men of the *Philiſtines* were appointed to attend on *Samſon*, as we now ſpeak (U); who, among other diſcourſe, propoſed a riddle to theſe thirty youths concerning a lion he had killed, in whoſe carcaſs, a twelve-month after he had killed him, he found honey. It was propoſed to theſe young men by *Samſon*, that if they got the better of his riddle, he would give them thirty ſuits of apparel, one to each; but that if they could not anſwer him at the end of the ſeven days of the marriage-feſtival, they ſhould each of them give him the ſame. They accepted the offer, and deſired to hear the riddle, and in vain perplexed themſelves therewith for three days together, and then deſpairing to overcome the difficulty, they went to their countrywoman, *Samſon*'s bride, to deſire her to get the myſtery out of her huſband, or elſe they would burn her and all her kindred, as perſons who had on ſet purpoſe introduced a ſtranger to trick them out of their ſubſtance. This made a deep impreſſion on the young woman, who, by continual entreaties, prevailed at laſt on her huſband to diſcloſe the ambiguity to her, which ſhe communicated to the thirty young men; in conſequence of which they won the prize. This brought a misfortune upon *Aſkelon*; for *Samſon*, to make good his engagements, went down thither, and ſlew thirty men, whoſe garments he gave to the thirty expoſitors of his riddle [k].

[k] Judg. xv.

ſlight the *Bacchæ* with an ox-goad. By the *Vulgate* it is interpreted a plow-ſhare, induced thereto by the LXX. But thoſe (33) ſeem to think very rationally, who imagine, that *Shamgar* put himſelf at the head of a tumultuary riſe of country people, who were armed in their ruſtic way with the implements of tillage, and that *Shamgar* happened to have an ox-goad in his hand when theſe ſix hundred of the *Philiſtines* fell; not that he killed them all himſelf with that weapon.

(T) *Joſephus* (34) reckons, that the *Philiſtines* were ſtripped of their dominion over *Iſrael* by *Samſon*, but he is plainly miſtaken.

(U) This we take to have been the cuſtom of the country in caſes of a like nature, and an uſual compliment now paid to *Samſon*, who was come to marry among them; but nothing leſs appears by *Joſephus* (35), who writes, that theſe young men were ſet as a guard upon him to prevent his doing any miſchief in his cups.

(33) *Vide Cleric. in Judic.* iii. 31.
(34) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 10.
(35) *Ubi ſupr.*

This marriage was a very obſcure beginning of great miſery upon the *Philiſtines*; for *Samſon*'s father-in-law, apprehending his daughter was not well poſſeſſed of her huſband's heart, gave her away to another, and denied *Samſon*, who had been abſent a twelve-month, all acceſs to his wife; but, to pacify his reſentment, would have given him another daughter, who, as he ſaid, was younger and handſomer. This did by no means mollify *Samſon*, who in revenge ſent out three hundred foxes with firebrands at their tails into the corn-fields; and all the ſtanding corn was thereby conſumed with fire, as were alſo the other fruits of the earth, and the vines, and the olives. The *Philiſtines* were amazed at ſo terrible a diſaſter, and underſtanding the motives which had induced *Samſon* to uſe them ſo cruelly, they looked on his father-in-law as the incendiary in a primary ſenſe; and therefore they went, and burnt him together with his daughter, who alſo may be called the cauſe of all this miſchief (W). But this execution they did not with impunity, they were ſmitten hip and thigh by *Samſon*. They determined then to take their revenge on him; and underſtanding he had retreated to the rock *Etam*, they went thither to take him; but he was delivered bound to them by the men of *Judah*, who dreaded their diſpleaſure. The *Philiſtines* ſhouted aloud at the ſight of *Samſon* bound; but their joy was ſoon turned into mourning; for *Samſon*, breaking his cords, found the jaw-bone of an aſs at hand, and killed a thouſand of them therewith [t].

All this the *Philiſtines* never forgot, and wiſhed for nothing ſo much as an opportunity to be revenged on *Samſon*. The *Gazites*, about twenty years after the laſt ſlaughter,

[t] Judg. xv.

(W) This ſeems to have been inflicted on them by way of retaliation; for as through their indiſcretion they drew on their country ſo ſad a revenge by fire, the reſt might think it but juſt and natural, that they ſhould periſh thereby to expiate their crime. But on the other hand, we find, that puniſhing or revenging by fire was a notorious practice in thoſe days with this people: for the thirty young men, as may be remembered, when they began to deſpair that they ſhould ever unfold *Samſon*'s riddle, threatened the bride to burn her and her father's houſe with fire, if ſhe did not befriend them and help them out. It is ſuppoſed they were taken by ſurprize, and burnt in their houſe; and it is obſerved, that the bride and her father's houſe ſuffered the ſame calamity ſhe ſought to avoid by betraying her huſband (36).

(36) *See Patrick upon Judg. xv.* 6.

thought

thought they had him ſecure in their city. They had information, that he was with an harlot of theirs; and they watched him, and made faſt their gates, being ſure they ſhould kill him the next morning. But their precaution was to no purpoſe, and they were diſappointed; for *Samſon* riſing at midnight took the city gates, and poſt, and bar and all, and carried them away towards *Hebron*, leaving an open place behind him.

THE lords of the *Philiſtines* then heard, that *Samſon* was enſnared by another harlot of their nation in the valley of *Sorek*, whoſe name was *Delilah*. The five lords came to this woman, and promiſed her, each of them, eleven hundred pieces of ſilver, if ſhe would betray *Samſon* to them, by enticing him to tell her where his ſtrength lay, and how he might be reduced to the ordinary ſtrength of another man. So large a bribe corrupted *Delilah*'s heart, and ſhe uſed her beſt endeavours to earn the very many pieces of ſilver ſhe had in proſpect; and thinking ſhe was miſtreſs of the ſecret, ſhe ſent for the *Philiſtines* to execute their pleaſure on him; but ſhe was deceived, and they were diſappointed. A ſecond time ſhe was deceived in like manner, and a third time; but the fourth time ſhe was ſincerely informed, that his ſtrength lay in his hair, which ſhe cut off, and delivered *Samſon* a helpleſs prey to the lords of the *Philiſtines*, who gave her the promiſed reward of her treachery, and put out *Samſon*'s eyes, and bound him with fetters of braſs, and carried him to *Gaza*, and there made him grind in the priſon-houſe.

THEY then met in a ſolemn manner to celebrate a feſtival to their god *Dagon*, and to offer him thanks, and praiſes, and ſacrifices. They met together to the number of many thouſands, and were all in one place; which, whether it was a temple, or a theatre, or a palace, is quite unknown; but it was of ſuch extent that no leſs than three thouſand perſons were on the top of it (X). In the height of their jollity they ſent

(X) We find the generality of the learned moſt inclined to think this vaſt building a theatre, ſuch as formerly the *Romans* contrived, and which were almoſt incredibly capacious: this may have been the truth of the matter, and we ſhould moſt readily have embraced the ſame opinion, did we not perceive, that this building was roofed, and that ſo firmly as to bear the weight of three thouſand perſons upon its top. A difficulty ſtarts up here; how could this roof be contrived, ſo that ſuch a multitude might partake of the diverſion *Samſon* was making below? It is anſwered, that thoſe on the roof were the vulgar ſort, who had conveniencies of looking down into a great hall, where the lords, and chiefs, and better ſort, ſate

ſent for the blind *Samſon* from the priſon-houſe to make ſport with him (Y), forgetting his hair was by this time pretty well grown again (Z), and his ſtrength, conſequently, returned to him. They made what diverſion they pleaſed with him, and dearly they paid for it; for they all periſhed by the fall of the building they were in, which was brought down by the ſtrength of *Samſon*. This was a terrible diſaſter, and moſt of, if not all, the chiefs of the *Philiſtines* were loſt in this mighty ruin; ſo that the nation muſt upon that account, have been greatly humbled, and in a low condition, being deſtitute of governors, and commanders, and men of wiſdom [m].

For a conſiderable time the *Philiſtines* lay quiet: they recovered their loſs at *Gaza*, and grew to a greater pitch of power than ever. They now made war upon the *Iſraelites* again, who had as good as thrown off their yoke ſince the fatal day at *Gaza*. They pitched firſt in *Aphek*, and the *Iſraelites* lay encamped at *Eben-ezer*. The two armies ſoon came to action, and the day turned in favour of the *Philiſtines*, who put the enemy to a precipitate flight, and in all ſlew four thouſand of them, and drove them into their camp. The *Philiſtines*, in the midſt of their triumph upon this occaſion, heard an uncommon ſhout of joy from the *Hebrew* camp; and, enquiring into the cauſe of it, were told, that

[m] Judg. xvi.

in ſtate; which will ſtill make the building more extenſive. A roof it had, which we ſufficiently underſtand by the two pillars which *Samſon* pulled down, and which ſupported it. It hence muſt have been a place of a particular conſtruction, like the *Egyptian* hall in *Vitruvius* (37), and nothing like the theatres of the antient *Greeks* or *Romans*.

(Y) *Joſephus* (38) underſtands, that they wanted to flout and jeer him; though alſo they may have made him go through a courſe of ridiculous geſtures and ſpeeches.

(Z) In the margin of our verſion it is, *As when he was ſhaven*; or it was grown to the ſame length it was of when *Delilah* clipt it. Whence we gather, that *Joſephus* (39) is right in ſaying this was an annual feaſt in honour of their god *Dagon*, as appears alſo by the text of ſcripture; where great thanks are returned to *Dagon*, for delivering *Samſon* into their hands, which was ſtill uppermoſt in their thoughts, and what they had chiefly deſired ſeveral years paſt. From hence we may learn, that the worſhip of *Dagon* was not confined to *Aſhdod*, though it may have been his peculiar place, and that in theſe days he was the moſt highly revered of any god they had.

(37) *l.* 6. *c.* 5. (38) *Ubi ſupra.* (39) *Ubi ſupra.*

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the *Hebrews* had ſent for the ark of the Lord, and that it was come into their camp. Upon hearing this they cried out in the utmoſt conſternation, GOD is come into the enemy's camp, what will become of us! Such a thing was never known before; and greatly did they bewail their unhappy lot, deſpairing to be delivered from thoſe mighty gods, as they ſpoke, who had ſo ſeverely ſmitten the *Egyptians*. They now were quite daunted and ſpiritleſs, till their chiefs, or ſome of the more reſolute, awakened them from their fears, exhorting them to be of good chear, and behave like men, leſt they fell under the power of the *Hebrews*, and became their ſervants, inſtead of being their maſters, as they were: behave like men, ſaid they, and fear not. This exhortation had its effect upon the drooping hearts of the *Philiſtines* in gegeral, and inſpired them with freſh courage. Animated in this ſort, they came to a battle, and fell on ſo furiouſly that they ſlew thirty thouſand of the enemy's footmen; and, to crown all, they took the ark of GOD, which at firſt gave them ſo much trouble, and *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, the prieſts who attended it, they ſlew. Doubtleſs they called this a moſt complete victory, and rejoiced in a moſt extraordinary manner, ignorant of the evil conſequences they were to ſuffer in return. In high triumph they carried the captive ark to *Aſhdod*, and placed it in the temple of their idol *Dagon*, as an acceptable offering to him, and as properly his captive, we may ſuppoſe. The next morning they went into the temple, and *behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth, before the ark of the Lord.* They took him up therefore, and ſet him in his place again, attributing this firſt humiliation to ſome unheeded accident (A). But on the ſecond day, when they went in again, they not only ſaw their god in the proſtrate poſture they beheld him yeſterday, but diſmembered alſo of his head, and hands, and feet, which lay upon the threſhold; nor was any thing left of him but the ſtump, or, as we rather chooſe to expreſs it, the trunk of his body. Hence came a ſuperſtitious cuſtom among his prieſts, never to tread on the threſhold as they went into his temple (B), either in remembrance of this mutilation as a calamity,

(A) They might impute it to ſome defect in the pedeſtal, or might imagine the ſtatue itſelf not to have been exactly poiſed, or, finally, they might attribute it to ſome unuſual ſhock, as of an earthquake, and the like.

(B) This ſuperſtition obtained for many ages, as may be gather-

calamity, or becauſe it had been hallowed by having ſerved for a reſting-place to the head and hands of their perſecuted god. But their own ſufferings far exceeded thoſe of their idol, who, being ſenſeleſs, could feel none of the pains they themſelves were afflicted with, being ſmitten with a ſudden plague, of which many of them died, while thoſe who ſurvived were grievouſly tormented with *emerods*. *Aſhdod* and its whole territory labouring under ſo dreadful a calamity, they reſolved to keep the ark no longer among them, being too ſenſibly convinced, that they ſuffered becauſe of the ark. But that they might not take a haſty ſtep, they called an aſſembly of all the lords of the *Philiſtines* to deliberate upon the means of delivering them from this raging evil, and what was beſt to be done with the pernicious ark. The reſolution they came to was, that the ark ſhould be removed to *Gath*, apprehending, as is thought, that *Aſhdod* was a place unacceptable to it (C). They carried it thither, and the ſame plague, and another ſort of *emerods* (D) followed it to *Gath*, without

ed from *Zephaniah* (39), where thoſe are threatened *that leap on the threſhold*. Hence it appears, that they were wont to leap over the threſhold. This has doubtleſs an eye to the ridiculous and ſtupidly grounded ſuperſtition of this people (40). The *Jews* have an idle ſtory, that the *Philiſtines*, henceforward, forſaking *Dagon* himſelf, worſhipped the threſhold of his temple (41).

(C) Juſt as *Æneas* and his people indited their beds and their houſes of the diſaſters that befel them; and *Cadmus* forſook his own city.

——tanquam fortuna locorum,
Non ſua ſe premeret.——

As if the ill luck which hunted him had been the place's, not his own; as our Dr *Jackſon* obſerves out of *Ovid*, in his *Original of Unbelief*, *chap.* 18. *paragr.* 4. (42).

(D) At *Aſhdod*, it is ſaid, they were ſmitten with *emerods* only, without any addition; but now it is ſaid, they were ſmitten with *emerods in their ſecret parts*: whence it is evident enough, that this plague was ſome how or other altered; and it being the moſt univerſally interpreted in both places that they were afflicted by *emerods*, there is no other way that occurs to us of accounting for this alteration, but that at *Aſhdod* they had the ordinary ſort, which appear outwardly, and that now at *Gath* they had the *blind* ſort, which are inward. Inſtead of *emerods* ſome (43) ſpeak of violent diſorders in the inteſtines, of their rotting alive, and of their waſte-

(39) *i.* 9. (40) *Vide Bochart. Hieroxoic. Par.* 1. *l* 2. *c.* 36. (41) *Vide Buxtorf. Hiſt. Arc. c.* 19. *p.* 172. (42) *Patrick upon* 1 *Sam. v.* 8. (43) *Joſeph. Ant. l.* 6. *c.* 1.

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withour diſtinction of ſmall or great. The men of *Gath* then ſent the ark to *Ekron*; where, knowing what *Gath* and *Aſhdod* had already ſuffered by the detention of the ſame, they cried out with a frightful voice, that the ark of the GOD of *Iſrael* was ſent to deſtroy and afflict them alſo. Their fears were not vain, and great was their lamentation for the loſs of thoſe that died, and for the grievous ſoreneſs of the *emerods*; the affliction gathering ſtrength, and growing worſe as it ſpread (E). But they had no ſooner received the ark than, all in confuſion, they ſent to the lords of the *Philiſtines* to conſult with them, entreating them to fix upon ſome manner of ſending the ark to its place. The reſult of this council is not expreſſed; but it ſeems as if, obſerving the afflictions to ravage the cities chiefly, they removed the ark into the country (F), which, as ſeems alſo, only added to

ing away by dyſenteries and vomitings, thereby diſcharging their loathſome corruption. Other opinions there are concerning this matter; but none ſo generally received as what we have ſaid of the *emerods*.

(E) We find their lamentation and affliction expreſſed in deeper terms, upon every removal: which gives room for this aſſertion.

(F) *Joſephus* (44) relates, that the ark went through all the five cities of the *Philiſtines*, which we have no warrant to aſſert from ſcripture, except that the five cities being equally afflicted, and their gods equally perſecuted, as afterwards appears, may be accepted for a demonſtrative proof thereof: but there is no room to ſuppoſe this, ſince we find, that the *Ekronites*, convinced of the deſtruction and plague which followed the ark, did not ſo much as think of procuring it to be ſent either to *Askelon* or *Gaza*; but only, that it might be ſent back to its place. Their requeſt, it ſeems, was no farther complied with by the reſt, than the removing it from them into the country, or the *fields*, for that is the ſenſe of the original, where it remained ſeven months; nor is it likely, that either of thoſe two cities would have admitted it within their gates, after a thrice-repeated experience of what the conſequence would be, if they did admit it; nor does it appear, that they had yet been affected in the manner of *Aſhdod*, *Gath*, and *Ekron*, where the ark had been lodged. It ſeems, that the ark, being removed into the fields, gave birth to thoſe prodigious ſwarms of mice, which did eat up the country; and that *Gaza* and *Askelon* were now ſmitten by the plagues alſo; that the whole body of this people groaning under the ſame ſeverities and diſtreſs, there might be no diſſention among them about diſmiſſing the ark. And hence, perhaps, we may diſcover, that as much as they were divided into five ſatrapies

(44) *Ubi ſupra.*

to the number of their plagues, the country being now deſolated by an extraordinary production of mice. Finding therefore there was no reſpite to be had, and that the perſecution lay harder and harder upon them, and multiplied as often as the ark was removed, they called for their prieſts and diviners, to demand of them what they thought moſt expedient to be done in this mournful time of peſtilence; and in what manner it would be fitteſt to ſend the ark quite away from among them. Their anſwer was, That they ought not to ſend it away empty, but, by all means, with a treſpaſs-offering, as an attonement. They were then aſked what this treſpaſs-offering muſt be: They replied, five golden *emerods*, and five golden *mice*, according to the number of the lords of the *Philiſtines*; "for the ſame plague was common to you "all; make images of your *emerods*, and images of your "*mice*, which have been ſo deſtructive to your land; and "humble yourſelves to the God of *Iſrael*, that he may "withdraw his avenging hand from among you. Do not "offer to harden your hearts, as *Pharaoh* did: proceed "then, and make a new cart, and take two milk cows "which have never felt the yoke, and take their calves "away from them, and harneſs them to the cart you make "(G), and on it place the ark, and the jewels you offer for "a treſpaſs-offering in a coffer by it, and in that manner "ſuffer it to depart. If it takes the way which leads to "*Beth-ſhemeſh*, you need not doubt who has ſo ſorely afflict-"ed you; but if not, you may conclude, that what you "have ſuffered has proceeded from a mere natural cauſe." They obeyed the voice of their prieſts, and punctually followed their directions. The cows moved away for *Beth-ſhemeſh*, lowing as they went along, nor turned once to the right or the left, the lords of the *Philiſtines* keeping after

or lordſhips, they were nevertheleſs ſo linked together, that one of them could not act in any matter of public concern without the concurrence of all the reſt; which is no where ſo evident as in this caſe of the *Ekronites*, who were ſo thoroughly convinced the ark was to be ſent home, that we cannot conceive what ſhould have prevented them from acting accordingly, had it not been, that they were afraid of making a breach into their common conſtitution; or dreaded to be called to an account by the reſt, for preſuming to act of their own heads in an affair of ſuch moment.

(G) The new cart was ordered in honour of the God of *Iſrael*, and the kine unconſcious of the yoke to draw it, were to prove, whether or no he would interfere in the return of his ark; for ſuch unbroken cattle could never go on right together, or at all, as we may ſay, but by a miracle.

them

them till they ſaw them clear of their borders, where they wondering ſtood, to obſerve in what manner the ſacred captive was received by thoſe with whom it would dwell [n].

WE have ſufficient reaſon to conclude, that the *Philiſtines*, by diſmiſſing the ark in the manner they did, freed themſelves from their bitter afflictions, and that, though they were undeniably ſenſible of the hand which chaſtiſed them, they ſoon forgot the mighty power thereof. For about twenty years afterwards, underſtanding the *Iſraelites* were gathered in a body at *Mizpeh*, they reſolved to diſperſe them, jealous perhaps that they were upon meaſures of throwing off their yoke. They marched therefore towards *Mizpeh*, and a terror went before them, which quite confounded the *Iſraelites*, who having *Samuel* in the midſt of them begged, that, without ceaſing, he would entreat GOD for them. The *Philiſtines* marched on, unmindful of him, who, when his people turned to him, was ready to confound the ſtrength and devices of the wiſeſt and mightieſt, and being on the edge of aſſaulting the *Iſraelites*, a fearful ſtorm of thunder and lightning came on (H), which beat them down, and diſperſed them; and being broken into this wild diſorder, they were purſued and ſlaughtered by the *Iſraelites* to *Beth-car*. This was a blow indeed, and deprived them of the dominion they had exerciſed over the *Hebrews*, and was the loſs of all the encroachments they had made upon their territory, and reduced them ſo low that they never offered to moleſt *Iſrael* again all the days that *Samuel* [o] governed.

DURING all this time that they had held *Iſrael* in ſubjection, they had quite diſarmed them, and would not ſo much as ſuffer a ſmith to dwell among them [p]. How ſenſibly ſoever the *Philiſtines* may have been affected by this laſt rout; yet in a few years they ſeem to have been vaſtly, nay, infinitely more formidable than ever. For underſtanding that a fortreſs of theirs, called *Geba*, had been ſurprized by *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul*, they gathered together thirty thouſand chariots, ſix thouſand horſemen (I), and foot as the ſand

[n] 1 Sam. iv. v, vi. [o] Ibid. vii. [p] Ibid xiii. 19.

(H) To this *Joſephus* (45) adds, that they were in part ſwallowed by an earthquake, ſo violent that it was as much as they could do to keep their legs.

(I) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (46), from this vaſt number of chariots and horſemen, is tempted to think the *Philiſtines* were now very pow-

(45) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 2. (46) *Chronol. of ant. king. amended, p.* 167.

erfully

ſand of the ſea, to fight with, or rather plunder the *Iſraelites*, who ſtill laboured under the ill effect of their tyrannical policy, by continuing deſtitute of arms. This very numerous multitude went out, and pitched in *Michmaſh*, and ſent ſuch a terror before them, that happy was the *Iſraelite* who could hide himſelf to his ſatisfaction from them, or get out of their way. *Michmaſh* was their ſtation, from whence they ſent out three bands, three ſeveral ways, to ſpoil the country; and great damage they did to the whole land, as we have room to infer. Their ravages they committed without interruption, having to deal with an unarmed enemy, who conſequently were in no condition to make head againſt them.

At *Michmaſh* they continued to lie encamped, while their ſpoilers quite ruined and ſtripped the country; and here they took up their quarters ſome time. But in the midſt of their depredations they received a check from *Jonathan*, who, hurried on by a divine impulſe, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, made a conſiderable ſlaughter of one of their out-guards; the noiſe of which ſpreading to the whole body, they were ſeized with a ſudden panic, and an unſpeakable tumult aroſe among them; ſo that, hyperbolically ſpeaking,

erfully ſuccoured, and their numbers mightily encreaſed by the acceſſion of the ſhepherds out of *Egypt*, who were now expelled that kingdom: We ſhall not contend with him upon ſo dark a point, wherein he may as well be right as not. But we cannot refrain from noting, that he takes theſe thirty thouſand chariots to be of the warlike ſort, and deſigned for battle, wondering at the great exceſs of the number, when compared with thoſe that followed *Pharaoh*, who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*. For our parts we cannot take theſe chariots to have been any other than carriages, that were uſed, partly, in carrying the baggage of ſo great an army, as they ſeem to have had on foot at this time, and, partly, deſigned to move off the plunder of the whole couutry, which they ſeemed to have graſped at with the moſt inſolent preſumption: And this upon obſerving the method in which this war was carried on, muſt have been their deſign by ſuch a number of carriages; which if we reduce to three thouſand, as the number ſtands in the *Syriac* and *Arabic* copies, will, as is very judiciouſly remarked (47), be far too many to ſuppoſe them to have been warlike chariots, ſince *Mithridates* had but one hundred, *Darius* but two hundred, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* but three hundred; and no one can imagine, that the *Philiſtines*, and whoſoever elſe may have joined them upon this occaſion, were able to muſter up ſuch a force in chariots as either of thoſe three monarchs.

(47) *Patrick upon* 1 *Sam. xiii.* 5.

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the very earth trembled therewith (K). In the height of this disorder, it came to pass that they fell upon each other with a most fearful slaughter of themselves (L); and presently they began to move off in a wild uproar and fury; which, when it was observed by the *Israelites*, they moved after them by degrees, and at length pursued them one and all, with *Saul* at their head, who, if he had not been in too great a hurry, and commanded his men not to stand to take a little refreshment, the *Philistines* had lost a great deal more blood than they did upon this occasion; but as it was, their loss was very considerable (M), they being pursued from *Michmash* to *Aijalon*. [q].

THOUGH they were thus visibly defeated by the hand of heaven; yet in a few years they revived again, and put them-

[q] 1 Sam. xiii, xiv.

(K) Not that there was really an earthquake upon this occasion. Besides the thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen mentioned in scripture, *Josephus* (48) numbers the foot at three hundred thousand. But a late commentator (49), from the alarm given them by *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer, and the fearful effects of the same, takes occasion to think, that the *Philistines* were neither so numerous, as is, in scripture said, or so well skilled in war as they are usually deemed; and infers, that the text must have been corrupted.

(L) This favours, very much, the conjecture of Sir *Isaac Newton*, who supposes they had, about this time, an accession of the shepherds from *Egypt*, as we have already noted from him (50). It looks very much as if this great host, for such it may be justly stiled, though not a quarter so strong as is represented to us, had not a mutual confidence in each other, so far as to be certain, that a defection and treachery might not be brought to pass among them by the artifices of the enemy. The out-guard routed by *Jonathan* aud his armour-bearer savoured strongly of treachery. The bare fame of an attack made by any two persons on so vast an army, could never of itself, have caused so wild an uproar, but something at the same time must have been added thereto, that made them enraged against each other, and fired them with the utmost fury and indignation. Nor does what we here insinuate, by any means, derogate from the concern the Almighty had, in this miraculous deliverance of his people; since in cases of this kind he has so often acted by second causes.

(M) According to *Josephus* (51), they now lost sixty thousand men.

(48) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 7. (49) *Cleric, in* 1 *Sam. xiv.* 15. (50) *See before p.* 217, (I). (51) *Ubi supr.*

selves

ſelves under arms, once more to try what they could do with the *Iſraelites:* but they were now, perhaps chiefly induced thereto upon hearing that *Saul* was gone diſtracted. But though they made a great noiſe and parade this time, yet they did not proceed with ſuch fury as formerly, and do not ſeem to have been very eager for a battle. They found *Saul* in the field ready to contend with them, which checked them in their career. They firſt rendezvouſed in *Shochoh*, in the tribe of *Judah*; and advancing thence, and ſtill finding the *Iſraelites* in a poſture to fight them, they went, and pitched upon a mountain oppoſite to another, on which *Iſrael* was incamped. They had in their army at this time a giant, one *Goliath* of *Gath*, who was ſix cubits and a ſpan high, and wore a ponderous and well wrought ſuit of braſs armour: he had a helmet of braſs on his head, a coat of mail (N) of the ſame on his body, and a target or gorget of the ſame between his ſhoulders, and greaves of the ſame upon his legs. The ſtaff of his ſpear was like a weaver's beam, and the head of it weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron; and before him went one who bore his ſhield. This gigantic perſon ſeems to have been very ſenſible of his warlike abilities and ſtrength, and to have fancied, that he alone could ſupport his country's cauſe. Accordingly, whether by his own ſuggeſtions, or at the ſollicitation of his countrymen, we know not; this man took on him to fight any one in the hoſt of *Iſrael*, and by a ſingle combat to determine which of the two nations ſhould rule, and which obey. Accordingly he went down into the valley which parted the two camps, and called up to the *Iſraelites*, "To what purpoſe do you draw your-

(N) According to the *Engliſh* ſtandard, the height of *Goliath* was twelve *foot* eight *inches*, and ſomewhat better than three *tenths*. His coat of mail alone weighed five thouſand ſhekels of braſs, or upwards of one hundred and eighty nine of our *pounds Troy*; and by the ſame rule, the head of his ſpear, which weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron, exceeded two and twenty of the ſame *pounds* (52). The weight of theſe and the other parts of his armour and arms, whoſe weight is not ſpecified, was not, perhaps, too heavy for ſo gigantic a perſon, whoſe ſtrength, doubtleſs, was in proportion to his ſtature: and yet ſome are willing to think it was too cumberſom; and therefore chooſe to ſay the ſhekels enumerated above, and commonly taken for the weight of his coat of mail, were the price of it (53), which ſeems to be as much too little on this hand, as it may appear too much on the other.

(52) *See Arbuthnot's Tables of ant. Coins, Weights, and Meaſures.*
(53) *See Patrick upon* 1 *Sam. xxii.* 5.

"ſelves

" ſelves out in battle array! here am I, a *Philiſtine* (O),
" and ye the ſlaves of *Saul*, find me out a man among you
" that has the heart to come down and fight me: if he kill
" me, we will ſubmit to be your ſubjects; but if I kill him,
" you ſhall ſerve us, as you hâve done heretofore: mark, that
" I defy every one of you; let who dare advance out of
" your ranks to fight me!" This arrogant challenge met with no acceptance, and *Goliath* was left to himſelf to vapour his fill; but the figure of the man, and his menacing deportment ſtood the *Philiſtines* in good ſtead, by quite diſheartening the *Iſraelites*, who were greatly diſmayed, both at him and his words. But, as confident as *Goliath* was in his own ſtrength, and in conſequence thereof, how ready ſoever he was to fight, the reſt of his countrymen had not the leaſt ſtomach to it: They remembered how terribly it had more than once fared with them in their contentions with *Iſrael*. Wherefore, though the firſt day's experience convinced them, that not one ſoul of the *Iſraelites* would undertake a ſingle combat with *Goliath*; yet, having no mind to come to a battle, they every morning and evening ſent out *Goliath* to repeat his idle challenge, for forty days together. At laſt, as the armies were drawing down to each other in battle array, *Goliath* advanced out of the ranks as uſual; and in the height of his pretended expectations for one to come out (for pretended they muſt have been, after ſo many fruitleſs repetitions of the ſame defiance) he ſaw a handſome ruddy youth advancing toward him, from the *Iſraelites*, in the habit and appearance of an ordinary ſhepherd. The ſight fired him with indignation, and obſerving a ſtaff in his hand; " What, ſays he, am I a dog, that you are come againſt
" me with a ſtaff? and curſing him by his gods, Come hi-
" ther, that I may give your fleſh to the fowls of the air and
" the beaſts of the field." Having heard what the young man, *David*, had to ſay in anſwer to him, he ſtepped toward him to ſeize on him, and cruſh the preſumptuous lad; but ere he reached him, a ſtone was flung at him by *David*, which took his forehead, and laid him flat at his length on the ground; and his head was inſtantly ſevered from his body by his own ſword, and carried off as a trophy by the conqueror. The *Philiſtines* no ſooner ſaw their champion gone,

(O) It is generally thought, that he here vaunts himſelf as a lord among the *Philiſtines*; or rather that he boaſts of his liberty, as he was born of that country, and reviles the *Iſraelites* as ſervants or ſlaves; inſinuating, that he did them honour in offering to demean himſelf, ſo far as to contend in ſingle combat with any one of them.

than

than they fled (P), as if their hopes and all centered in him; and to judge by their behaviour, it was really the caſe. They fled, and were purſued by *Saul*, quite home to the gates of their own cities, *Gath* and *Ekron*, with a fearful ſlaughter no doubt (Q); leaving all their tents and baggage behind them [r].

The ſame hand, which had deprived them of *Goliath*, perſecuted them again ſoon afterwards; for two hundred of them were ſlain by *David* for the ſake of their fore-ſkins only, that he might perform the condition impoſed on him by *Saul*, before he would give him his daughter to wife; but the particulars of this ſlaughter are not ſpecified in the text of ſcripture. But thence it may be gathered, that this was the cauſe of a freſh rupture, and that the princes of the *Philiſtines* undertook to revenge the injury, but what ſucceſs they had, is not ſaid [s].

Achiſh. Soon after this they were overthrown in battle by *David**, and ſome great change ſeems, about this time, to have been wrought in their government: for as, ever ſince the *Abimelechs* they are repreſented under lords or princes; ſo now we read of a king they had, whoſe name was *Achiſh*, and who reſided at *Gath* [t]. He is elſewhere called *Abimelech* [u], the antient appellation, as we have ſeen, of the firſt kings of this people. *David*, to avoid the terrible intentions of

[r] 1 Sam. xvii. [s] Ibid. xviii. * Sam. xix. 8. [t] Ibid. xxi. 10. [u] Pſal. xxxiv.

(P) From this flight commentators are apt to imagine, that what *Goliath* did in offering to decide the fate of each nation by ſingle combat, was his own act and deed, and without the aſſent of the *Philiſtines*; or elſe, that if they did bind themſelves to ſubmit to the fate of ſuch a battle, they were faithleſs enough to ſlight the obligation. To us, it appears, that they did in a very great meaſure depend on *Goliath* for ſucceſs in this war; that they prided themſelves chiefly in him; and that flattering themſelves he was invincible, and, by his ſtrength and armour, an overmatch for any in the hoſt of *Iſrael*, they were not againſt what he took on him, as their champion; but that they formally agreed to ſtand to what he promiſed is unlikely: ſuch deciſions by ſingle combat ſeem not to have been the cuſtom of thoſe early times; but the whole ſeems to be the effect of great pride and vanity in the champion, and a mixture of ſtupidity and cowardice in the reſt.

(Q) If we hearken to *Joſephus* (54), they had thirty thouſand killed, and twice that number wounded in this purſuit, which ſeem to be exceedingly too many.

(54) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 11.

Saul,

Saul, fled to *Gath*, and was brought before this king; who imagining him, by his behaviour, to be beſide himſelf, would take no farther notice of him, than to order he ſhould be brought no more into his preſence w.

THE *Philiſtines* all this time were upon no ſettled terms with *Saul*, but invaded him, and thereby diverted him from laying hold on *David* in the wilderneſs of *Maon*; but it ſeems they had ill ſucceſs this time again, and fled before *Saul*, or elſe retreated for fear of him.

ACHISH, the ſon of *Maoch* (R), after this received *David* and his wives and all his train of followers into his protection, and treated the diſtreſſed refugees with great hoſpitality. And, at *David*'s requeſt, that he might have ſome place allotted him for his particular dwelling, he very generouſly named *Ziklag* for that purpoſe; whence it came to be afterwards claimed by the kings of *Judah*. All this muſt give us a very favourable idea of *Achiſh*, if we conſider what reaſon the *Philiſtines* had to be angry with *David*, who certainly deſerved not very well at their hands; and thoſe muſt have had very commendable notions, who could thus forgive a man, with whom moſt others would have kept no meaſures (S), and have ſlighted the obſervance of all laws. *Achiſh*

w 1 Sam. ubi ſupr. Ibid. xxi. 14—15.

(R) From this mention of his father's name, ſome are willing to think him a different perſon from the former; to which they ſeem to be partly inclined, by the kind manner in which he received *David*, whom the former had ſpurned at, as an ideot or a madman. But we muſt remember, that *David* actually played that part to ſave his life; and it is no wonder, if *Achiſh* did not care to be troubled with ſo unhappy a wretch, as *David* then made himſelf: but the ſame man may have returned to a better mind concerning him, when he was let into the ſecret of *David*'s fears: and may afterwards have entertained a correſpondence with a perſon of ſuch known worth, and invited him into his dominions, and aſſured him of protection againſt the evil intentions of *Saul*: hoping thereby to weaken *Saul*, and keep up a diviſion in his kingdom, at the ſame time that he ſtrengthened himſelf. If no humanity may be allowed to *Achiſh* in this caſe, a large ſhare of human policy may be admitted: nor do we perceive any ſolid ground for ſuppoſing this *Achiſh* and the former to be different perſons.

(S) Thoſe who remember that *David* ſlew two hundred of them, for their foreſkins only, may juſtly admire at the patience and forgiveneſs of this people, who could after ſuch an action receive him any otherwiſe than as a ſworn enemy to them and theirs. How it was poſſible, that they could refrain from exerciſing great rigour towards him, is what we are wholly at a loſs for, except we recur to the immediate interpoſition of the Almighty.

conceived

conceived very high thoughts of *David*, and underſtanding he had been out upon ſome expedition, examined him about it, and receiving from him ſuch an anſwer, as made him imagine he had been plundering his own nation; he expreſſed great ſatisfaction thereat, hoping *David* had done ſomething to make himſelf odious in the eyes of his countrymen, and that now he ſhould have him a ſervant for ever. Preparing ſoon after to war with *Saul*, he told *David*, that he expected him to head his followers, and march with him; and promiſed to recompenſe him with ſome moſt eminent poſt in his ſervice. The *Philiſtines* firſt gathered together at *Shunem*, and there encamped. From thence they removed to *Aphek*. Here the ſeveral bodies of the *Philiſtines* appeared together, in a kind of review, under their reſpective chiefs, and *David* and his men followed about, or after *Achiſh*; from whence it is gathered, that the poſt he promiſed him was, to be captain of his guard. When the lords and chiefs of the *Philiſtines* obſerved this, they were offended, and expoſtulated with *Achiſh*, who in vain endeavoured to perſuade them that *David* was a faſt, and very truſty friend. Inſtead of being ſatisfied with what the king ſaid, they grew angry with him; and inſiſted on it, that *David* ſhould not ſtir a ſtep farther with them; that he ſhould return to *Ziklag*, his appointed place: and not have it in his power to betray them in battle, the only way he could have to reconcile himſelf with his natural lord and maſter, at the cruel expence of the *Philiſtines*. In ſhort they could not imagine, that *David*, who was the idol of his own people, would forfeit his valuable popularity among them by fighting againſt them. *Achiſh* was unable to reſiſt all this clamour, and calling *David* to him, aſſured him, That for his own part he had the higheſt ſenſe of his ſincerity and innate worth, and had been perfectly ſatisfied with his behaviour ever ſince he had ſheltered him; but that, ſince the lords were far from being diſpoſed to think ſo well of him, it were in vain, and imprudent to contend againſt them in this matter; and therefore deſired him to return quietly to *Ziklag*. *David* reſenting the unkindneſs of the notions the lords entertained concerning him, and proteſting his readineſs to fight in his cauſe, *Achiſh* anſwered him with great earneſtneſs, that he was fully convinced of his affection; that he had a ſingular veneration for him; and that, in his eyes, he was as *an angel of God*; but, that ſeeing the lords were ſo unreaſonably bent againſt him, the thing could not be, and he muſt ſet out for *Ziklag* early the next morning.

So

So *David* went his way, and *Achiſh* and the *Philiſtines* marched againſt *Saul*, who was encamped on mount *Gilboa*. A battle was fought between them on that ſame mount, and the *Philiſtines* prevailed mightily againſt the *Iſraelites*, and drove them before them with a great ſlaughter. In particular, they preſſed hard after *Saul* and his ſons; and theſe, *Jonathan*, and *Abinadab*, and *Malchiſhua*, they ſlew. They ſent their arrows with great eagerneſs after *Saul*, and did hit him ſeveral times; but did not lay him along, nor had they the honour of diſpatching him: he was dead ere they reached him by his own weapon. Thus the *Philiſtines* at length obtained a complete victory; in conſequence of which they poſſeſſed themſelves of much of the enemy's country. On the morrow after the battle, when they came to ſtrip the ſlain, they found *Saul* king of *Iſrael*, and his three ſons among the reſt, in mount *Gilboa*. They did cut off *Saul*'s head, and diſpoiled his body of his armour. His armour they dedicated in the temple of *Aſhtaroth*, and his body, and thoſe alſo of his ſons, they ignominiouſly hung upon the walls of *Beth-ſhan*. What they did, particularly with his head, is not related; but it ſeems, as if they at firſt ſent it up and down with his armour, to dedicate both in the temples of their idols, and to feaſt the eyes of their people with ſuch grateful objects, and ſuch demonſtrative marks of victory. But the bodies of *Saul* and his three ſons hung not long where the *Philiſtines* expoſed them. They were ſtolen away from them by the men of *Jabeſh* [y].

Now there is reaſon to think, that *Achiſh* ſoon after died, inaſmuch as we find the *Philiſtines* in a ſhort time at variance with *David*, with whom *Achiſh* would certainly have maintained a fair correſpondence, except we ſuppoſe the lords of the *Philiſtines* to have had ſuch power over him, as to have conſtrained him to make a breach into the kind friendſhip he had made with *David*. To diſmiſs this obſcurity, the *Philiſtines* invaded king *David* very early in his reign, and no ſooner heard that he was anointed king over *Iſrael*, than they went out to make war upon him. Their deſign ſeems to have been to nip him in the bud; for while the diviſion between him and *Iſh-boſheth* ſubſiſted, they gave him no trouble; but when they underſtood that *Iſrael* and *Judah* were united under him, it is likely, they feared the heavy effects of his reſentment, or innate enmity to their nation. They marched out therefore, and incamped in the valley of *Rephaim*, from whence they removed to *Baal-peraxim*, where

[y] 2 Sam. xxviii, xxix, xxxi.

they were encountered by *David*, and by him ſo completley overthrown, that, intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they left their baggage behind them, and even their gods, which they carried about with them, in imitation of the *Iſraelites*, when they brought their ark againſt them. The *Philiſtines* ſeem to have rallied again upon recollection, to reſcue their captive gods, and drew up again in battalia in the valley of *Rephaim* (T); but they were defeated again by *David* in a ſudden onſet, by the immediate interpoſition of God, and purſued with a long and bloody ſlaughter from *Geba* to *Gazer* [z], a place, it ſeems, on their own frontiers.

The war did not end here; for a ſhort time afterwards they were invaded by *David*, and ſubdued, and *Metheg-ammah* (U) was taken out of their hands [a].

[z] 2 Sam. v. 17—25. [a] Ibid. viii. 1.

(T) Or the *valley of the giants* as *Joſephus* (55) renders it; who ſuppoſes, that they were now unable to raiſe any thing of an army themſelves, and that they were joined by the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*; as a proof of which he alledges they returned home upon their firſt defeat, and came back to the charge again with thrice the numbers they had before, and drew up in the ſame place where the former battle was fought; and that they were again miraculouſly defeated with very great eaſe, and put to flight with the loſs of all their baggage and their gods. *Joſephus* is very fond of trebling the forces of a vanquiſhed people, as we have obſerved before (56), and may have occaſion to obſerve hereafter. But why he ſhould imagine the *Philiſtines* were at ſo low an ebb, as to be unable to make war with *David* of themſelves, we do not clearly perceive, even though we ſhould allow of the great ſlaughter and deſtruction, he makes of them in ſome of their preceding battles (57).

(U) Or as it is in the margin *the bridle of Ammah*; or, as it is explained in the *Chronicles* (58), the city of *Gath* and the territory thereunto belonging. There are many and very various expoſitions of this point; but as the context clears it up naturally, we ſhall paſs them over, and adhere to that, as moſt likely and juſt. Only let it be obſerved, that as *Gath* was the royal ſeat, it may, on many accounts, have been called a *bridle* to the reſt of the land. As to its ſtanding upon a hill called *Ammah*, as ſome commentators teach, they would have done well, had they produced their authority for ſo ſaying: we know of none.

(55) *Antiq. l. 7. c. 4.* (56) *See before in the Notes, p.* 106. (57) *See before in the Notes, p.* 219, 222, (58) 1 *Chronicles xviii.* 1.

The

THE *Philiſtines* had ſeveral men of extraordinary ſtature among them, and all it ſeems of the kindred of *Goliath* (W). And though they had experienced the little uſe of ſuch men in an army, yet they ſeem ſottiſhly to have caſt their eyes upon theſe; now flattering themſelves, that by their help they might retrieve their honour, and take revenge on *David*. Wherefore, after they had lain quiet ſeveral years, they broke out into a war again with *Iſrael*, and their giants marched with them. They came to a battle, in which *Iſbi-benob* (X), a ſon of *Goliath*, as is thought, taking *David* at ſome diſadvantage, had like to have ſlain him. But miſſing his aim, he fell by the hand of *David*, aſſiſted by *Abiſhai*, although the head of his ſpear weighed three hundred ſhekels of braſs (Y), and although he was extraordinarily appointed (Z) for war. A ſecond battle was fought near a place called *Gob*, wherein *Saph*, another ſon of *Goliath*, was ſlain by *Sibbechai* the *Huſhathite*. A third battle they fought at *Gob* alſo, and *Goliath*'s brother,

(W) If they were not immediately his ſons, they may poſſibly have been of the ſame family. To ſay nothing of their deſcent from the *Anakims*, who were expelled from *Hebron*, and took up their abode at *Gath*, which is a very obſcure piece of hiſtory; it is common in all nations to ſee families remarkable for their extraordinary ſtature: nor is there any need to ſuppoſe them deſcended from any antient race of giants. We are indeed told that the *Anakims* either fled from *Hebron*, to the cities of the *Philiſtines*, or elſe were planted there of old time (59). But how it came to paſs, that they were ſo dwindled away there in the days of *David*; and how it comes to paſs, that we read no where of them in the armies of the *Philiſtines* to the days of *Saul*, we preſume not to ſay.

(X) *Joſephus* (60) calls him *Amchon*.

(Y) To judge of him by the weight of his ſpear, he was not of much above half the ſtrength and ſtature of *Goliath*, the head of whoſe ſpear, as we have noted (61), weighed ſix hundred ſhekels, or twenty two of our pounds *Troy*; whereas this man's weighed but three hundred ſhekels, or eleven of the ſame pounds.

(Z) The words of the text are obſcure; it ſays, *he was girded with a new* ſword: ——— *Joſephus* (62) ſays only, that he had his ſword by his ſide. Of all the expoſitions we have ſeen, we approve of that moſt, which gueſſes that his ſword was made on purpoſe for him (63), to ſuit his ſtrength, which ſurpaſſed that of an ordinary man.

(59) *Joſh. xi.* 22. (60) *Antiq. c.* 10. (61) *See before in the Notes, p.* 220. (62) *Ubi ſupr.* (63) *Vide Cleric. in* 2 *Sam. xxi.* 16.

the ſtaff of whoſe ſpear was like a weaver's beam, fell by the valorous might of *Elhanan* the ſon of *Jaare-oregim* a *Beth-lehemite*. From this laſt place the war was transferred into the territory of *Gath*; and in this fourth battle, another ſon of *Goliath*, who had ſix fingers upon each hand, and ſix toes upon each foot, did, in imitation of his father, challenge the whole army of *Iſrael* to ſend out one of their number to fight him, and was brought down by the hands of *Jonathan* the brother of *David*. The *Philiſtines*, thus exhauſted of their gigantic brood, or perceiving that their mighty ſtature and ſtrength ſtood them in no manner of ſtead, refrained from a further proſecution of the war they had ſo obſtinately maintained, in ſpite of the frowns of fortune in three ſucceſſive conflicts, before this laſt [b].

From henceforward the affairs of this people are more ſlightly touched on; whence it may be argued, that they ſuffered a decay; and accordingly we are told, that *their horn was broken aſunder* by theſe unfortunate wars with *David* [c], who now made them tributaries to his throne, as we ſhall ſee anon (A); though on the other hand it may be alſo concluded, that having ſo often, and to ſo little purpoſe, engaged themſelves in bloody and deſtructive wars, they grew wiſer, and rather applied themſelves to commerce and the advancement of their nation that way (B). And hence it may be, that we find

[b] Ibid. xxi. 15—22. [c] See Eccleſiaſt. xlvii. 7.

(A) According to *Joſephus* (64), this was the laſt battle they had with the *Hebrews*, never daring to look them in the face again; which muſt be one of his miſtakes.

(B) We the rather think after this manner, it being pretty evident, that they had been increaſed ſome years ago by the fugitive *Edomites* (65), who brought with them their ſuperior skill in commercial and nautical affairs; not that the *Philiſtines* were wholly ignorant therein till the *Edomites* came among them; but it is now likely they applied themſelves thereto much more than ever, and that they were greatly improved therein. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (66) reckons that they took *Sidon* by the advice and aſſiſtance of the *Edomites*, thereby, it is likely, meaning to extend their trade, which they had now chiefly at heart, by deſtroying ſo dangerous a rival. He alſo (67) ſuppoſes this to have fallen out in the reign of *David*; for he obſerves, that in *Solomon*'s reign the *Zidonians*, though ſettled at *Tyre*, had not yet loſt their name. We read in *Juſtin* (68), that

(64) *Ubi ſupr.* (65) *See before*, p. 197. (66) *Chronol of ant. Kingd. amended*, p. 104, 105. (67) *Ubi ſupr.* (68) *l.* 18. *c.* 3.

Sidon

find their country open to the *Israelites* in the beginning of *Solomon*'s reign, *Achish* the son of *Maachah* then reigning at *Gath*; who, whether he is the same *Achish* who was so kind to *David*, we must not hope to determine, though commentators are divided upon it; probably he was not [d].

MANY years after these wars the *Philistines* were harrassed by *Nadab* [e] king of *Israel*, who laid siege to a city of theirs, called *Gibbethon*; which city was again besieged by *Elah* king of *Israel* [f], some years afterwards; for it belonged to their kingdom, though the *Philistines* finding it deserted by the *Levites* [g], seized on it, and kept it, notwithstanding these several efforts to tear it from them; the kingdom of *Israel* at this time being in great distraction.

BUT, notwithstanding this their obstinacy against the kings of *Israel*, they afterwards courted the favour of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah*, by a voluntary payment of the tribute [h], which had been, as we may hence conclude, imposed on them by their conqueror *David* (C); and which, it seems, they had neglected to pay to some of *Jehoshaphat*'s predecessors, as this story plainly enough insinuates, and as will be further confirmed by what follows.

FOR they rebelled against *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, and brake into his kingdom, and in the end rifled his palace of all the wealth they there found; and even extended their rage against him, to the cruel butchery of all his house, except *Athaliah* and her son *Ahaziah*, who some how or other escaped. At this time we also gather, that they carried off a great number of captives, some of whom they sold to the *Edomites* [i], next to themselves, the worst enemies the *Israelites* had; and some to the *Grecians* [k], thereby sending them so far from home, that they could have but little or no chance of seeing

[d] 1 Kings ii. 39. [e] Ibid. xv. 27. [f] Ibid. xvi. 15.
[g] 2 Chron. xi. 14. [h] Ibid. xvii. 11. [i] Amos i. 6.
[k] Joel iii. 6.

Sidon was expugned by the *Philistines*; though he seems to mistake, in saying it was done by the king of *Ascalon*; for we do not read of a king of that place any where else. Remembering the story of the *Syrian* goddess *Derceto*, who was metamorphosed here (69), the *Grecks* and *Romans* may have considered the city of *Ascalon* as the metropolis of *Palæstine*; whence we find the king of *Palæstine* placed in that city by *Trogus*, whom *Justin* epitomizes.

(C) *Josephus* (70) calls it their accustomed tribute, and it can have been no body but *David* himself that imposed it on them.

(69) *See before, p.* 194. (70) *Antiq. l.* S. *c.* 9.

their native country again. This their extraordinary success may have been brought to pass either by the conjunctive, or distant co-operation of the *Arabians*, who made war at the same time upon *Jehoram* [l].

Whencesoever their success arose, it in the end proved a very unfortunate affair to them. They were invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, who dismantled *Gath*, and *Jabneh*, and *Ashdod*, and reared cities of strength among them to awe them, and keep them in subjection [m]; which must greatly have broken their spirits, and have brought them low.

They groaned under this fearful blow all the days of *Uzziah*, we may suppose, and perhaps all the days of *Jotham*; but in the reign of *Ahaz*, they perceived the crazy state of the kingdom of *Judah*; and, observing the opportunity to be favourable, they took up arms again. They warred against *Ahaz* with a success which made ample amends for their sufferings by *Uzziah* his grandfather; reducing the cities of *Beth-shemesh*, *Ahjalon*, *Gederoth*, *Shocho*, *Timnai*, and *Gimzo*, and the several territories thereunto belonging, and there settled themselves, thereby adding a large portion of the kingdom of *Judah* to their own country *.

Thus did the *Philistines* rather more than reinstate themselves; but this fine acquisition was a very short time in their hands. They were immediately after this conquest admonished not to rejoice, because the rod of him that smote them was broken; *for that out of the serpent's root should come forth a cockatrice . . . . . which should dissolve their whole country* [n]. And this was severely fulfilled on them by *Hezekiah* the son of *Ahaz*, whom they had conquered; for *Hezekiah*, as we understand it, over-ran their whole country [o], and forced ample retribution of all sorts from them. This, though it had been, alone, a very grievous oppression on them, they saw almost at the same time the *Assyrians* among them, in the reign of *Sennacherib*, who sent his general *Tartan* to reduce them. Their city *Ashdod* was besieged accordingly, and taken by *Tartan* †; and thus successively were they broken, almost without any intermission.

And now the burthen of their final extinction comes heavily upon them. By their subjection to the *Assyrians*, their liberties departed entirely from them; and, what was worse, their country became the seat of a long and obstinate war. For *Psammitichus* king of *Egypt* beholding the vast progress

[l] 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17. [m] Ibid. xxvi. 6. * Ibid. xxviii. 18. [n] Isa. xiv. 29—31. [o] 2 Kings xviii. 8.
† Isai. xx. 1.

of

A MAP *of the Divisions & Situations of the Tribes of the* Canaanites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midia-nites, Edomites, Amalekites, *&c before & at ye time of y^e* Exodus *of y^e* CHILDREN *of* ISRAEL, *according to this* History

THE GREAT

MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

PART

OF

EGYPT

ARABIA PETRÆA

ARABIA DESART

PART of the

HIVITES

CANAANITES

PERIZZITES

JEBUSITES

HITTITES

AMORITES

AMALEK

EDOM

MOAB

AMMONITES

MIDIANITES

BASAN

M.t Carmel

Lichem

Ekron

Gath

Bethel

Jericho

Jebus or Jerusalem

Ashdod

Ascalon

Gaza

Hebron

Rabbah

Ramoth

Aroer

Areopolis

Dead Sea

Zoar

Teman

Bozrah

Dedan

Selah or Petra

Elah

Ezion-geber

Mount Sinai

Madyan

Samachonite Lake

Sea of Tiberias

Rul-bah or Philadelphia

R. Jabbok

Minnith

Abel

Plain of Hadad

Sea of Sodom

R. Zared

R. Arnon

HERŒOPOLITAN GULF of the RED SEA

ELANITIC GULF of the RED SEA

33

32

31

30

29

D. Pomarede Sc.t

of the *Aſſyrian* power, grew jealous and apprehenſive, that *Egypt* might ſhare the fate of its neighbours; and therefore, to be as timely in his oppoſition as he could, he undertook to drive the *Aſſyrians* out of *Paleſtine*. To this purpoſe he particularly laid ſiege to *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*; but he was twenty nine years before that place ere he could reduce it [p]: during all which time it cannot be doubted, but that the country ſighed under all the calamites uſual in ſuch caſes.

From henceforward they were tributary to the great monarchies, as they ſucceeded each other. In the beginning of this ſervitude they were miſerably harraſſed by the *Egyptians*; who willing to make their barrier as ſtrong as poſſible againſt the dreaded invader, laid hands on all they could of this country, and, particularly, took *Gaza* from them [q].

AFTER this we read of a king of *Gaza* [r]; concerning which we have nothing to add, nor have we ought elſe to relate concerning this people. What in the end became of them will be beſt learned from the threats of the prophets, and particularly, *Zephaniah*, who paints their deſtruction in very lively and natural colours (D): *Gaza ſhall be forſaken, and Aſkelon a deſolation: they ſhall drive out Aſhdod at the noon day, and Ekron ſhall be rooted up. Woe unto the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, the nation of the Cherethites: the word of the Lord* is *againſt you: O Canaan, the land of the Philiſtines, I will even deſtroy thee, that there ſhall be no inhabitant; and the ſea-coaſt ſhall be dwellings* and *cottages for ſhepherds, and folds for flocks.* [s]

[p] HERODOT. l. 2. c. 157. [q] Jerem. xlvii. [r] Zach. ix. 5. [s] Zephan. ii 4—6. See alſo Joel iii. Amos i. Jerem. xlvii. Ezek. xxv. Zach. ubi ſupr.

(D) Here it is worth obſerving, that *Gath* is omitted, as if already deſtroyed, as it doubtleſs was, being moſt obnoxious to the enemy, as it was the royal ſeat of this turbulent people; and as it was a key to, and a curb upon the whole country (71). Hence therefore it muſt have been, that the throne of this kingdom was removed to *Gaza*; but to purſue this point any farther were time loſt.

(71) *See before in the Notes, p.* 226.

CHAP. V.

The Hiſtory of the antient Syrians.

SECT. I.

A Deſcription of Syria.

Its names. SYRIA is in *Hebrew Aram*, ſo named from *Aram*, the youngeſt ſon of *Shem*. This *Hebrew* name is of very wide extent; perhaps, of little leſs than the *Greek* name *Syria*; at leaſt it included what we now call *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, which is the *Aram Naharaim*, or *Syria* of the two rivers [a].

ARAM then is its firſt and genuine name; how it came to be called *Syria* is variouſly ſaid. Some [b] derive it from one *Syrus*, who ſprung from the earth (A). Others [c] from *Syrus*, the ſon of *Agenor*. Other thoughts there are upon this ſubject; but the moſt certain opinion is, that *Syria* is a contraction of *Aſſyria* [d], and that the antients uſually confounded them together (B).

AUTHORS are not agreed upon the exact bounds of this country, becauſe they conſider it at different times, when its name was more or leſs famous, and its empire more or leſs ample. But, confining ourſelves to the proper *Syria*, we may

[a] See Vol. I. p. 362. [b] AFRICAN. apud SYNCELL. p. 150. [c] Chronic. Alexandr. p. 101. [d] Vide HERODOT. l. 7. c. 63. JUST. l. 1. c. 2.

(A) Perhaps this fabulous account may have taken birth from an antient tradition, which ſtill obtains in the country, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, that *Adam* was created in *Syria*.

(B) Mr. *Selden*, in his *Prolegomena* to his *Syrian gods*, has dwelt on this point, to whom we refer our reader, who would be thoroughly informed and convinced thereof. We ſhall only add, that *Lucian* (8), who was himſelf a *Syrian* of *Samoſata* calls himſelf an *Aſſyrian*.

(8) *De Dea Syr. p.* 1.

venture

venture to ſet bounds to it, and determine its dimenſions. It lay between the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, and the river *Euphrates* on the eaſt; and between mount *Taurus* on the north, and *Arabia* the deſert, *Paleſtine*, and *Phœnice* on the ſouth. And this tract extends from the thirty ſecond to the thirty ſeventh degree of north latitude, and from the thirty ſixth to the forty firſt degree of longitude, E. from *Lond.* Its length from north to ſouth three hundred ſeventy five miles; its breadth from eaſt to weſt three hundred miles.

Its diviſions.

SYRIA, in antient times, has been very variouſly divided. At firſt, we may be ſure, it was parcelled out into endleſs little kingdoms and juriſdictions. In after-times it ſeems to have been divided into four principal ones, *Zobah*, *Damaſcus*, *Hamath*, and *Geſhur*. Theſe were the principal diviſions; the reſt we find in ſcripture, ſuch as *Beth-rehob*, *Iſhtob*, *Maachah*, were ſubdiviſions, as we think. Afterwards the whole country was divided into two parts only, though the *Phœnicians*, *Idumeans*, *Jews*, *Gazites*, and *Azotites*, or the whole country of the *Philiſtines*, were included, which two parts were *Cœle-Syria*, and *Phœnice*[c]. After the death of *Alexander*, *Syria* in the great extent of its name was thus divided, *Commagene*, *Seleucis* of *Syria*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice* on the ſea-coaſt, and *Judæa* in the Midland. This is *Strabo*'s diviſion; but *Ptolemy* ſubdivides theſe, and in the proper *Syria* only, reckons *Commagene*, *Pieria*, *Cyrriſtica* or *Cyrrheſtica*, *Seleucis*, *Caſſiotis* or *Caſiotis*, *Chalybonitis*, *Chalcidice* or *Chalcidene*, *Apamene*, *Laodicene*, *Phœnicia*, *Mediterranea*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Palmyrene*.

Commagene.

To follow the diviſion of *Ptolemy*; *Commagene* or *Comagene*, had on the weſt mount *Amanus*; on the north part of mount *Taurus*; on the eaſt it was waſhed by the *Euphrates*; but on the ſouth, whether it was conterminous with *Seleucis*, or *Cyrrheſtica*, or with both, is uncertain. It was the north corner of *Syria*. The chief cities of this province were *Samoſata* upon the *Euphrates*, *Antiochia ad Taurum*, or at the foot of *Taurus*, and *Germanicia*; theſe, and other cities and eminent places ſtood within this compaſs, once flouriſhing and magnificent, but now obliterated and in ruins.

Seleucis, Pieria and Caſſiotis.

THE maritime *Seleucis* contained *Pieria* and *Caſiotis*, which were ſubdiviſions thereof; the firſt lying to the north, and the laſt to the ſouth. Within theſe limits ſtood *Alexandria* upon the *Sinus Iſſicus*, *Seleucia*, *Pieria* upon the *Mediterranean*, and *Laodicea* upon the ſame.

[c] STRABO, l. 16.

IN

Seleucis Mediterranea.

In the inland or *Mediterranean Seleucis*, ſtood the famous *Antioch* upon the *Orontes*. Theſe two *Seleucides* are by *Mela* and *Pliny* called *Antiochene*.

Apamene.

Apamene lay to the eaſtward of *Caſiotis*, and had *Apamea*, at leaſt half ſurrounded by the *Orontes*, for its chief town.

Cyrrheſtica.

Cyrrheſtica was a province upon the *Euphrates*, *Cyrrhus*, or *Cyrus*, was the capital of this part of *Syria*. Here alſo ſtood a famous city called *Hierapolis*, *Bambyce*, and, by the *Syrians Magog* [f], where the *Syrian* goddeſs was worſhipped.

Chalcidine.

Chalcidine was wholly an inland province, nor bordered either upon the *Mediterranean ſea*, or the *Euphrates*, and had *Chalcis* for its capital. It was ſurrounded by *Antiochene* or *Seleucis* on the weſt; by *Cyrrheſtica* on the north; by *Chalybonitis* on the eaſt; and by *Apamene* and *Cœle-Syria* on the ſouth.

Chalybonitis.

On the eaſt of *Chalcidine* lay *Chalybonitis* on the *Euphrates*; its chief city *Chalybon*.

Palmyrene.

Palmyrene was a ſpacious and fertile province in the midſt of a frightful deſert to the ſouth of *Chalybonitis*; waſhed on the eaſt by the river *Euphrates*; once ſtored with great cities; all of which are quite periſhed but their metropolis *Palmyra*; which though now as much a deſert as that which ſurrounds, and divides it from the reſt of the nations, is yet deſervedly reckoned one of the wonders of our preſent world.

Cœle-Syria.

There is no reconciling the antient geographers, ſo as to be able to determine the bounds of what they mean by *Cœle-Syria*; but before all of them we prefer *Strabo*, who tells us, that *Cœle-Syria* was the vale between *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*; which, however the name may have been extended, was undoubtedly the proper *Cœle-Syria* and *Syria Cava*, which we take to have been the ſame. The principal cities of this part are *Heliopolis*, now *Balbek*, which we ſhall have occaſion to reſume hereafter, and *Damaſcus*, now *Shâm*, as is commonly and inaccurately ſaid, which lying eaſtward of *Anti-Libanus*, cannot be immediately reckoned into the proper *Cœle-Syria*.

Laodicene.

We know not how to fix the place of *Laodicene*. It may have been a part of the proper *Cœle-Syria*. Its chief city was *Laodicea Cabioſa*, or *ad Libanum*.

Of the *Phœnicia Mediterranea* we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter.

[f] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 19, or 23.

Under

UNDER the *Roman* empire, the proper *Syria* was divided into *Comagena* or *Euphratenſis*, *Syria*, *Palmyrene* or *Syria Salutaris*, *Phœnicia Libani* or *Libaneſia*, *Libaniſia*, and *Libanuſia*, as we think. The *Arabs* reckon *Paleſtine* into *Syria*, on the one hand, and even *Cilicia* on the other, and call it *Shâm*, and *Abûlfeda* divides the whole into five *Junds*, or provinces, the *Kinneſryne*, the *Hemſene*, the *Damaſcene*, the *Jordanitic*, and the *Paleſtine*. *Other divisions.*

THE climate of *Syria* is happy, if any be ſo, and its fertility ſo great, that it may be juſtly ſtiled a pleaſant garden almoſt throughout. We ſhall not here enter into a detail of its productions, which are many, noble, uſeful, and delicious. It abounds with ſufficient of all things, both for the profit and delight of man. It is moſtly a plain country, and for the moſt part covered over with a deep and rich ſoil. In ſhort it yields to no ſpot on earth, that lies under the ſame happy parallel. *Climate and fertility.*

THE rivers of this country, that we ſhall take notice of, are the *Orontes* (B), the largeſt of them all, a turbid, rapid ſtream, with waters not fit to drink, and fiſh unfit to eat *; and the *Barrady*, formerly the *Chryſorrhoas*, which ruſhing from *Anti-Libanus* down to *Damaſcus* is there divided into endleſs ſtreams for the ſupply and decoration of that city; whence recollecting at ſome diſtance, it ſoon loſes itſelf in a bog [g]. The rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar* muſt have been only branches (C) of this. *Rivers.*

THINGS

* See MAUNDRELL's Journey from Alepp. to Jeruſ. p. 4.
[g] MAUNDRELL's Voyage from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 123.

(B) This river, according to *Strabo* (2), diſappeared at a place called *Charybdis*, between *Apamea* and *Antioch*; and after having run five miles under ground, appeared again. In the ſame author (3) alſo there is a fabulous tradition concerning the origin of this river, as that *Typhon*, in his flight, furrowed up the earth, and formed the canal; that he was thunder-ſtruck at the fountain-head of this river, and that his going down was the cauſe of the ſpring which riſes there. They feigned him to be a huge dragon. This may be added to the fabulous accounts we have already given of *Typhon*'s exit (4).

(C) *Radziville* (2), the *Palatine* of *Wilna*, tells us roundly of the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*, which watered the city of *Damaſcus*, when he was there, which is about one hundred and fifty years ago,

(2) *l.* 6. *p.* 275. (3) *l.* 16. *p.* 750, (4) *See* Vol. I. *p.* 521. (2) *Peregrin Jeroſolym. Epiſt.* 2. *p.* 31.

and

Natural Rarities.

THINGS more particularly remarkable in this country are the two valleys of ſalt, the one within four hours of *Aleppo* [h], the other in the neighbourhood of *Palmyra* [i], which ſhoot forth that mineral in ſurprizing abundance; the ſoil to a conſiderable depth being ſtrongly impregnated therewith, as is ſaid of the valley near *Aleppo*; and as might, doubtleſs, have been ſaid of the other, had trial thereof been made. The medicinal waters alſo in and about *Palmyra*, and in ſeveral other parts of *Palmyrene* [k], might claim our attention, were this a proper place. Among the remarkables of this country we may alſo reckon the few cedars which are now ſtanding upon *Lebanon*, or *Libanus*. They are near a Chriſtian monaſtery, called *Canobine*, about ten hours journey from *Tripoli*. They ſtand in the midſt of ſnow (D), near the higheſt part of *Libanus*,

[h] Idem ibid. ſub fine. [i] Philoſophical Tranſact. Numb. 217. p. 83. [k] Ibid. p. 103, 104.

and that they were unnavigable, but full of fiſh, and ſtreamed down to it from the mountain *Chrizoroa*, which ſhould have been written *Chryſorrhoas*, the *Greek* name of the river which watered *Damaſcus*, and not of any mountain there. *Thevenot*, who was ſo curious and minute an obſerver of every thing in and about *Damaſcus*, never once mentions the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*; but tells us (3) of three rivers that water *Damaſcus*, and meet at the end of the town; one of which, in the chapter following, he calls *Banias*. There is no footſtep of the names *Abana* and *Pharpar** among the beſt *Arabian* geographers. *Abülfeda* tells us, that the ſtream which ſupplies *Damaſcus*, comes out of a cavern on the weſt ſide of the city, and immediately divides; which is ſo exactly Dr. *Maundrell*'s (4) deſcription of this water, that they very abundantly confirm each other. This laſt traveller could not ſo much as find any memory of the names of *Abana* and *Pharpar*, and ſuppoſes they muſt have been branches of this river *Barrady*, which comes out of the rock. And, as he ſo nicely agrees with *Abülfeda* in the approach of this river to *Damaſcus*, he does the ſame with *Thevenot* in its departure therefrom; they both agreeing, that its divided ſtreams meet again on the other ſide of the town. Dr. *Maundrell* then in this caſe may be ſafely relied on, in what he ſays of this remarkable ſtream.

(D) *Rauwolf*, who viſited theſe cedars about midſummer, complains of the rigour of the cold, and the ſnows here. *Radziville*, who was here in *June*, about five years after him, talks of the ſnow that never melts away from theſe mountains, Other travellers talk to the ſame purpoſe; among whom our *Maundrell* repreſents the cedars ſtanding in the midſt of ſnow; but he was there in the month

(3) *Travels to the Levant, Part 2, Book 1. c. 4.* * *Vide Alber. Schult. Comment. Geograph in vit. Salad. ad vocem, Damaſcus*
(4) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p. 122.* of

banus, or *Lebanon*. Of the old ones, which are very large, there are only ſixteen, but young ones of a leſſer growth there are in great numbers. One of the largeſt of the former being meaſured, was found to be twelve yards ſix inches in girt, yet perfectly ſound, and the ſpread of its branches was thirty ſeven yards in circumference: and about five or ſix yards from the ground it divided itſelf into five limbs, each equal to a great tree [1]. Another traveller *, who was alſo on the ſpot tells us, that the largeſt he meaſured was, towards the middle of the trunk, ſeven foot wanting two inches round, at the ſame time that he reckons the ſpread of its boughs one hundred and twenty foot about. In which laſt dimenſion, agreeing ſo nearly with what is ſaid before of the ſame, there muſt be a monſtrous ſlip of the pen, or overſight of the preſs, either in this or the former account; for the difference between ſeven foot and twelve yards is quite ſurprizing. But the difference between theſe travellers goes on: the latter ſays, the largeſt of the cedars had not a trunk above ſix or ſeven foot high out of the ground, which falls moſt unaccountably ſhort of what has been juſt now ſaid upon that point: and yet this author [*De la Roque*] talks of the enormity of the trunks of theſe trees, and of the prodigious branches which part therefrom; which is throwing away great words very improperly, if he is not moſt egregiouſly out in the dimenſions he gives us, which are ſo trifling, that they cannot deſerve admiration in any degree. This, though a digreſſion of ſuch a kind as is unfit to find a place in a work of this nature, we hope we ſhall be excuſed in, meaning thereby only to obviate what might be objected, by ſome, to the diſcredit of a very ſincere traveller of our own nation (E).

It

[1] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. p. 142. * DE LA ROQUE, *Voyage de Syrie, Tome* I. *p.* 88.

of *May*. From all this we might have formed a judgment, that the cedars ſtand always in the midſt of ſnow: but we are aſſured of the contrary by another traveller (5), according to whom the ſnows here begin to melt in *April*, and are no more to be ſeen after *July*; nor is, ſays he, any at all left, but in ſuch clefts of the mountains which the ſun cannot come at: that the ſnow begins not to fall again till *December*, and that he himſelf, when he was here, ſaw no ſnow at all; and, it is probable that he ſpeaks nothing but the truth.

(E) We cannot forbear obſerving, that there ſeems to be almoſt as great a difference, concerning theſe cedars, between *Ran-*

(5) *De la Roque Voyage de Syrie, Tome I. p.* 89.

It will not be expected of us to give an accurate deſcription of this noble tree; therefore we ſhall only ſay, that it bears a narrow leaf, of a ſad green, together with a cone like that of the pine-tree, but darker, and of a ſmoother coat. As theſe cedars ſpread out extremely with a broad flat head, which is compared to the top of an umbrella, the weight of the ſnow that might lodge upon them at certain ſeaſons, would break down their branches: but, to prevent this, they are reported to have the extraordinary faculty of preparing themſelves againſt ſo deſtructive a danger, by ſtretching their branches upwards till they form a cone; thereby exhibiting the ſmalleſt ſurface poſſible to the heavens, and by that means, preſerving themſelves from ruin [m]. Theſe cedars of *Lebanon* making ſo noble a figure in the books of the Old Teſtament, and having been antiently the pride of this country, we could not well ſay leſs than we have concerning the few of them left, which are held in ſuch veneration by the inhabitants in theſe parts, that nothing can be added thereto (F).

As

[m] De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 90, 91.

wolf (6), and *Radziville* (7); who viſited them about a century and a half ago. The former reckons the largeſt cedars at ſeveral fathoms in circumference. The latter ſays, they were handſome proper trees, with wide ſpreading branches, like the trees the *Poles* call *Modrzew*; he does not raiſe the admiration at all. But the truth of it is, Mr. *de la Roque* muſt be excuſed, if he does deceive us by leſſening the cedars ſo much. It is not his own voyage, though he ſets his name to it, which is ſomewhat odd. He is no more than editor of this, as well as of other voyages under his name, which were really and properly Monſ. le Chevalier *d' Arvieux*'s. To prove that it muſt be his miſtake, we ſhall only recur to the *Memoirs of the* miſſionaries (8) *in the Levant*, where a *Jeſuit*, who meaſured the largeſt of theſe cedars, tells us it was in girt ſix fathom, which ſquare very well with *Maundrell*'s twelve yards.

(F) We are told (9), that at the foot of the largeſt of theſe cedars are four ſtone altars: that upon the *day of the transfiguration*, the patriarch of the *Maronites* repairs to them, attended by a number of biſhops, prieſts and monks; and followed by five or ſix thouſand of their religion from all parts; and that under theſe trees they celebrate that feſtival, which they miſcal the *feaſt of cedars*. By another it is added, that the patriarch officiates pontifically upon this ſolemn occaſion; that they are particularly mindful of the bleſſed Virgin upon this day; becauſe the ſcripture compares her to

(6) *Ray's Collect. of Voyages ubi ſupra.* (7) *Peregrin Jeroſolym. ubi ſupr.* (8) *Tom.* 4. *p.* 358. (9) *Ibid.*

the

2

Artificial Rarities.

As we have been ſo particular in deſcribing the *Egyptian* monuments of antiquity; we cannot paſs over the chief, at leaſt, of thoſe which are to be found in this country, which, in the judgment of many, may be thought no way inferior to any thing of the kind in *Egypt*. Who founded the noble edifices, whoſe remains we ſhall have here occaſion to deſcribe, is quite uncertain; but nothing is more probable, than that they were not erected under any of the princes in the enſuing hiſtory, they being in the moſt correct ſtile of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*. Upon this account we might be taxed with irregularity in introducing them into a period, when they had no being, had we not this for our excuſe; that being quite in the dark, as to the time when they were built, we may as well ſpeak of them here as any where elſe.

THOUGH there are many noble veſtiges of the magnificence of *Syria*, ſcattered up and down the country, both *Pagan* and *Chriſtian*, we ſhall dwell on two only; *Balbek*, formerly *Heliopolis*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, and *Palmyra*, or *Tadmor* in the wilderneſs.

The fine Ruins at Heliopolis now Balbek.

BALBEK, or *Balbeck*, is mentioned by the *Arabians* as the wonder of *Syria* (G); and ſuch of our *European* travellers as have viſited it, are ſo charmed with what they there behold, that they are at a loſs how to expreſs their admiration. On the ſouth-weſt of the town, which ſtands in a delightful plain on the weſt foot of *Anti-Libanus*, is a heathen temple, together with the remains of ſome other edifices; among the reſt a palace of a true magnificence. Theſe antient ſtructures have been patched and pieced in later times, and converted into a caſtle, as it is called. As you draw near to theſe venerable ruins, you meet with a *rotunda*, or round pile of building, incircled with pillars of the *Corinthian* order, which ſupport a corniſh that runs all round the ſtructure; the whole

The Rotunda.

the cedars of *Lebanon*; and that the ſame holy father threatens, with his church thunderbolts, thoſe who preſume to (10) hurt or diminiſh them,

(G) The *Arabian* geographical lexicographer, cited by *Schultens*, in his geographical commentary (11), at the end of his edition of *Soltân Salah'addin*'s life, ſays; *Balbek is a city of three days journey from Damaſcus, where are wonderful foundations and magnificent veſtiges of antiquity, and palaces with marble columns, ſuch as in the whole world are no where elſe to be ſeen.* And *Abûlfeda*; at *Balbek are palaces of hewn ſtone with moſt lofty columns; nor is there in all* Syria *any ſtone ſtructure more admirable or magnificent.*

(10) *De la Roque ubi ſupra p.* 87, 89. (11) *Ad vocem Balbecum.*

of

of great elegance and ſtatelineſs, but now in a very tottering condition [n]. It is moſtly of marble, and, though round on the outſide, is an octagon within; being withinſide adorned with eight arches, ſupported by eight *Corinthian* columns, each of one ſingle piece. It is now open at top, but appears to have been covered with a ſhell, and to have been much embelliſhed with the figures of eagles. The *Greeks*, who have converted this lovely round into a church, have barbarouſly ſpoiled the beauty of the inſide, by daubing it over with plaiſter [o]. Leaving this, you come to a large, firm, and very lofty pile of building, which has the air of an adjectitious work; and through this pile you paſs into a noble arched walk, or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads you to the temple.

The great Temple.

This temple has, to a miracle, reſiſted the injuries of time, and the madneſs of ſuperſtition, being as good as entire. It is an oblong ſquare, in its general form and proportion exactly like St. *Paul's Covent-Garden*; but for magnificence of ſtructure and dimenſion, there is ſcarce any compariſon, this temple being almoſt as big again every way. Its length on the outſide is one hundred ninety two foot, and its breadth ninety ſix [p]. Its length within ſide is one hundred and twenty foot, and its breadth ſixty. The *pronaos*, or anti-temple, took up fifty four foot of the hundred and ninety, but is now tumbled down, and the pillars which ſupported it are broken. The whole body of this temple, as it now ſtands, is ſurrounded with a noble portico, ſupported by pillars of the *Corinthian* order, ſix foot three inches in diameter, about fifty four in height (H), and each of three ſtones apiece. Their diſtance from each other, and from the wall of the

[n] Maundrell ubi ſupr. p. 135. [o] De La Roque ubi ſupr. p. 152. [p] Maundrell ubi ſupr.

(H) Theſe fifty four are *French* feet, which according to *Maundrell*, ought to be but forty five *Engliſh*, which is a very great difference. The *French* author viewed this place for a fortnight together, whereas our *Engliſh* traveller was ſcarce here a day; ſo that the former may be chiefly relied on in moſt particulars, and accordingly we have adhered chiefly to him; though they both agree very well, conſidering, that the one was a tranſitory, the other a conſtant obſerver, as we may call them. Beſides, in this caſe the thing ſpeaks itſelf; for, according to our mean ſkill in architecture, a *Corinthian* pillar, whoſe diameter is ſix foot, in which they both agree, will require at leaſt fifty foot of height to appear with any manner of elegance and delicacy.

temple,

temple, is nine foot. There are fourteen of them on each ſide of the temple, and eight at each end, counting the corner pillars in each number. The architrave and corniſh, which are ſupported all round by theſe pillars, are exquiſitely carved. And as you walk round this temple, between its wall and the pillars which go round it, you have, over-head, a ſolid arcade all the way, of great ſtones hollowed out arch-wiſe; in the centre of each of which is a god, a goddeſs, or a hero (I), ſtruck out with that life that is not to be conceived [q]; and all round the foot of the wall of the temple itſelf is a double border of marble, the loweſt parts of which is a continued baſs relieve in miniature, expreſſing heathen myſteries and ceremonies, where, without any confuſion, you ſee a ſurprizing mixture of men and beaſts, in the moſt happy compoſition, and moſt agreeable variety [r].

HAVING thus deſcribed the outſide of this temple, we will proceed to the inſide; but let us firſt take a view of the entrance, than which nothing can be more auguſt. The aſcent to it is by thirty ſteps, on each ſide bounded by a wall, which terminates in a pedeſtal, on which formerly ſtood a ſtatue, as may be ſafely ſuppoſed. The front is compoſed of eight *Corinthian* pillars, as we have already ſaid, fluted, as are all the reſt that go round the temple, and an ample and nobly proportioned triangular pediment. Within theſe eight pillars, at the diſtance of about ſix foot, are four others like the two former, and two pillars of three faces each, that terminate the walls of the temple, which come out a good way from the body of the temple itſelf. All theſe form a porch or portico before the door of the temple, in depth about twenty four foot, and in breadth ſixty odd. Through theſe pillars appears the door of the temple, under the vault of the portico; but it there appears with great majeſty, and without the leaſt confuſion; ſo nice are the proportions of the pillars, their diſtance from each other, and the receſs of the door itſelf. The door-caſe or portal is ſquare, and of marble, in proportion and conſtruction juſt like the great marble portal at the weſt end of St. *Paul*'s, but far richer in ſculpture, and larger, if we miſtake not. The whole height of it is about forty foot, and its whole width about twenty

[q] Idem ibid. [r] DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 138, 147.

(I) An emperor or an empreſs, ſays *de la Roque* (12); but in this we chooſe to rely on *Maundrell*'s judgment.

(12) *Ubi ſupr. p.* 148.

eight, with an opening of about twenty foot wide [r]. You are no sooner got under this portal, but looking up, you see the bottom of the lintel, enriched with a piece of sculpture, which has scarce its equal in the world. It is a vast eagle in bass relieve, expanding his wings, and carrying a caduceus in his pounce; and on each hand of him is a fame [t], or cupid [u]. These, each of them, support the one end of a festoon by a string or ribbon, the other being held in the eagle's beak on each hand, inimitably fine [w].

When you are got withinside of the temple, you find it divided into three isles, two narrow on the sides, and one broad in the middle, after the manner of our churches, being formed by two rows of fluted *Corinthian* pillars, of between three and four foot diameter, and in height, including the pedestal, about thirty six. These pillars are twelve in number, six on a side, at the distance of about eighteen foot from each other, and about twelve from the walls of the temple. The walls are adorned with two rows or orders of pilasters one over another, and between each two of the lowermost is a round nich about fifteen foot high. The bottom of the niches is upon a level with the bases of the pillars, and the wall to that height is wrought in the proportions of a *Corinthian* pedestal, and the niches themselves are *Corinthian* in all their parts, with the strictest precision and nicest delicacy. Over these round niches is a row of square ones, between the pilasters of the upper order: the ornaments belonging to them are all marble, and they are each crowned with a triangular pediment (K). Towards the west end of the middle isle you ascend to a choir, as it is called, by thirteen steps, which are the whole breadth of this part in length. This choir is distinguished from the rest of the temple by two large square columns adorned with pilasters, which form a noble entrance, exactly corresponding with that of the temple itself. Here is a great profusion of astonishing sculpture; but the architecture is the same here as in the body of the temple, except that the pillars have no pedestals, and the niches stand upon the pavement [x].

[r] Idem ubi supr. p. 136. [t] Maundrell ubi supr. [u] De la Roque ubi supr. p. 137. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ubi supr. p. 140—142.

(K) In the draught *Maundrell* (13) has given us of the inside of this temple, the upper and the lower niches are exactly alike, both round: this is a remarkable difference; but which way to reconcile them we know not.

(13) *Journey from Aleppo to Jerus.*

The

The two large ſquare pillars, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh this part of the temple, are thought to have ſupported a canopy; but nothing of that kind is to be ſeen now. In the bottom of this choir, is a vaſt marble nich, where ſtood the principal deity here worſhipped. In this choir are ſeen the moſt finely imagined ſculptures, feſtoons, birds, flowers, fruits; and fine baſs relieves, neptunes, tritons, fiſhes, ſea-gods, *Arion* and his dolphin, and other marine figures [y]. The cieling, or vault, of this temple is bold, and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It is open towards the middle; but whether a cupola or lanthorn ſtood there for the admiſſion of light, or whether it was always open, cannot be judged at this diſtance of time [z]. In a word, the charming ſymmetry, the correct taſte, and the height wherewith all the carvings are finiſhed, even at ſuch elevations, where ſuch niceneſs is thought unneceſſary, are ſuch, that it may be truly ſaid, the whole pile is faultleſs, and without the leaſt blemiſh. The whole ſtands upon vaults of ſuch excellent architecture, and ſo bold a turn, that it is thought they ſerved for ſomething more than merely the ſupport of the ſuperincumbent weight, and may have been a ſubterraneous temple, applied to ſome particular ſervice in the Pagan worſhip. And, though this temple now ſtands by itſelf, there are evident marks, that it was accompanied by other buildings, no way unworthy of it; among which are reckoned four different aſcents to it, one upon each angle, with marble ſteps ſo long, that eight or ten perſons may go up abreaſt [a].

WITHIN the walls of this caſtle, as it is now called, are alſo great remains of what muſt have been a palace, ſcarce inferior to any royal ſeat, that has ever been in the world; but being by no means in ſo perfect a ſtate as the temple, we ſhall ſpeak of it in general terms, and inſiſt only on ſuch parts as deſerve our greateſt attention. But firſt of all it muſt be obſerved, that the old wall, which encloſed both this and the temple above deſcribed, is built of ſuch monſtrous blocks of ſtone, as exceed all belief, and have given birth to a tradition among the natives, that the whole is the work of the devil. There are particularly three, which lie end for end with each other, and which together extend one hundred eighty three foot in length, whereof one is ſixty three foot long, and the other two ſixty apiece. Their depth is twelve foot, and their breadth the ſame; and, what adds to the wonder, theſe

Stones of an incredible ſize.

[y] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 143.
[z] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 144, 145.
[a] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 149, 150.

ſtones are lifted twenty foot from the ground. The reſt of the ſtones of this wall are of ſurprizing dimenſions, but none quite ſo large as theſe [b].

The palace. GOING through the long arched walk, which we have already mentioned as leading to the temple, and which looks like a ſubterraneous paſſage, adorned with many buſts, which for want of light cannot well be diſcerned, the firſt object which ſtrikes the ſight is a ſpacious hexagonal building, or wall; which forms a kind of a ſpacious theatre, which is open at the other end, and preſents you with a terraſs, to which you aſcend by marble ſteps. This aperture admits you into a ſquare court, larger than the firſt, round which are buildings more magnificent than what you ſee till then. Here, on each hand, you have a double row of pillars, which form porticoes, or galleries, of ſixty ſix fathom in length, and eight in breadth. The bottom of this court was taken up by a third building, more ſumptuous than the reſt and deeper, and ſeems to have been the body of the palace, fronting eaſt, as all the fronts in this caſtle do. The columns belonging to this part are of ſuch ſize, that they are compared with thoſe of the hippodrome at *Conſtantinople*. Nine of theſe columns are ſtanding (L), and a good piece of the entablature, which evince it to have been one of the wonders of *Aſia*; and, to crown all, each of theſe nine pillars is but one block. Many conſiderable and diſtinct veſtiges of the ſeveral parts of this palace are ſtill extant. The *Corinthian* order prevails chiefly throughout the whole; and ſcarce is there any where to be found ſuch precious remains of architecture and ſculpture. The ornaments are various, but without any of the wild extravagancies of modern architects. The fine taſte of *Greece*, and the magnificence of *Rome* here meet; ſtatues without number, buſts of all ſorts, proud trophies, curiouſly-wrought niches, walls and cielings inriched with baſs relieves,

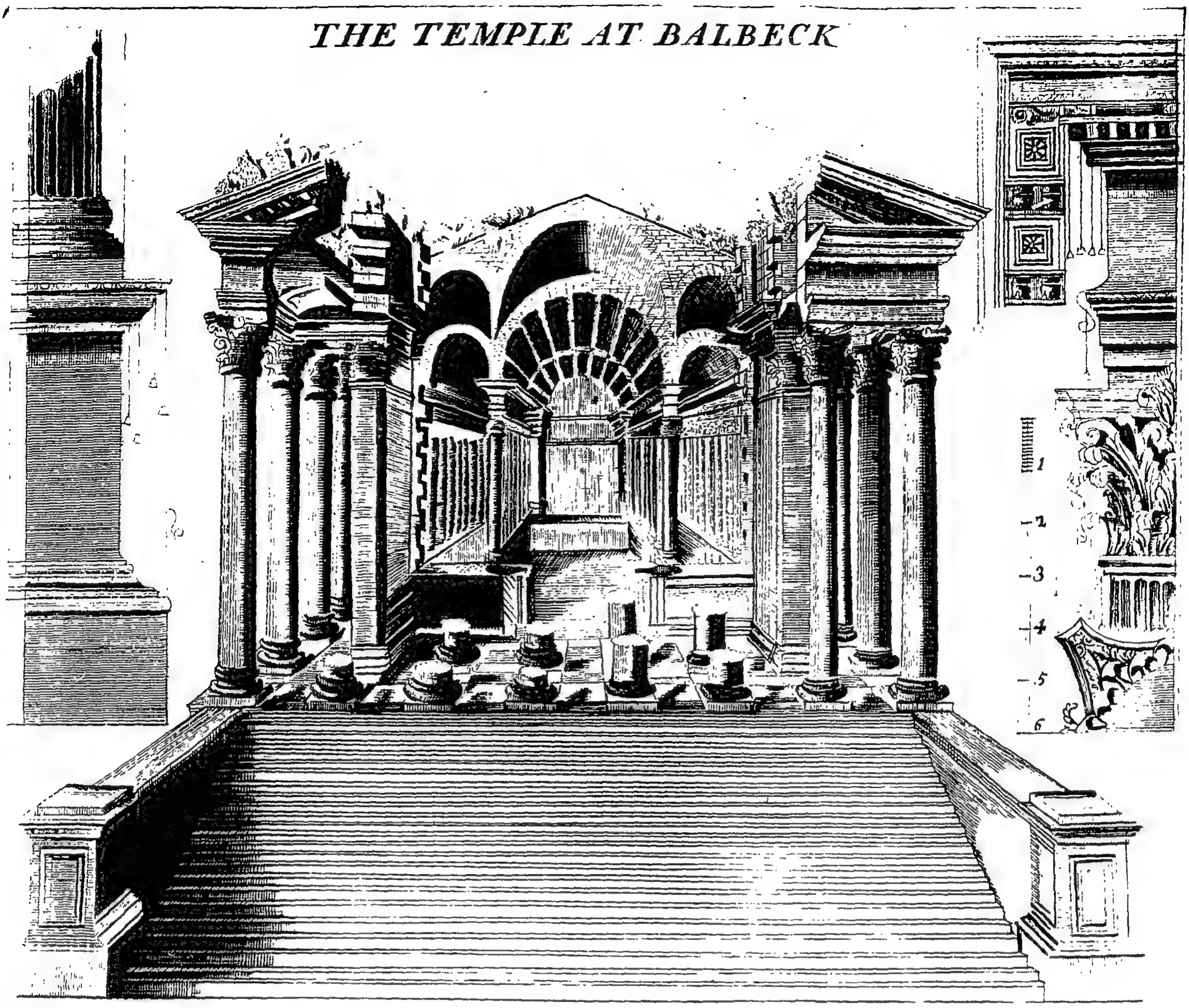
[b] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. p. 138. DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 121.

(L) *Maundrell* remembers theſe pillars in the following words: *About fifty yards diſtant from the temple, is a row of* Corinthian *pillars, very great and lofty; with a moſt ſtately architrave and corniſh at top. This ſpeaks itſelf to have been part of ſome very auguſt pile; but what one now ſees of it is but juſt enough to give a regret that there ſhould be no more of it remaining* (14). He did not viſit the palace; not being prepared, we ſuppoſe, with the thoughts, that there had been any building of the kind there.

(14) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ.* p. 137.

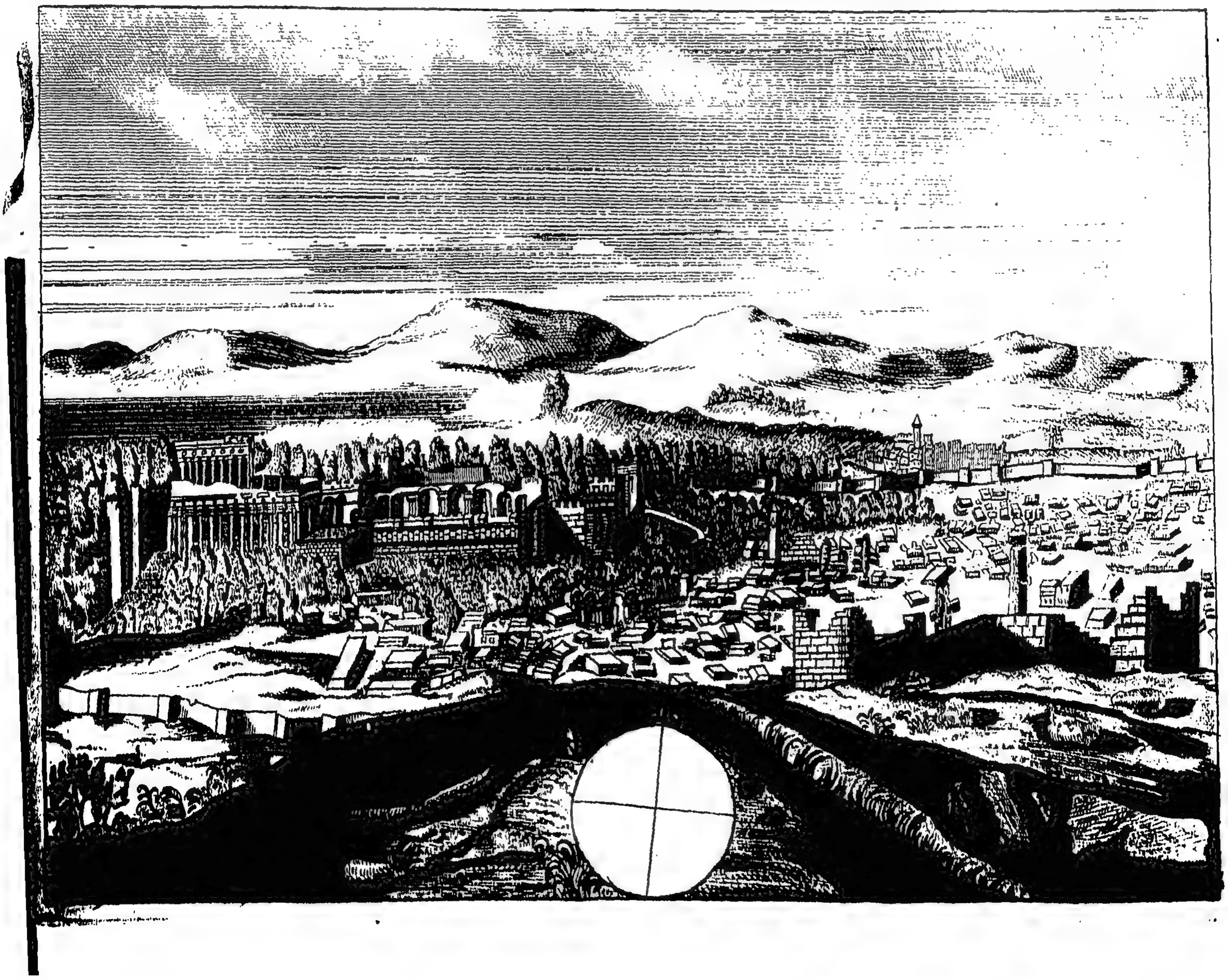
incruſtations,

THE TEMPLE AT BALBECK



D. Pomarede Sculpt

THE PROSPECT OF BALBECK



incruſtations, and other works of the fineſt marble; therms and caryatides judiciouſly placed. Underneath the whole are vaſt vaults; where from time to time you diſcover, through the ruins, long flights of marble ſtairs, near two hundred in a flight. The turn and elevation of theſe vaults are bold and ſurprizing: and in theſe ſubterraneous parts you find many rooms, halls, rich apartments entire, and many marble tombs. The walls here alſo are adorned with niches, baſs relieves, and inſcriptions in *Roman* characters; but theſe inſcriptions are quite effaced by the length of time and the damps. Some of theſe vaults are quite dark, and muſt be viſited with lights, either becauſe of their great depth, or becauſe the paſſages, which may have given them light, are ſtopped up by rubbiſh; but others receive light by great windows, which ſtand on the level of the ground above: and laſtly, all theſe edifices are built with ſtones of the enormous ſize already mentioned, without any viſible mortar, cement, or binding whatſoever[c]. The temple and theſe ruins ſtand in the ſame incloſure, as we have ſaid, and may challenge any monument of antiquity now extant, either at *Athens*, or *Rome*, or even in *Egypt*. All over and about the town you, at every ſtep, meet with ſome melancholy fragment of antiquity. The quarry from whence they had the ſtone for theſe works is a little way out of the town. It is cut out in ſteps ſomething like an amphitheatre, where there lies one ſtone ready hewn, which ſeems to ſurpaſs what have been already deſcribed. It is a notion, it was too heavy to be moved; but, upon a nice examination, it is faſt to the rock[d]. Such was *Balbek*, which might tempt one to think it to have been once the moſt conſiderable place in *Syria*, and the delight of ſome mighty prince, who there choſe to reſide (M).

BUT

[c] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 124—132. [d] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 151, 155.

(M) We flatter ourſelves, that no antiquary will, according to this deſcription of *Balbek*, allow *Solomon* to have had any hand in what we ſee there; and yet prince *Radziville* (15), who is, in the main, a very judicious traveller, thinks it paſt diſpute that it is the work of *Solomon*. He imagines it to be the houſe he built for *Pharaoh*'s daughter, and that it moſt exactly anſwers the deſcription of that palace in the book of *Kings* (16), and indeed we cannot ſay there is no ſimilitude in the caſe. This he avers upon an accurate and diligent obſervation, as he tells us; and adds as a further

(15) *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. Epiſt.* 2. *p.* 27. (16) 1 *Kings* vii. 8—13.

The ruins of Palmyra.

But the magnificent ruins of *Palmyra* ſeem equally to claim our admiration. We ſhall not here examine who was the original founder of this city, whether *Solomon*, or any other before him, nor will we endeavour to inveſtigate to whom we are indebted for what now ſtands of this deſolate and abandoned town. Such diſcuſſions will come more naturally in their proper places, as they may occur in the body of this work. Thus much, however, we may ſafely premiſe, that at *Palmyra* we ſee no remains, or next to none, of *Solomon*'s *Tadmor*, this city having been more than once ſacked and demoliſhed ſince his time, as will appear, when we come to mention the viciſſitudes thereof.

Its names and ſituation.

Palmyra, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in the ſcripture, *Tadmor* in the wilderneſs, by *Joſephus*, *Palmira*, and *Thadamor*, by the ſeptuagint copies, *Theodmor* and *Thedmor*, and by the *Arabs* and *Syrians* at this day, *Tadmor*, *Tadmur*, and *Tatmor*, was once a noble city in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of *Syria*. The origin of theſe names is dark and uncertain (N). It ſtood on a fertile iſland, if we may ſo call it, ſurrounded

proof of it, that the buildings have not ſuffered any violence, but are crumbled away and decayed by mere length of time. He muſt have minded theſe ruins in general; he cannot have deſcended to particulars; or he had never been ſo egregiouſly overſeen as he ſeems to have been.

(N) The author of the deſcription of *Palmyra* (17) calls it *Palmira*, which he derives from the palms about it, and ſuppoſes it to be the tranſlation of a *Hebrew* word, importing a palm. *Halley* (18) derives it from Πάλμυς *Palmys*, which *Heſychius* interprets a *king* or *father*, or from Παλμύτης, *Palmytes*, an *Egyptian* god, according to the ſame *Heſychius*. *Seller* (19) is of another mind, he cannot think of deriving it from *Palmys*, a *king* or *father*, or from *Palmytes* an *Egyptian* god: for what, ſays he, had the gods of *Egypt* to do ſo near the banks of *Euphrates*? He derives it therefore from Πάλμη, *Palme*, a *Perſian* ſhield, or *Parma*, as the *Latins* render it. This he ſupports with ſome authority, and a good deal of probability, rejecting the fantaſtic etymology of *Malela* (20), who will have it called *Palmira*, διὰ τὸ παλαι μοῖραν γενέσθαι τὴν κώμην τῶ Γολιάθ, becauſe *David* ſlew *Goliath* there, which few or none will be willing to allow. The etymology of *Tadmor* is ſtill darker, if poſſible; but, as dark as it is, we cannot forbear acquainting the learned and inquiſitive reader with the thoughts of *Schultens*, in his

(17) *Philoſoph. Tranſact. Numb.* 217. *p.* 85. (18) *Ibid. Numb.* 218. *p.* 161. (19) *Hiſtory of Palmyra in the Appendix, p.* 177. (20) *Par.* 1. *p.* 1 *r.* 11. *p.* 153.

geographica

rounded on all ſides by a thirſty and barren deſert. The firſt object, that now occurs as you approach this forlorn place, is a caſtle of mean architecture and uncertain foundation, though impregnably ſituated, as we ſay, about half an hour from the city. This caſtle ſtands on the north ſide of the city, and from thence you deſcry *Tadmor*, incloſed on three ſides by long ridges of mountains; but to the ſouth is a vaſt plain, which ſtretches away out of ſight. The air is exceeding good; but the ſoil is barren (O), affording nothing green but a few palm trees in the gardens, and a few more ſcattered up and down. The city muſt have been of large extent by the ſpace now taken up by the ruins; but there are no veſtiges of the walls, whereby to judge of its antient form. It is now a deplorable ſpectacle to behold, being only inhabited by thirty or forty miſerable families, who have built them poor huts of dirt within a ſpacious court, which once incloſed a magnificent heathen temple.

The great court and temple.

To begin the deſcription here; this court, which ſtands about the ſouth end of the city, is two hundred and twenty geographical commentary (21), upon both the names *Tadmor* and *Palmyra*. He obſerves, that in the text it is written תמר *Tamor*, and in the magin תדמר *Tadmor*. *Tamor* he reckons to have become the uſual name of this place, for ſoftneſs ſake, and to refer to תמר *Tamar* the *palm*; with which in the next note this place will be ſeen to have abounded. He ſuppoſes alſo, that originally in *Arabic* they did not ſpell it تدمر *Tadmor*, but [تطمر] تطمر *Tatmor*, and thus he accordingly finds it in his *Arabic* geographical Lexicon; as if you ſhould ſay *palmiferous*, or *palm-bearing*, the *T* for ſound ſake being changed into *D*. The alteration of this name he aſcribes wholly to the *Romans*, who upon finding the place called *Tadmor*, or *Tadmur*, may at firſt have corrupted it into *Talmura*; but that ſoon after, underſtanding the city had its name from its palm-trees, they converted *Talmura* into *Palmura*, whence *Palmyra*.

(O) Not that it had always the ſame ſterile appearance. *Abûlfeda*, who, though he calls *Tadmor* a ſmall city in the deſert of *Syria*, yet places it in *Arabia*, writes, that *Palmyrene*, for the moſt part, abounded in ſalt; and that the palm and olive flouriſhed there; adding, that there are many great and noble ruins there to be ſeen. In him moreover we read, that it had perpetual ſprings, and yielded fruits and corn. Upon this occaſion it may not be amiſs to refer you back to what we have conjectured concerning the preſent ſterility of the land of *Edom*. (22).

(21) *In vit. Salad. ad vocem Tadmora.* (22) *See before in the Notes, p.* 126.

yards on each ſide, with a high and ſtately wall of large ſquare ſtone, adorned with pilaſters within and without, to the number, as near as could be judged, of ſixty two on a ſide. The beautiful corniſhes have been purpoſely beaten down by the *Turks*, who have thereby deprived the world of one of the fineſt works of the kind, that, perhaps, was ever ſeen, as here and there a fragment, which has eſcaped their fury, abundantly evinces. The weſt ſide of this court, by which you enter it, is moſt of it broken down; and towards the middle of it there are remains of an old caſtle, built by the *Mamlûks*, as is ſuppoſed, out of part of the ruins which are here in ſuch abundance. This caſtle ſhrouds the remains of an antient fabric of exquiſite beauty, as appears by what is ſtill ſtanding of its entrance, being two ſtones of thirty five foot in length, carved with vines and cluſters of grapes, exceeding bold and to the life. They are both in their right places, and by them it appears, that the door or gate was fifteen foot wide. in this great court were the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars thirty ſeven foot high, with capitals of the fineſt carved work; and the corniſhes muſt have been of equal beauty, though quite deſtroyed by the relentleſs ſuperſtition of the *Mohammedans*. Of theſe pillars fifty eight are entire. They muſt have been many more in number; for, by what appears, they went quite round the court, and ſupported a moſt ſpacious double piazza, or cloiſter. The walks on the weſt ſide of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, ſeem to have been the moſt ſpacious and ſtately of all; and at each end of it are two niches for ſtatues at their full length, with their pedeſtals, borders, ſupporters, and canopies, carved with the greateſt artifice and curioſity. The ſpace within this once beautiful incloſure is conceived to have been an open court, as we have already called it, in the midſt of which ſtands the temple, incompaſſed with another row of pillars of a different order, and far exceeding the former in dimenſions, being fifty foot high. Of theſe, ſixteen are now ſtanding; but there muſt have been about double that number, which, whether they formed an inner court, or ſupported the roof of a cloiſter, is utterly uncertain. One great ſtone lies down, which ſeems to have reached from theſe pillars to the walls of the temple; ſo that the latter conjecture may naturally enough take place. The whole ſpace contained within theſe pillars is one hundred and ſeventy ſeven foot in length, and in breadth eighty four. In the midſt of this ſpace is the temple, extending ninety nine foot in length, and in breadth, about forty. It has a ſumptuous entrance on the weſt, exactly in the middle of the

the building, and, by what remains, ſeems to have been one of the moſt glorious edifices in the world. You here ſee vines and cluſters of grapes executed to the life; and over the door you can juſt trace out a ſpread eagle, as at *Balbek*, which takes up the whole width; with ſome angels, or cupids, accompanying it on the ſame ſtone, and ſeveral eagles are ſeen upon ſtones that are fallen down. Nothing of this temple is ſtanding but the walls, in which it is obſervable, that the windows, though not large, are narrower at top than at bottom, but mightily enriched with ſculpture. It has been aukwardly patched up to ſerve for a moſque, all but the north end, where are very precious reliques; which, whether they were in the nature of canopies over altars, or to what uſe elſe they ſerved, is not eaſy to conjecture. They are beautified with the moſt curious fret-work and ſculpture; in the midſt of which is a dome, or cupola, ſix foot diameter, all of one piece; but whether they are hewn out of the ſolid rock, or moulded of fine cement, or compoſition, is made a doubt.

Promiſcuous ruins.

LEAVING this court and temple your eyes are accoſted with an amazing ſight of marble pillars, ſcattered up and down for the ſpace of near a mile of ground; but in ſuch lamentable confuſion, that there is no room to gueſs for what ends they were framed. But, to paſs by the ruins of a moſque, as not worth our obſervation, and not bewilder your eye with the ſad confuſion which here preſents itſelf, we will proceed to particulars as they occur after, or correſpond with each other.

Obeliſk and two pillars.

ADVANCING towards the north, as you leave the temple, you have a tall and ſtately obeliſk, or pillar, before you, conſiſting of ſeven large ſtones, beſides its capital. It has a wreathed work about it; the ſculpture here, as every where elſe, extremely fine. It exceeds fifty foot in height, is twelve foot and a half in compaſs juſt above the pedeſtal, and a ſtatue is conceived to have once ſtood upon it. On the eaſt and weſt of this, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, is a large pillar, which ſeem to have correſponded with each other. And there is a piece of another near to the eaſtern pillar, which looks as if there had been once a continued row of them. The height of this eaſtern pillar, as taken by a quadrant, is above forty foot. Its circumference is proportionable, and on the body of it is a *Greek* inſcription in commemoration of two patriots, by a grateful order of the ſenate and people, which, with the others of the ſame and other kinds, we may hereafter meet with, we ſhall paſs over for the preſent, that we may not break in upon the thread of this deſcription,

description. The western pillar has another inscription of the like sort; but not quite so perfect as the former.

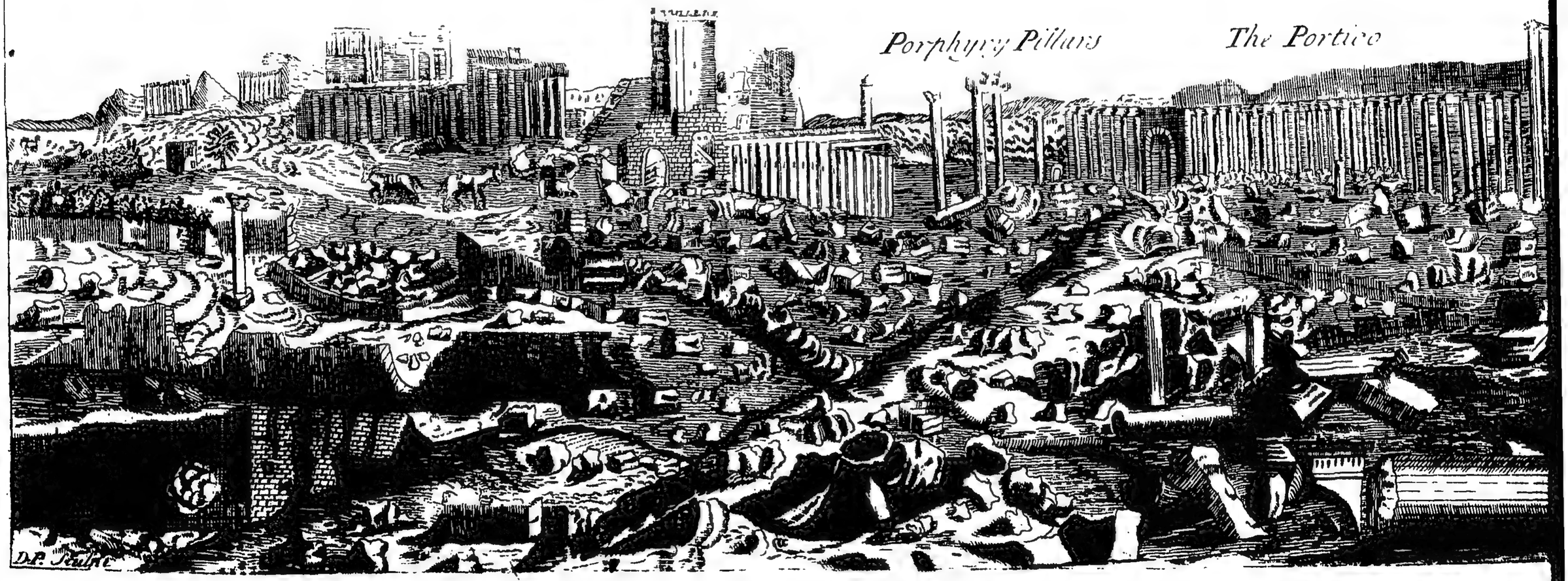
The great piazza. PROCEEDING on from the obelisk, or pillar, last mentioned, at the distance of one hundred paces, is a magnificent entrance, vastly large and lofty, and for workmanship nothing inferior to any piece hitherto described; but unhappily it has suffered the same fate with the rest. This entrance leads into a noble piazza, above half a mile long and forty foot broad, formed by two rows of stately marble pillars twenty six foot high, and eight or nine about. Of these pillars one hundred and twenty nine are standing; but by a moderate calculation, they cannot have been fewer at first, than five hundred and sixty. Covering over them there is none remaining, nor pavement beneath, that can be seen. Upon most of these pillars are inscriptions in *Greek* and *Palmyrene* characters; so that it seems to have been a much frequented, and the most conspicuous part of the city, and most proper for the daily and honourable commemoration of such as had deserved well of their fellow-citizens, or friends and relations. And, as if inscriptions were not sufficient, it seems, as if here they fixed the statues also of the persons celebrated; there being pedestals jetting out from these pillars, sometimes one way, and sometimes more, whereon must have stood statues, which have long ago fallen victims to the furious and barbarous zeal of the *Mohammedans*; and upon these pedestals are inscriptions, even when none are on the pillar they belong to, and sometimes even when there are. The upper end of this spacious piazza was shut in by a row of pillars, standing closer together than those on each side, and perhaps

Banqueting-house. a banquetting-house stood upon them, though no sign of it be spared. But on the left hand, a little farther, appear the ruins of a very stately pile, which may have been of such a kind; of finer marble than is observed in the piazza, and with an air of delicacy throughout the whole, far surpassing what is observed in the piazza itself. The pillars, which supported this last pile, are all of one stone, twenty two foot long, and eight foot nine inches round. Among these ruins is found the only *Latin* inscription that was seen in this place.

Porphyry pillars and palace. IN the west side of the above piazza are several openings, supposed to have been for gates, which led into the court of the palace. Two of these gates look as if they had been the most magnificent and glorious in the world, both for the elegance of the work in general, and for the stately porphyry pillars, wherewith they were adorned. Each gate had four, not standing in a line with those of the wall, but placed

A View of the Ruins of Palm

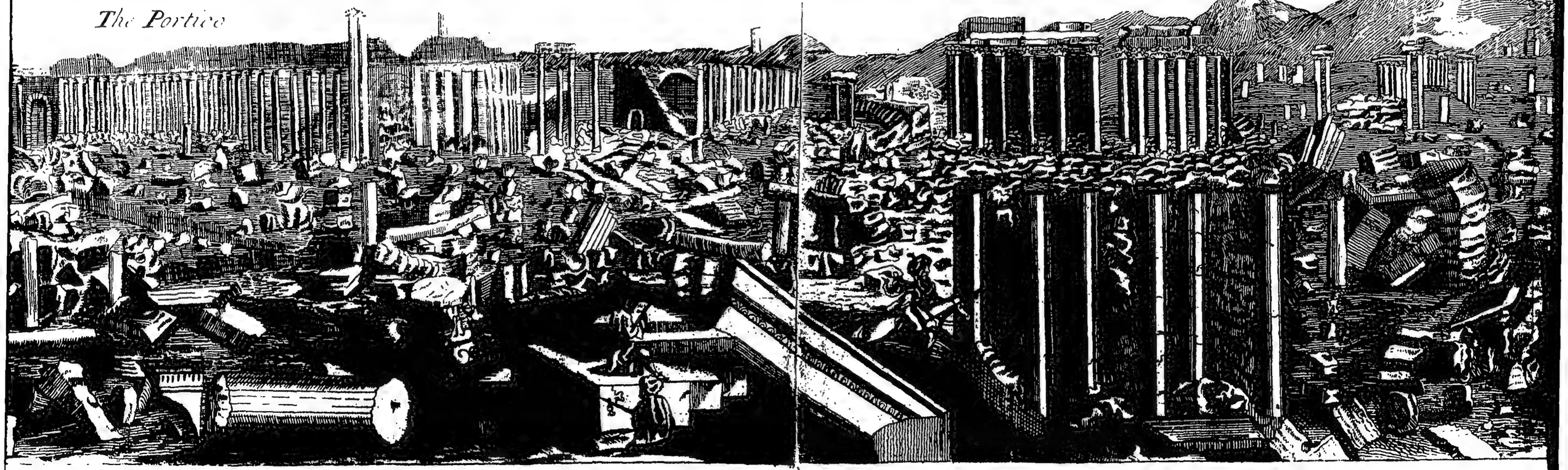
The Temple now obtains



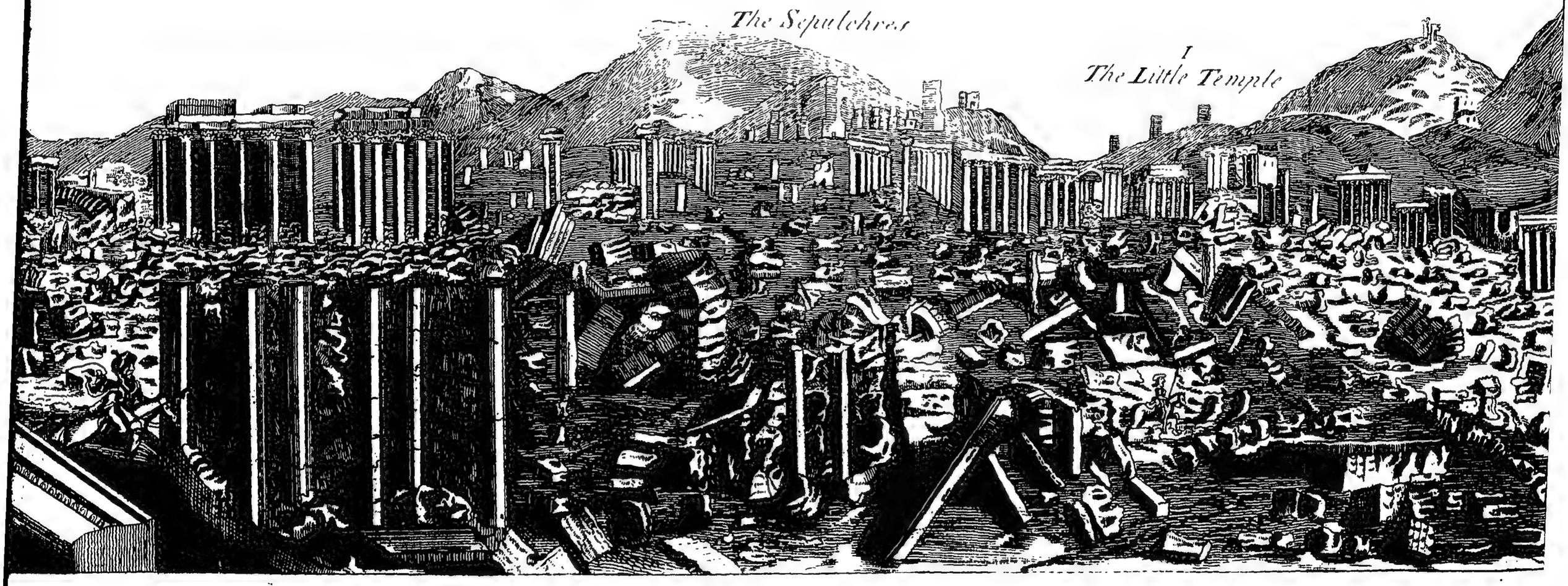
of Palmyra alias Tadmor taken in

The Portico

The Se



Tadmor in the Wilderness



The Castle

The Sepulchres

The Little Temple



placed by couples in the front of the gate, facing the palace, two on the one hand, and two on the other. Of theſe porphyry pillars, there are but two entire, and but one of them ſtanding in its proper place. They are about thirty foot in length, and nine in circumference, and of ſo very hard a conſiſtence (P) that it is a very difficult matter to injure them. Theſe, of all the pieces of porphyry here found, are the moſt beautiful. The palace itſelf is ſo completely demoliſhed, that there is no forming a judgment of what it has been, either for majeſty or ornament. It plainly appears to have been thrown down by violence, which, together with the length of time, has quite defaced and obliterated this once noble pile, there being only a broken piece of its walls left ſtanding here and there. But, it is very likely, that it fronted the famous piazza before-mentioned, and that it was ſurrounded with rows of pillars of different orders, many of which are ſtill ſtanding, ſome plain, and ſome wrought and channelled, as thoſe immediately encompaſſing the temple. To theſe pillars alſo there are pedeſtals with inſcriptions on them.

Great numbers of marble pillars.

ON the eaſt ſide of this ſame piazza is, if the expreſſion may be uſed, a wood of marble pillars, ſome perfect, ſome deprived of their beautiful capitals, but ſo ſcattered and confuſed, that there is no reducing them to order, or conjecturing to what uſe they formerly ſerved. In one place are eleven together, forming a ſquare in this diſpoſition, ⋮ ⋮ ⋮ paved at the bottom with broad flat ſtone, but without any manner of roof.

The little temple.

AT a little diſtance from hence, is a ſmall ruined temple, which, by what remains of it, muſt have been a very curious piece. The entrance into this temple looks to the ſouth, and before it is a piazza of ſix pillars, two on one hand of the door, and two on the other, and one at each end. The pedeſtals of thoſe in the front have been filled up with inſcriptions, both in *Greek* and the other characters, but ſcarce intelligible.

The ſepulchres.

BUT of all the venerable remains of this deſolate place, none more attract the admiration of the curious, than their coſtly ſepulchres, which are ſquare towers, four or five ſtories high, ſtanding on each ſide of a hollow way, towards the north end of the city. They extend a mile, and may antiently have extended farther. At a diſtance they look like

(P) This our author ſays, ſuppoſing porphyry to be factitious, which is diſputed.

the

the ſteeples of decayed churches, or the baſtions of a ruined fortification. Many of them, though built of marble, have proved faithleſs to their charge; having ſunk under the weight of years, or ſubmitted to the inexorable malice of violent hands. They are all of one form, but of different ſize, in proportion to the fortune of the founder. In the ruins of one of them, that was entirely marble, were found the pieces of two ſtatues, the one of a man, the other of a woman, in a ſitting, or rather leaning, poſture. By theſe it is diſcovered, that their habit was very noble, rather agreeing with the *European* than the preſent eaſtern faſhions; whence they are conjectured to have been *Romans*. Of all theſe ſepulchres, there are two, which ſeem to be more entire than the reſt. They are ſquare towers, five ſtories high, their outſides of common ſtone, but their partitions and floors within, of good marble. They are beautified with very lively carvings and paintings, and figures both of men and women, as far as the breaſt and ſhoulders, but miſerably defaced. Under them, or on one ſide, are *Palmyrenean* characters, which are thought to be the names of the perſons there depoſited. To judge of the conſtruction of the reſt of theſe ſepulchres, by what is obſerved in one of them; they had a walk quite a-croſs them from north to ſouth, exactly in the middle, by which they entered. The vault below, was divided in the ſame manner, and the diviſion on each hand ſubdivided by thick walls into ſix, or more or leſs, partitions, each big enough to receive the largeſt corpſe, and deep enough to contain at leaſt ſix or ſeven piled one upon another. In the loweſt, ſecond, and third ſtories, theſe partitions were the ſame, excepting that the ſecond had a partition anſwering to the main entrance, for the convenience of a ſtair-caſe. Higher up this method was diſcontinued; becauſe the building growing narrower towards the top, could no longer admit of it. In the two uppermoſt rooms, it is likely that no bodies were depoſited, except that of the founder himſelf, whoſe ſtatue, wrapt up in funeral apparel, and in a lying poſture, is placed in a nich, or rather window, in the front of the monument, ſo as to be viſible both within and without. Here is a *Greek* epitaph [t].

Such were once the magnificent abodes, and ſuch the noble ſepulchres of the *Palmyrenians*; enough to evince, that the world never ſaw a more glorious city; the pride, it is likely of antient times, and the reproach of our own: a city, not more remarkable for the ſtate of her buildings and unwontedneſs of her ſituation, than for the extraordinary perſonages

[t] Philoſophical Tranſactions, Numb. 217.

ſonages who once flouriſhed here, among whom the renowned *Zenobia* and the incomparable *Longinus*, muſt for ever be remembered, with admiration and regret.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the antient Syrians.

Antiquity.

THE antient *Syrians*, or *Aramites* (A), ſcarce ſubmitted to any other nation under the ſun, in point of antiquity, being the firſt that inhabited the fertile and well ſituated region of their abode after the general deluge as we have already obſerved [a]. This is indiſputably the caſe, and therefore there may be no need of expatiating thereon. But the poſterity of *Shem* by *Aram*, did not poſſeſs this country wholly to themſelves; their relations of *Canaan*'s line, being ſtraitened for want of room in the places where they ſettled at firſt, encroached upon them by degrees, and ſeized on a portion of their lot, and kept the ſame, till one common deſtruction and captivation involved them both. To uſe many words in proof of this twofold deſcent of the *Syrians*, from the righteous line of *Shem*, and the unrighteous line of *Ham*, is needleſs, ſince we find a very noted portion of the country of *Aram*, or *Syria*, denominated from *Hamathi*, one of the eleven ſons of *Canaan*, who may have even ſettled here in perſon. The ſame we might here ſay of the *Arkite*, the *Sinite*, *Zemarite*, and the *Arvadite*, though indeed we have not ſuch poſitive aſſurances thereof, as of what we ſay of the *Hamathite*. We can only deliver it as our opinion, that theſe *Canaanite* families did moſt, if not all of them, fix their abode in *Syria* (B). But whether the country was more or

[a] See Vol. I. p, 362.

(A) This name was not wholly unknown to the *Greeks*. *Strabo* calls them *Aramæi*; for thoſe, ſays he (1), whom we call *Syrians*, call themſelves *Aramæans*. Hence, the *Arami*, *Arimi*, and *Erembi*, and the like names.

(B) The *Arabs* have a tradition there were *Canaanites* very antiently in *Syria*, for they talk of *Dimaſhc* (2) the ſon of *Canaan*, who built the famous city of *Damaſcus* (3).

(1) *Geograph. l. i. p.* 42. (2) *Vide Schultens, Comment. Geograph. in vit. Salad. ad vocem Damaſcus.* (3) *See Vol. I. p.* 362.

leſs

bode in *Syria* (B). But whether the country was more or leſs divided between the *Aramites* and *Canaanites*, we forbear to enquire into, ſince we have little or no authority to build upon. The antient *Syrians* then were partly deſcended from *Ham*, and partly from *Shem*, and both of nearly equal ſtanding in this country, and very little behind any nation in antiquity; but, if we believe a tradition current among the preſent inhabitants, it muſt be called the oldeſt country in the world (C).

Government.

That they were antiently governed by heads of families, called kings, and that there were great numbers of them in the country, is certain; and that they continued under the ſame government, in part, even to the days of *Saul*, is plain by the kings of *Zobah* [b]; and by the petty kings in *Meſopotamia*, who were ſummoned to attend *Ben-hadad* in his wars, no fewer than thirty two. Seeing therefore, that this moſt ſimple and natural form of government, obtained in *Canaan* on the one hand of them, and in *Meſopotamia* on the other, and that even we find veſtiges of the ſame in *Syria* itſelf, down to the days of *Saul*, we cannot doubt, but that they were at firſt divided into many ſmall kingdoms. Not that this was the only form that ſeems to have taken place; for as *Gibeon* in *Canaan*, in the days of *Joſhua*, ſeems to have been a commonwealth among the many kingdoms there; ſo *Damaſcus* in *Syria* ſeems to have been the ſame in *David*'s time. What we have to offer in ſupport of this opinion, is not indiſputably clear; but *Damaſcus* is ſpoken of as without a chief, and as if the power was wholly in the people, in *David*'s time. It is ſaid, that the *Syrians* of *Damaſcus* [c], not their king, ſent an army of upwards of twenty thouſand to

[b] See 1 Sam. xiv 47. [c] 2 Sam. viii. 5. 6.

(C) for here they particularly pretend that *Adam* was formed (4), and that *Cain* ſlew *Abel* *; both which places they ſhew to travellers that viſit *Damaſcus*, for they are in the neighbourhood of that city (5). To which *Radziville* adds, that hollow groans are ſometimes heard under ground, in teſtimony of the innocent *Abel*, as they told him; that the place is held in deep veneration, and indued with a miraculous power of healing ſuch as labour under any violent diſeaſe, if they but lie down naked thereon, reſtoring them immediately to their priſtine health.

(4) *See Thevenot, Maundrell, &c.*
(5) *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. epiſt. ii. p.* 30.

* *See Vol. I. p.* 148, (N)

the

the relief of *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*, which ſéems to imply, as if they were ſomething like what we call a republic. The foundation and nature of the kingdom of *Zobah*, we pretend not to ſpeak of; but that of *Damaſcus*, which roſe upon its ruins, as *Zobah* did upon the ſubverſion of the ſmaller principalities, ſeems to have been of the tyrannical and arbitrary kind. The kingdom of *Damaſcus* was eſtabliſhed in violence by a ſtrong hand, and the conſtitutions thereof muſt, one would think, have been of a piece with its foundation; haughty, uncontrou lable, and ambitious to ſubdue its neighbours; and in truth, it roſe to the univerſal monarchy of all the parts on both ſides of the *Euphrates* under *Hazael*, as will be ſhewn in its due place. This may be ſaid of the kingdom of *Damaſcus*, which ſupported itſelf with various fortune, till *Syria* changed both inhabitants and maſters, which it did upon the firſt riſe, as it were, of the *Aſſyrian* power.

Their laws.

WE have no ſyſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them, but we are not ſo much at a loſs for what concerns their religion.

Their religion.

THE antient ſtate of their religion, indeed, we are wholly at a loſs for, nor will we dwell on the obſcurities thereto relating. It is certain they had many idols among them of very antient repute; among the reſt *Rimmon* (D) may be reckoned, whoſe temple ſtood at *Damaſcus*: He ſeems to have been, at leaſt, the principal god of *Damaſcene*, which is all we ſhall venture to ſay concerning him.

THIS antient god in time gave way to another; for the *Syrians* deifying their king *Ben-hadad* II, under the ſtile of *Adad*, or *Ader* [d], he was conſidered as their moſt glorious and auſpicious god (E). This fancied god, and others

[d] JOSEPH Antiq. l. ix. c. 2.

(D) This name, in the language of the Old Teſtament, ſignifies a *pomegranate*: whence this deity, whether god or goddeſs, is thought to have born ſome relation to *Venus*. *Selden* (6) is moſt inclined to derive it from רום *rum*, *high*, or *lofty*. We forbear to ſpeak of *Gad*, and refer you to this laſt author. The *Syrians* had a deity alſo, called *Babia*, a goddeſs from whom the children and young people were called *Babias* (7). They may have eſteemed them under her tutelage, and our *Engliſh* word, *babes*, ſays one (8), may thence have been borrowed.

(E) *Adad* is called alſo *Adod* the *king of the gods* (9), and *Adad* is interpreted *One* (10); and where we have this interpretation we

(6) *Vide Selden de Di. Syr. Syntag. ii. c.* 10. (7) *Damaſc. vit. Iſidor. apud Pho. c. cxlii.* (8) *Purchas's Pilgrim, Book I ch. xx. at the end.* (9) *Sanchon apud Euſeb. Præpar. Evangel lib. i. p.* 39. (10) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* 1. *c.* 18

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Hereupon the religion of the country may, without ſtraining the point, be ſaid to have changed face; a new idolatry was introduced, or many additions to the old were brought in, by the new inhabitants, who were ſent hither by the *Aſſyrian*; and now the religion of *Aſſyria* prevailed chiefly all over the country. That this is true, will be pretty evident from ſome arguments you will find in our chronology of *Aſſyria*. What changes and alterations this ſyſtem ſuffered under the *Babylonians* firſt, and the *Perſians* afterwards, and laſtly under the *Seleucidæ* and *Romans*, we cannot preſume to

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AT *Hierapolis*, or the holy city, or *Magog*, as the *Syrians* themſelves are ſaid [c] to have called it, in the province of *Cyrrheſtica*, ſtood the temple of the great *Syrian goddeſs* (F). It was upon an eminence in the midſt of the city, ſurrounded by a double incloſure or two walls, the one old, the other new. At the north ſide it had a court, or porch, before it, of about five or ſix hundred foot in circumference, where ſtood the *priaps*, of three hundred fathom, or three hundred cubits high; for we find both theſe meaſures, but both exceedingly too large, to our apprehenſion. Theſe obſcene images, or rather columns, were but ſlender, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter; but by whom, or to whom, they were erected, was the ſubject of much fable. The front of the temple itſelf ſtood eaſt, and before it was a tower raiſed upon a terraſs, about twelve foot high; which was no ſooner mounted than the temple appeared. It was built after the manner of the *Ionian* Temples; the porch of it was adorned with golden doors; nay, the whole temple glittered with gold, and particularly the roof. The air about it was inchanting, nothing inferior to the ſweeteſt of *Arabia*, and ſo ſtrongly perfumed the garments of all that viſited it, that they were ſcented for a conſiderable time.

Idols, ſtatues, &c. in and about the temple.

THIS temple was not without its ſanctuary, into which no admiſſion was allowed, even to ſuch of the prieſts, as were not in an eſpecial manner allied to the gods there kept, or wholly addicted to their ſervice and worſhip. Within the ſanctuary, which was always open, were the ſtatues of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the *Greeks* were ſo complaiſant as to call them, though the inhabitants, as our author aſſures us, had other

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names for them. But ſince we have not their true names, we muſt be contented with the *Greek*. Theſe ſtatues of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were of gold. *Juno* ſat upon lions, and *Jupiter* was ſupported by bulls, being in looks and poſture like the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; but the ſtatue of *Juno* was contrived ſo as to participate of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemeſis*, and the *Deſtinies*, according to the view you had of her. In one hand ſhe had a ſceptre, in the other a diſtaff. On her head ſhe had rays and a tower, and ſhe was girt with the *ceſtus*, or girdle, of the celeſtial *Venus*. She was adorned with a great variety of gems, which had from time to time been preſented to her, by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*. But of all theſe, the moſt remarkable was the *Lychnis* ſhe wore at her ſide. This ſtone is ſaid to ſhine moſt by candle-light. With this *Lychnis* therefore ſhe illuminated, ſays our author, the temple by night. In the day-time it had no remarkable luſtre, and only looked of a fiery aſpect. It was wonderful of this ſtatue, that though a perſon ſtood either on one ſide or before it, ſtill it looked at him. Between *Jupiter* and *Juno* was another golden ſtatue, but with no characteriſtics, or peculiar enſigns, and only called the *Sign*. It was uncertain who they pointed at by this ſtatue; but, becauſe it had a golden dove on its head, ſome were willing to think it was *Semiramis*. Twice every year it went in proceſſion to the ſea-ſide. On the left hand, going into the temple, was the throne of the *Sun*, but it had no ſtatue in it; for they held it abſurd to make ſtatues either of the ſun or moon, who were ſo reſplendently viſible to mortal eyes; but no more than right, to form the ſtatues of ſuch as were inviſible. Next after this throne was the ſtatue of *Apollo*, not a ſtripling, but with a large beard; for they could not endure the thoughts of addreſſing themſelves to any god that was under age; and moreover, they did put cloaths on this idol, which was done to no other. Next to *Apollo* ſtood *Atlas*, then *Mercury*, then *Lucina*, all which made the ſide furniture of the temple. On the right hand as they entered the temple, ſtood *Semiramis* pointing to *Juno*; for that empreſs had had the arrogance to claim ſupremacy to herſelf, in the adoration of mankind, not excepting even *Juno*; whereupon being ſeverely puniſhed by the gods, who perſecuted her with diſeaſes and various calamities to humble her pride, ſhe at laſt ſubmitted to the goddeſs; and for this reaſon was figured as pointing to *Juno*, in perpetual acknowledgement of her arrogant error; and to direct people that the ſaid goddeſs was to be worſhipped, not herſelf. Next to *Semiramis* ſtood *Helen*, then *Hecuba*, *Andromache*,

dromache, *Paris*, *Hector*, *Achilles*, *Nereus* the ſon of *Aglaia*, *Philomèl*, and *Progne*, *Tereus* turned into a bird, another ſtatue of *Semiramis*, *Combabus*, *Stratonice*, a beautiful piece, *Alexander* done after the life, and *Sardanapalus*, in a peculiar habit and attitude. Under this temple they ſhewed the cleft where the waters drained off at *Deucalion*'s flood: on this place, ſaid they, did *Deucalion* erect an altar to *Juno*, and this tradition brought on an extraordinary ceremony, which we ſhall mention hereafter. This hole or cleft was but ſmall when our author ſaw it. We had almoſt forgotten, that on the right hand of the temple, there was a little brazen man, with privities far beyond their due proportion.

FINALLY, within the incloſures of the temple, they kept oxen, horſes, lions, bears, eagles, all which were no way noxious to men, but all ſacred and tame.

ADJACENT to the temple was a lake, where ſacred fiſhes were preſerved and attended. Some of the largeſt had names given to them, and came when called. One of theſe our author particularly obſerved had golden fins. The lake itſelf was deep, two hundred fathom, the prieſts reported; and in the midſt of it ſtood a ſtone altar, which ſeemed to ſwim, as moſt thought it did; for the pillar, or what elſe ſupported it, was not eaſily to be diſcerned. This altar was for ever crowned, and reeking with incenſe, and daily frequented, as we ſhall ſee anon. Without the temple ſtood a large brazen altar, and ſtatues of kings and prieſts almoſt innumerable. *The ſacred lake.*

THE oracle in the temple was quite extraordinary, and may ſerve to evince, how deeply the prieſts were verſed in the myſtery of their profeſſion. Here were images that would move, ſweat, and deliver oracles, as if alive; and noiſes were often heard in the temple, when it was ſhut up. *Apollo*, as we underſtand our author, was the chief Oracle. Other idols delivered their anſwers by their prieſts: This *Syrian Apollo* did all himſelf. He, as we have already obſerved, was the only god that had cloaths put on him: the reaſon of which, to our apprehenſion, was, that a living perſon might the more ſpeciouſly be ſubſtituted to act the part of the ſtupid block. However this were, this *Apollo*, when he was inclined to make anſwer upon any conſultation, began firſt to move himſelf; upon which the prieſts immediately ſtepped up to him to lift him, or elſe he fell into great agonies, ſweating, and beſtirring himſelf after a furious rate. But with the prieſts, who came to his aſſiſtance, he behaved in a very unruly manner, toſſing and tumbling them about from place to place as he pleaſed; till the high prieſt, coming up to him, propoſed his queſtion. If the queſtion was unacceptable to him, *The oracle.*

he retired; if otherwiſe, he drove his ſupporters onwards. He had the direction of all matters ſacred and civil, being upon all occaſions conſulted, and always declared the time when it was proper for the image, we have called the *Sign*, to make its proceſſion to the ſea. In fine, our author aſſures us, that he ſaw this god walk in the air.

Riches of the temple.

The revenues and treaſure of this temple were in proportion to its ſplendor, to the great majeſty of the goddeſs, and to the mighty power and excellence of her kindred deities that attended her. *Arabia*, *Phœnice*, *Babylonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Syria*, paid their liberal contributions. Here were coſtly preſents ſhewn, in garments and other things of ineſtimable price, which were very carefully kept; ſo that, in this reſpect, it was a very *Loretto*.

Now for the prieſts. There were ſeveral ſorts of them, each aſſigned to particular tasks. Some killed the ſacrifices, ſome bore the drink-offerings, ſome carried fire, and ſome waited at the altar; and of theſe above three hundred, in white habits, and with caps, or bonnets, on their heads, attended the ſacrifices. And beſides them, there were other conſecrated orders; as of minſtrels, ſkilful in the touch of ſeveral inſtruments, *Galli*, or eunuch prieſts, and, to conclude, mad and frantic women. The office of high prieſt was annual, he wore purple, and a golden mitre. Other ſorts of holy perſons there were of the ſeveral nations, who held the *Syrian Goddeſs* in veneration, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſtruct their countrymen, who from time to time reſorted hither in pilgrimage, in the rules and cuſtoms of this holy city. They were called maſters, or inſtructors.

It is remarkable of their eunuch prieſts, that they were emaſculated by the voluntary operation of their own hands. How this unnatural cuſtom came to prevail, is accounted for by the following ſtory. *Stratonice*, who built this temple, having been admoniſhed by the goddeſs, to undertake the work, to no purpoſe, till ſhe forcibly brought her to obedience by a violent procedure againſt her, the king her huſband conſented to let her go and take in hand the building; but committed the care of her to a beautiful youth named *Combabus*.

The ſtory of Combabus.

This *Combabus*, no way fond of his commiſſion, but dreading the conſequences of being ſo much alone with the beauteous queen, deſtroyed his ſex, and left the ruins of it, carefully embalmed and ſealed up, with the king. He departed with the queen *Stratonice*, was after ſome time ſolicited by her, and convinced her of his inability. But nevertheleſs, it came to paſs, either through malice or envy, that *Combabus* was clearly convicted of adultery, infidelity, and impiety

impiety to the goddeſs. As he was leading to execution, he called out for the treaſure he had left with the king, which being produced, his intended puniſhment was converted into the moſt tender embraces in the arms of his prince. The king now raiſed him to the higheſt degree of riches and honour, and he was famed for the wiſeſt and happieſt man living. *Combabus* deſired leave to finiſh the temple; which being granted, he paſſed the remainder of his life there. And there ſtood his ſtatue in braſs, as we have already ſaid, the work of *Hermolaus* the *Rhodian*. And becauſe it was induſtriouſly reported, that ſome of his deareſt companions reſolved to undergo his calamity for his ſake, or that *Juno* inſpired ſeveral with a rage of unmanning themſelves, that he might not be ſingle in his misfortune; many mad zealots, either in honour of *Combabus*, or to pleaſe *Juno*, performed the hated operation on themſelves every year in the temple, as we ſhall hereafter relate. Furthermore, theſe *Galli*, or devoted eunuchs, took on them the habit and offices of women, becauſe *Combabus* had been fallen in love with by a ſtrange woman, who knew not the violence he had done to his ſex; which to prevent for the future, he put on the outward appearance of a woman. Such were the *Galli*, their inſtitution, and their patron.

Sacrifices.

WE come now to ſpeak of the ſacrifices, ceremonies, and peculiar cuſtoms pertaining to this holy city. They ſacrificed twice a day, to *Jupiter* in ſilence, to *Juno* with great noiſe of miniſtrels and ſingers. Every ſpring they celebrated an extraordinary ſacrifice; for, felling ſome great trees, in the court of the temple, they garniſhed them with goats, ſheep, birds, rich veſtments, and fine pieces of wrought gold and ſilver: they then carried the ſacred images round theſe decorated trees, and ſet fire to them, and all was conſumed. At this ſacrifice there was always a great concourſe of people from all parts, every one bringing his ſacred images with him, made in imitation of thoſe in the temple. There was alſo a private ſacrifice made by every one that undertook the pilgrimage to this city of *Hierapolis*. The pilgrim killed a ſheep, cut it up in joints, and feaſted on it, ſpreading the fleece on the ground, and kneeling upon it. In this poſture he put the feet and head of the victim upon his own head, and beſought the goddeſs to accept his ſacrifice, and vowed her a better. To theſe may be annexed the offerings made upon the following occaſion. Twice a year a man climbed up to the top of one of the *priaps* we have mentioned, and there continued ſeven days. He let down a chain, by which to draw up what ſhould be given to him; for many upon theſe occaſions

brought their offerings, and declared their names, which one below took care to bawl out to the man ſitting above, who thereupon began a prayer, ſtriking a kind of a bell all the time. Finally, they had, ſometimes, a way of ſacrificing which was truly ſhocking and barbarous. They firſt crowned the victims with garlands, and then drove them out of the porch or court of the temple, one ſide of which was an abrupt ſteep, where falling, they periſhed. Nay, ſome were ſo mad as to tie up their children in ſacks, and then ſhove them down the ſame ſteep, reproaching them as not children, but beaſts.

Feſtivals. Some of their feſtivals, if ſo they may be called, were obſerved in memory of *Deucalion*'s flood. Twice a year they went to the ſea-ſide, and thence brought water into the temple; in which labour not only the prieſts were employed, but alſo all *Syria* and *Arabia*, ſays our author. This water they poured out in the temple, and it ran off by the hole or cleft we have already mentioned. This they did by a pretended command of *Deucalion*'s, as our author, like a mere *Greek*, calls him. What ceremonies they practiſed at the ſea-ſide, we are not told; but it ſeems they were very extraordinary. Returning with their veſſels full of water and ſealed up, they carried them firſt to a ſacred perſon called *Alectryo*, who receiving the ſaid veſſels of water, examined the ſeals, and taking his due from each votary for his pains, untyed the ſtring, took off the ſeal, and returned his burthen to each, who carried it into the temple for the purpoſe before-mentioned. This *Alectryo*, whoever, or whatever, he was, received a conſiderable revenue for holy uſes upon theſe ſolemn days. They had another kind of feſtivals, which, in our language, may be called their *deſcenſion days*. For upon theſe days did their gods and their other fine things make a viſit to the bottom of the lake we formerly mentioned. *Juno*, or the *Syrian Goddeſs*, herſelf went down firſt, for the preſervation of her favourite fiſh, who, if they had ſeen *Jupiter*, would have died. Upon theſe occaſions a notable farce was acted between the ſaid goddeſs and god. He was wont to advance to go down firſt; whereupon ſhe interpoſed, and, after much ado, prevailed on him to return back again. But of all their holy-days the *great burning*, as we may call it, was the moſt conſiderable. Upon this occaſion there came people from all parts to aſſiſt at the great ſacrifice we have already deſcribed, and the other religious duties of the ſeaſon. This feſtival was of ſome days continuance, as we apprehend our author; and at particular times while it laſted, the whole multitude was drawn into the temple, while the prieſts ſtood without,

without, ſome of them mangling their bodies; ſome thumping violently againſt each other, while others beat upon tabrets or drums, and ſounded with muſical inſtruments, and ſang out aloud, and prophecied. And now it was, that, amidſt all this uproar, the frenzy of caſtrating themſelves ſeized on many in the temple, who, crying out with a loud voice, and drawing their ſwords, performed the operation, and devoted themſelves to the goddeſs.

THE religious cuſtoms, and laws, and traditions of this place, were as extraordinary as any thing elſe we have hitherto ſeen. Twice a year a man went up to the top of one of the *priaps*, as we have ſaid, and there remained ſeven days. His manner of getting up was thus. He ſurrounded the *priap* and himſelf with a chain, and aſcended by the help of that and certain pegs or pins, which ſtuck out of the ſides of the *priap* for that purpoſe, lifting the chain up after him at every ſtep he mounted. Here we cannot but obſerve, that our author ſays, That thoſe who had ſeen them climb up the palm trees in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, might readily underſtand him; whence we gather theſe *phalli*, or *priaps*, ſo monſtrouſly high as he ſays, were ſo ſlender that a man might graſp them. Whether we reckon the height he gives them, at three hundred fathom, which is monſtrous, or even at three hundred cubits, which is ſomewhat more credible, they were about as high as our * monument. How ſo ſlender a body could be reared to ſuch a height, we leave to thoſe who are better ſkilled in ſuch matters than ourſelves, and proceed. When the perſon had got up, he let down a chain, wherewith he drew up all manner of neceſſaries for himſelf, and therewith made him a commodious ſeat, a kind of a neſt. It was given out, that, during the ſeven days, he had a more intimate intercourſe with the great goddeſs; and alſo that this was done in memory of *Deucalion*'s flood, when the men clomb up the trees to ſave themſelves from periſhing. During theſe ſeven days, the perſon never ſlept, and if at any time he happened to doſe, a ſacred ſcorpion, ſaid they, went up and awakened him. Our author rather thinks, that the fear of falling kept him from ſleeping. *Miſcellaneous matters.*

EVERY day many people ſwam to the altar in the midſt of the lake, there to perform their devotions.

THEY ſacrificed oxen, ſheep, and the like, but ſwine they held to be unclean.

* The monument on *Fiſh-Hill* near *London* Bridge, 202 foot high, erected in memory of the great fire in the year 1666.

But the ſacrifice was not performed at the temple. The victim was only preſented at the altar. The reſt was done at home.

Fish and doves, or pigeons, were accounted holy, the former to *Derceto*, the latter to *Semiramis*; in memory of their different transformations.

They fed many doves in and about their houſes [t], and if a man had touched one of them, he was unclean all the reſt of that day, as holy as they eſteemed them.

As ſoon as any man had commenced *Gallus*, or eunuch prieſt, by diſmembring himſelf, he ran about the city with the part in his hand, till at length, throwing it into ſome houſe, he thence received a woman's attire, and from that time forward wholly addicted himſelf to a feminine way of life.

The eunuch prieſts, notwithſtanding, entertained a flame for the women, and the women for them, which, far from being thought ſcandalous or portentous, was eſteemed pure and holy.

It was unlawful for any *Gallus*, or eunuch prieſt, to enter into the temple.

Whosoever took on him the pilgrimage to *Hierapolis*, this holy city, firſt ſhaved his head and eye-brows, then offered up a ſheep in the manner already mentioned. After which he might bathe in nothing but cold water, or drink of any thing elſe, or lie upon ought but the cold ground, till he had reached the city.

The pilgrims being arrived were entertained at the public charge, and lodged with people of their reſpective countries, here called inſtructors or maſters, who were paid by the public for informing them in the rites and ceremonies of the place.

The pilgrims were all branded with marks upon the neck and wriſts.

The young men and boys conſecrated the firſt fruits of their beards and heads of hair, which, being ſhaved or clipped in the temple, were depoſited in a gold or ſilver box, or other veſſel, with the name of the perſon it belonged to inſcribed, and kept in the temple.

When any of the *Galli* died, their funeral was not after the ordinary manner. Their companions carried their dead bodies into the ſuburbs, where ſetting them down, they hurled ſtones at them, and left them lying upon the bier; where they lay the ſpace of ſeven days, and then were con-

[t] See before, p. 194.

veyed

veyed into the temple; but to have done it before had been prophane.

HE that had ſeen a dead perſon, might not enter into the temple that day; but on the morrow he was abſolved from his uncleanneſs, if he purified himſelf.

ALL the family of any one deceaſed were to keep from the temple thirty days, and ſhave their heads.

THUS much we have thought neceſſary to ſay, concerning the great *Syrian Goddeſs* and her worſhip, all which is very unhappily diſguiſed in a *Greek* dreſs. We cannot doubt, but that here we have great remains both of the doctrines and practices of the antient *Syrians*, though blended and confounded with many additional ſuperſtitions.

FOR the preſent we ſhall add no more concerning the religions of *Syria*. The ſuperſtitions at *Antioch*, under the *Seleucidæ*, we ſhall enlarge on in the hiſtory of thoſe princes. We are not ſure, that *Plutarch* means this *Syrian* goodeſs; for hereafter you will ſee, that ſhe was not the only idol that ſeems to have born the title; when he ſays that ſhe puniſhed thoſe, who eat of two certain ſorts of fiſh, with ulcers and boils all over their bodies, with ſore ſhins, and with a diſſolution of the liver [g]. They are ſaid to have expiated this crime, by putting themſelves in a ſack, and rolling themſelves in the dirt [h]. But, as we have obſerved, we are not certain, that what is here ſaid refers to this goddeſs; though it is likely it may.

WE learn from *Plutarch*, that the *Syrians*, of his time at *Their Temleaſt*, were an effeminate people, prone to tears, and very *per*. remarkable for their way of mourning for their deceaſed, hiding themſelves from the light of the ſun, in caves or other obſcure places, many days together. This mournful, tender, effeminate temper of mind, may have always been one of the characteriſtics of the *Syrians*, as it ſtill is.

Their Learning and Arts.

WE can ſay nothing particular touching the cuſtoms of the antient *Syrians*, their civil concerns, or of their arts and learning. They were by ſome * antiently joined with the *Phœnicians*, as the firſt inventers of letters; but however true or falſe this may have been, certain it is, that they ſubmitted to no nation that flouriſhed with them, in degree of human knowledge and ſkill in the fine arts. They were ſo happily ſituated, that they may, almoſt, be ſaid to have been in the centre of the old world; and as in the ſunſhine of

[g] Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας p. 170. [h] MENAND. apud PORPHYR. Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψυχων Ηχξαμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλ. p. 113. * CLEM. ALEXANDR. Strom. l. 1. p. 307.

their

their empire they were enriched by the ſpoils, and tribute, and commerce of the nations far and near, they certainly aroſe to a great pitch of ſplendor and magnificence, thoſe great encouragers of ingenuity and induſtry. The altar at *Damaſcus*, which ſo raviſhed *Ahaz* king of *Judah* [i], may ſerve as a noble ſpecimen of the ſkill of their artificers.

Their Language.

THEIR language is one of thoſe kindred dialects we commonly call the *Oriental* tongues, and is pretended to have been the mother of them all; concerning which, and for our thoughts thereon, we muſt refer the readers to what we have already ſaid [k]. It became a diſtinct tongue ſo early as the days of *Jacob*, for what his father-in-law and uncle, *Laban* of *Padan-aram*, or *Meſopotamia*, calls *Jegar-ſahadutha*, is by *Jacob* himſelf called *Galeed* [l]. The *Syriac* was not only the language of *Syria*, but alſo of *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldæa*, (for there is no more difference between the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, than between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*;) *Aſſyria*, and, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, of *Paleſtine*.

THERE are three dialects of the *Syrian* tongue. 1. The *Aramæan*, or *Syriac* properly ſo called, which is the moſt elegant of all, and uſed in *Meſopotamia*, and by the inhabitants of *Roha*, or *Edeſſa*, and *Haran*, and the outer *Syria*. 2. The dialect of *Paleſtine*, ſpoken by the inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, mount *Libanus*, and the inner *Syria*. 3. The *Chaldee* or *Nabathæan* dialect, the moſt rude and unpoliſhed of the three, and current in the mountainous parts of *Aſſyria*, and in the villages of *Irâk*, or *Babylonia* [m].

THE *Syriac* character is very antient, and ſuppoſed by ſome to have been in uſe above three hundred years before the birth of Chriſt [n]. There are two ſorts of this character, the *Eſtrangelo* (G), which is the more antient and rude, and chiefly found in the titles of books, as capitals with us; and that called the *Eſhito*, the ſimple or common character,

[i] 2 Kings xvi. 10. [k] See Vol. I. p. 336. [l] See Geneſ. xxxi. 47. [m] ABU'LFARAG. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 11. [n] BERNARD. Tab Alph.

(G) This name is generally derived from the *Greek* word τρόγγυλος, *round*, as if it was a round character, whereas it is rather ſquare; wherefore, if it muſt be derived from that word, we ſhould rather chooſe to take it in *Theophraſtus*'s ſenſe, who uſes τρόγγυλα ξύλα (17), for rough unhewn timber, by reaſon of its rude and unpoliſhed form.

(17) *De Plantis.*

which

The SYRIAC ALPHABET.

Power.	*The Common Character.* Figure. Joined both to the following and preceding.	Joined to the following.	Joined to the preceding.	Single Letter only.	*The Estrangelo.* Names.	Figure.
The Support of a Vowel.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Olaf.*	ܐ
B.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Beth.*	ܒ
G.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Gomal.*	ܓ
D.		⠀	⠀	⠀	*Dolath.*	ܕ
H.		⠀	⠀	⠀	*He.*	ܗ
W.		⠀	⠀	⠀	*Waw.*	ܘ
Z.		⠀		⠀	*Zain.*	ܙ
Hb.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Hbeth.*	ܚ
T.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Teth.*	ܛ
Y.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Yûd.*	ܝ
C or *Kb.*	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Cof.*	ܟ
L.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Lomad.*	ܠ
M.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Mim.*	ܡ
N.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Nun.*	ܢ
S.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Semcath* ⠀	⠀
The Support of a Vowel, but a Guttural.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*E.*	ܥ
F. or *P.*	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Pe.*	ܦ
S { grosly pron.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Sode.*	ܨ
K.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Kof.*	ܩ
R.		⠀		⠀	*Rish.*	ܪ
Sb.	⠀	⠀	⠀	⠀	*Shin.*	ܫ
T. or *Tb.*		⠀		⠀	*Tau.*	ܬ

which is much more expeditious and beautiful. There was a project set on foot, by *Paul* of *Antioch*, for adding the letters that are wanting in the *Syriac* alphabet, as the *Greeks* had done; which he recommended to the thoughts of *James* of *Edessa*, who declined it, because he feared, that the books, wrote in the imperfect character or alphabet, might, by such an innovation, come to be lost [o]. *(See the Plate.)*

THE *Syriac* writing, like that of the other eastern tongues, was destitute of vowels, till towards the latter end of the eighth century; when they were introduced, as is generally supposed, by *Theophilus* of *Edessa*, chief astrologer to the *Khalif al Mohdi*, who borrowed them from the *Greek* alphabet, and first made use of them to distinguish the *Greek* pronunciation of the names and *Patronymics*, in his *Syriac* translation of the works of *Homer* [p]. The marks to express these vowels are still nearly in the form of five of the *Greek* vowels; for they reject the *Epsilon* and the *Omicron*, there being no short vowels in their tongue. But *James* of *Edessa*, who flourished about a century before *Theophilus*, invented seven new characters for all the *Greek* vowels; which he did, at the desire of *Paul* of *Antioch*, to whom he sent them. They are still extant [q].

THE *Syriac* is said to have much degenerated, till *James* of *Edessa* restored it to its antient purity. He was the first that wrote a grammar in *Syriac* [r]. It is an easy and elegant, but not a very copious tongue, and has a great number of *Greek* words, which were incorporated with it, in the times of the *Seleucidæ*. There is a number of books in the *Syriac*, very little known to the *Europeans*, of which a late writer [s] has given an ample account; but what this tongue is most to be valued for, are the excellent translations therein of the old and new testament; which equal, if they do not surpass, those in any other language.

Their trade.

PERHAPS no nation, of equal antiquity, had a more considerable trade than the antient *Syrians*. We cannot doubt, but they had ships on the *Mediterranean*, as soon as any of their neighbours; and, by the vicinity of the river *Euphrates*, it is past dispute, that they traded with the eastern regions upon that river very early. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts. The easy and safe navigation of the *Euphrates*, when compared

[o] ASSEMAN. Biblioth. Orient. Tom. I. p. 479. [p] ABU'L-FARAG. ubi supr. p. 147. ECHELLENSIS in not. ad Catal. Ebedjesw. p. 180. ASSEMAN. ubi supr. p 522. [q] Apud BAR HEBR. (vel ABU'LFARAG.) in Libr. splendor. Vide ASSEMAN. ubi supr. p. 479. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

with

with that of the ſea, would tempt one to conſider them as older merchants than the *Phœnicians*, or even the *Edomites*; who muſt have made very early attempts upon the *Arabian* gulph, in compariſon of which the *Mediterranean* was a main ocean. We the rather inſiſt on the trade of this antient people, becauſe we do not know, that it has yet been fully handled, or profeſſedly, by any body. *Herodotus* [t] indeed reports, that the *Phœnicians* were much older navigators than either the antient *Syrians* or *Egyptians*; ſaying, that they carried on the commerce of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt* by their ſhipping. Here, by the way, is a further proof than we have hitherto given, that *Syria* and *Aſſyria* were confounded together by the antients. For how ſhould the *Phœnicians* have ſailed to the coaſts of the proper *Aſſyria*, an inland country; a country they could not poſſibly have reached, but by doubling the cape of *Good-hope*, and entering the *Perſian* gulph? A voyage which could have anſwered no end, ſeeing they might have ſupplied that country, and have been ſupplied from thence, at an infinitely cheaper rate, by means of their next neighbours the *Syrians*, who navigated the *Euphrates*; and who, it cannot well be diſputed, were the firſt that brought the *Perſian* and *Indian* commodities into the weſt of *Aſia*. *Syria* was therefore the moſt antient magazine for ſuch commodities, and chiefly ſupplied all the weſtern parts; nor can we think otherwiſe, than that the *Midianitiſh* merchants [u], who bought *Joſeph*, had loaded their camels in *Syria*, with the aromatics and other precious things they were carrying into *Egypt*. Among which it is no unlikely matter that they had commodities of other countries beſides thoſe of *Syria*. Till interpreters can agree upon the genuine explication of the text, we have liberty to think as largely this way as we pleaſe.

Now becauſe the *Syrians* engroſſed this lucrative commerce, they may have been in great meaſure negligent of the *Mediterranean* navigation, chiefly intent upon their eaſtern trade, which drew merchants from all the weſtern parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions; and particularly the *Phœnicians*, their next and moſt induſtrious neighbours. So that *Herodotus* [w] may be much in the right, when he talks of the trade they antiently carried on for *Aſſyria* [*Syria*] and *Egypt*. We might draw ſome natural parallels of this caſe, ſo as to leave it almoſt indubitable. The *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, who have

[t] l. 1. c. 1. [u] See before, p. 114. [w] Ubi ſupr.

engroſſed

engroſſed all the wealth, as it were, of the *Weſt-Indies*, make little or no uſe of ſhipping, if compared with the two trading nations, *England* and *Holland*, who may be ſaid to drive on the commerce of the whole world in their bottoms. The *Syrians* then, it is likely, neglected ſea affairs, and therein fell much ſhort of the *Phœnicians*.

THIS was the ſtate of the antient *Syrian* trade and navigation, which we may ſafely ſuppoſe encreaſed from time to time, till their king *Hazael*, as you will ſee in his reign, graſped at the whole trade of both eaſt and ſouth, by ſeizing on the famous emporium, *Elath*, on the *Red-ſea*. The *Syrians* now had a commodious outlet to the ſouthermoſt parts of *Arabia*, *Æthiopia* and the more ſouthern ſhores of *Afric*, not to mention *Egypt*, who could not be very fond of her new neighbours, and may have been ſhy of them, and that, upon very juſt grounds. But this *Syrian* monopoly was of ſhort duration. They had ſcarce ſettled themſelves on the ſhores of the *Arabian* gulph, but their king *Hazael* died, and they loſt *Elath*: which, however, they recovered again under their laſt king *Rezin*; but their empire was ſoon after extinguiſhed, together with his life; and therefore, though the *Syrian* colony remained afterwards at *Elath*, we ſhall purſue their commerce no farther, it being foreign to our preſent purpoſe; but we ſhall endeavour to confirm what we have here advanced, when we are to treat of the *Phœnician* affairs. In the mean time let any one conſider the ſtate of trade in the *Levant* and *Mediterranean*, before the diſcovery, or re-diſcovery as ſome * would have it, of the cape of *Good-hope*, and, poſſibly, he will be pretty much of our opinion. *Diodorus Siculus* numbers the *Syrians* among the mariners employed by *Semiramis* in her *Indian* expedition; but, as we are not diſpoſed to give much credit to his author *Cteſias*, we ſhall make no uſe of his hint, thinking it of no ſervice to us.

SECT. III.

Of the Chronology of the antient Syrians.

BEFORE we proceed to the little we can ſay upon this obſcure ſubject, we will exhibit a ſeries of the races of the antient kings of *Syria*, according to different writers.

* V. HUET Hiſtoir. du Com. et de la Navigat. des Anc. Chap. 8.

The

The Kings of *Zobah*, or *Sophene*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Josephus*.	Contemporary with
Rehob - - - - -	*Arach* - -	*Saul.*
Hadadezer, or *Hadarezer* (A)	*Adrazar* - -	*David.*

The Kings of *Damascus*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Nic. Damasc.*	According to *Josephus.*	Contemporary with
* * *	*Adad* I. - -	*Adad* - -	*David*
Rezon - -	*Adad* II. -	Uncertain -	*Solomon*
Hezion - -	*Adad* III.	* * * * *	*Rehoboam*
Tabrimon -	*Adad* IV.	* * * *	*Abijam.*
Ben-hadad I.	*Adad* V.	* * * * *	*Asa.*
Ben-hadad II.	*Adad* VI. -	*Adad* - -	*Jehoshaphat* and *Jehoram.*
Hazael - -	*Adad* VII.	* * * * *	*Ahaziah* and *Jehoash.*
Ben-hadad III.	*Adad* VIII.	* * * *	*Amaziah.*
* * *	*Adad* IX.	* * * * *	*Uzziah.*
Rezin - -	*Adad* X. -	*Rases*, or *Arases.*	*Jotham* and *Ahaz.*

The Kings of *Hamath*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Josephus.*	Contemporary with
Toi * * * * * *	*Thœnus* * *	*David.*
Joram, or *Hadoram* - -	*Joram* * * * * *	
* * * * * *		

The Kings of *Geshur*.

According to Scripture.		
Ammihud - -	Contemporary with - - -	*Saul.*
Talmai - - - - - - -		*David.*
* * * *		

(A) The difference between the *Hebrew* ד *D* and the *Hebrew* ר *R*, is so little, that it is no wonder we find this king's name spelt these two ways.

We have not minded the ſeniority of theſe Kingdoms, by placing them either in an exact collateral, or ſucceſſive order; but have given the ſecond place to *Damaſcus*, becauſe it roſe upon the ruins of *Zobah*, though *Hamath* and *Geſhur* were kingdoms before it (B).

WE have no poſitive aſſurance, that *Zobah* coaleſced under one king in the days of *Saul*, or, conſequently, that *Rehob* was their firſt king; we only build upon what we apprehend to have been the caſe. Their kings had been beaten by *Saul* [x], and they thereupon may have come to the reſolution of ſetting up one ſupreme, perceiving the *Iſraelites* to proſper ſo under their new monarchy. The *Philiſtines* ſeem to have done the like [y], at the ſame time, and for the ſame reaſon. If this be granted, none is ſo likely to have been their firſt king as *Rehob*, the father of the great *Hadadezer*, who in the days of *David* was ſo firmly ſeated in the newly-erected throne of *Zobah*, that he aſpired at the univerſal monarchy of *Syria*, and, in effect, was become a very great and mighty prince, as you will ſee in the hiſtory of his reign; as alſo that if he was not the ſecond, he was certainly the laſt king of *Zobah*; for we hear no more of the kingdom.

THE kingdom of *Damaſcus* roſe upon the ruins of the kingdom of *Zobah*. It was founded by *Rezon* in the latter part of *Solomon*'s reign [z]. That *Rezon* ſeized on *Damaſcus*, while *David* was alive, or during the beſt days of *Solomon*, cannot be reconciled with ſcripture, as you will ſee in the hiſtory of thoſe two kings; and that he deferred it till the reign of *Rehoboam* is very improbable; it may be doubted whether he lived ſo long: for, ſuppoſing him to have been but thirty years of age, which is the leaſt we well can, when he ſerved under *Hadadezer* of *Zobah* againſt *David*, he muſt have been about one hundred years of age when *Reho-*

[x] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [y] See before, p. 222. [z] See 1 Kings xi. 24.

(B) Not that we imagine it had never been a kingdom before. *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* (1) writes, that *Abraham* was king there, which we may conſider in the life of that patriarch. And from the ſame author, we ſuppoſe, *Trogus* borrowed the kings of *Damaſcus* he mentions to have reigned there, both before, and after, *Abraham*; as *Damaſcus*, *Azelus*, and *Adores* before him, and *Iſrahel* after him, as well as all the reſt of his miſtaken hiſtory of the *Jews*, who, according to him, are originally of *Damaſcus*.

(1) *In excerpt.* VALES.

boam

boam began to reign. It is moſt likely then, that *Rezon* erected the kingdom of *Damaſcus*, while *Solomon* was taken up with his vanities, and had forgot both himſelf and his people.

Josephus, as may be obſerved in the table, makes one *Adad* king of *Damaſcus* contemporary with *David*, in which he is a ſtrict follower of *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, whom in the next reign he drops. *Joſephus* [a], inſtead of allowing *Rezon* to have made himſelf king at *Damaſcus*, ſeems to inſinuate, that he made *Hadad*, the *Edomite*, king there or ſome where elſe in *Syria*. We know there are thoſe who in this matter think along with him. Perhaps the beſt argument that can be brought in proof that the fugitive king of *Edom* was eſtabliſhed on the throne of *Syria* [b], may be, that his ſucceſſors poſſeſſed themſelves of part of the *Edomitiſh* dominions, and particularly *Elath* upon the *Arabian* gulph: but this argument will have but little weight with thoſe, who conſider that ambition and avarice may have had as large a ſhare in that acquiſition, as any conviction of an inherent right. But we forget, that our intention was only to prove, that the kingdom of *Damaſcus* commenced in the latter part of *Solomon*'s reign.

Nicolas of *Damaſcus* ſeems to agree well enough with the ſcripture accounts of the *Damaſcene* kings, and particularly, if we ſuppoſe his firſt *Adad* to have been *Hadadezer* of *Zobah*; and that he was ſo, is pretty plain: nor is it any wonder, that he ſhould have made the city of his birth the ſeat of a kingdom, only one reign longer than he ought to have made it. Beſides he may not be altogether miſtaken, in calling his firſt *Adad* king of *Damaſcus*; for, as may be obſerved hereafter, he certainly was king or chief over that province, though he did not there reſide. By calling his firſt *Adad* the *Hadadezer* of *Zobah*, we bring him to quadrate very well with the ſcripture.

It is impoſſible to determine the exact number of years each king reigned, wherefore we have only placed them over-againſt the princes of *David*'s line, or the kings of *Judah*.

We have on purpoſe avoided a dry diſcuſſion of this point; for there is no certainty to be expected in what concerns the ſucceſſion of theſe kings, and the length of their reigns.

The kingdom of *Hamath* roſe together with that of *Zobah*, as appears pretty plain by the wars between them. But

[a] Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. [b] See before, p. 144.

we muſt obſerve, that it is at a venture we have placed *Joram* as ſucceſſor to his father *Toi* in the kingdom.

THE kingdom of *Geſhur* ſeems to have riſen together with *Zobah* and *Hamath*. We are not ſure, that *Ammihud* preceded his ſon *Talmai* in the kingdom; but it is very likely he did.

SECT. IV.

The Reigns of the Kings of the antient Syrians.

The KINGS of ZOBAH.

Rehob. REHOB we ſuppoſe to have been the firſt ſole king of *Zobah*, and to have laid the foundations of his ſon's grandeur.

Hadadezer HADADEZER, or *Hadarezer*, the ſon of *Rehob*, was a great and ambitious prince, and remarkable for his unfortunate wars with king *David*. He had warred with advantage againſt the king of *Hamath*; aiming at the univerſal monarchy of *Syria*, we imagine; but when he oppoſed *David*'s progreſs towards the reduction of the land, which had been promiſed to *Abraham* and his ſeed, quite to the *Euphrates* [a], his good fortune left him. In the firſt battle he fought with *David* he loſt one thouſand chariots, ſeven thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot. The *Syrians* of *Damaſcus* then ſent their army to reinforce him. In the ſecond battle *Hadadezer* loſt two and twenty thouſand men. Thus beaten out of the field, the conqueror poſſeſſed himſelf of a good part of *Syria*, and particularly *Damaſcene*. *Hadadezer* now loſt his golden ſhields, for ſuch he had in his treaſury, we ſuppoſe; his two cities *Betah* and *Berothai*, exceedingly rich in braſs, were plundered [b], and his dominion was conſiderably diminiſhed and impoveriſhed. But it is likely nothing perplexed him more than the defection of *Rezon*, afterwards king of *Damaſcus*, who, leading the forces ſent him from that province, or *Hadadezer*'s own, uncertain which, deſerted him in the midſt of his adverſe fortune, and, gathering a band of men about him, lived an out-law, and upon the ſpoil [c].

Year of the Flood, 1955. Year before Chriſt 1044.

IT is not expreſſed, that *Hadadezer* became tributary to king *David*, nor indeed is it likely that he did, by what follows. For he furniſhed *Hanun* king of *Ammon* with twen-

[a] See Geneſ. xv. 18. [b] 2 Sam. viii. 8. [c] 1 Kings xi. 23, 24.

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ty thousand men against *David*; but they, with the other auxiliaries of that war, were put to a shameful flight by *Joab* [d]. Though he was paid for these twenty thousand men, and was by no means a principal in this war, yet the next year he seems to have made himself so [e]. He called in all the petty kings, that owed him homage, on the other side of the *Euphrates*; and every where else, as far as his power extended, he levied forces. By which means he got together a very considerable army, which he committed to the conduct of *Shobach* his General, to assist *Hanun* again *David* a second time; or rather to make a desperate effort to retrieve his own honour and dominion, or to humble *David*, if possible. But this great host also miscarried, being routed with the loss of many thousands, and *Shobach* himself was slain on the spot. The battle was fought at a place called *Helam*; about forty thousand of the *Syrians* were slain, and among the rest *Shobach*, as we have said. The petty princes, that served *Hadadezer* in this fatal warfare, made their peace with *David*, and became his tributaries [f], as *Hadadezer* himself did, as is very likely; concerning whom, or the kingdom of *Zobah*, we find no further account.

The KINGS *of* DAMASCUS.

Rezon. THE kingdom of *Zobah* being undone, that of *Damascus* rose upon the ruins of it. REZON was the first king, the same who deserted from *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*. He seized on *Damascus*, and was the founder of this noble kingdom, and he abhorred *Israel*, to whom he was a very troublesome, inveterate enemy, taking advantage of *Solomon*'s neglect [g].

Hezion. HEZION succeeded *Rezon*; but whether he was his son, or any otherwise related to him, we know not (A). He lived at peace and amity with the kings of *Judah* and *Israel* [h].

[d] See before, p. 107. [e] See before, p. 106, (F). [f] 2 Sam. v. 15—19. [g] 1 Kings xi. 23---25. [h] Ibid. xv. 18.

(A) It is the joint opinion, of Sir *John Marsham* (1), Sir *Isaac Newton* (2), and archbishop *Usher* (3), that *Rezon* and *Hezion* are different names for the same king. It is impossible for us to declare ourselves, either for or against it.

(1) *Canon. Chronic. Secul.* 13. (2) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amended, p.* 221. (3) *Annal.*

TABRIMON

TABRIMON (B) the son of *Hezion*. He, as well as his father, had no misunderstandings with the kings of *Judah* and *Israel* [i].

BEN-HADAD the son of *Tabrimon*. Ambassadors came to him with large gifts from *Asa* king of *Judah*, by whom he was tempted to make war upon *Baasha* king of *Israel*; from whom his army took *Ijon*, *Dan*, *Abel-beth-maachah*, all *Cinneroth*, and all the land of *Naphtali* [k], and, in the end, extended his power to the city of *Samaria* itself, as we shall see anon. *Ben-hadad* I. Year of the Flood, 2059. Year before Christ, 940.

BEN-HADAD the son of *Ben-hadad*. He vigorously prosecuted the enmity his father had so successfully begun against *Israel*, but therein was twice very remarkably baffled by the interposition of heaven. When he first marched against *Israel*, we understand it to have been with mighty parade, he having no less than thirty two kings over his chariots [l], and a vast army of both horse and foot. He proceeded, and sat down before *Samaria*, and strait summoned *Ahab* the king to surrender himself as his vassal; to acknowledge himself to be his creature; and that all belonging to him was at his service and disposal. To this he received as submissive an answer as he could wish for. But his arrogance swelled to that pitch, that a bare verbal submission would not serve his turn. He sent into *Samaria*, therefore, to admonish *Ahab*, that he intended the next day to send some officers to search his palace and the city, for all he riches, women, and fine children (C), that they might seize on them, and bring them away. The king of *Israel* boldly refused to submit to so unparalleled an indignity, which *Ben-hadad* little expecting, was highly exasperated. He sent a third time to *Ahab*, to try whether he could not threaten him into so base a compliance, wishing himself in a worse condition than *Ahab*, if he did not bring such an army before *Samaria*, that every soldier taking but a handful *Ben-hadad* II. Year of the Flood, 2098. Year before Christ 901.

[i] 1 Kings xv. 18. [k] Ibid. v. 20. [l] Compare ibid. xx. 1. with ibid. xxii. 31.

(B) Sir *Isaac Newton* (4) reckons him to have been subject to the *Egyptians*, who under *Sesac*, or *Shishak*, conquered *Syria* (5), in this king's reign according to his hypothesis; and that his son *Ben-hadad* shook off the yoke.

(C) This last particular is aggravated by some (6) into a great piece of insolence and brutality; as if he sent to *Ahab* for his most beautiful male children, to sin against nature with them.

(4) *Ubi supr.* (5) *See before in the Notes, p.* 9. (6) *Vide* Cleric. *in* 1 *Reg. xx.* 3.

of it (D), there ſhould be no ſigns of it left. He received a ſtubborn reply to this vain menace, *Ahab* adviſing him to wait the event of things before he reckoned upon them.

The *Syrian* army, which had hitherto been in looſe array, was now ordered to inveſt the city of *Samaria* in form, and get all ready for the aſſault. While this was doing, *Ben-hadad*, who ſeems to have been a very voluptuous prince, and much given to drink, betook himſelf to his pleaſure, fearleſs of all danger, for he could apprehend none. As he was in the midſt of his ſecurity and carouſals, he was told, that a party was drawing near from the city, which at firſt cauſed a ſmall alarm in the camp, and diſturbed *Ben-hadad* himſelf. But when he underſtood what the matter was, he commanded, that they ſhould be brought before him alive, whether their deſigns were for peace or for war, and then returned to his cups. The party which was coming out of the city was, in fact, *Ahab* and a choice company with him; who, though it was noon-day, were encouraged to fall upon the great hoſt of the *Syrians*. The *Syrians* on the other hand, dreaming of nothing leſs than an aſſault, thought they ſhould have nothing to do, but to conduct them to their king. But when *Ahab* and his followers were come up, and all at once laid about them furiouſly, the *Syrians* fled, and a panic fear ſpread itſelf all over the camp, ſo that there was no one that thought of any thing elſe but ſaving himſelf; and particularly *Ben-hadad* mounted a horſe, and rode away with the reſt as faſt as he could, inſtead of rallying and confirming his people. They all fled, and the *Iſraelites* purſued them with a very great ſlaughter.

(D) This proud meſſage is very variouſly interpreted. The words of the text itſelf are: *The gods do ſo unto me, and more alſo, if the duſt of Samaria ſhall ſuffice for handfuls, for all the people that follow me* (7): or as it is in the margin, are *at my feet*. This according to *Joſephus* (8), means no more, than that he had ſo numberleſs a multitude with him, that each taking but a handful of ſoil, could encompaſs *Samaria* with works that ſhould over-top the wall of the city. Others (9) take it much as we do; that if each man in his army took but a handful of the ruins of *Samaria*, they might carry the whole place away with them. Others (10) again ſuppoſe his meaning to have been, that he would return with ſuch an army, that if each ſoldier took but a handful of his country, nothing of it ſhould be left remaining. Take it which way you will, it was a high vaunt, and paſſionately ſpoken to ſet off the greatneſs of his kingdom.

(7) 1 *Kings xx.* 10. (8) *Antiq. l.* 8. *c.* 3. (9) Cleric. *in* 1 *Reg. ubi ſupr.* (10) Patrick *upon* 1 *Kings xx.* 10.

The

The SYRIAC ALPHABET.

The Common Character.				*The Estrangelo.*	
Power.	**Figure.**			**Names.**	**Figure.**
	Joined both to the following and preceding. Letter only.	Joined to the preceding Letter only.	Joined to the following Letter only.	Single.	
The Support of a Vowel.	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	*Olaf.*	ܐ
B.	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	*Beth.*	ܒ
G.	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	*Gomal.*	ܓ
D.		ܕ	ܕ	*Dolath.*	ܕ
H.		ܗ	ܗ	*He.*	ܗ
W.		ܘ	ܘ	*Waw.*	ܘ
Z.		ܙ	ܙ	*Zain.*	ܙ
Hb.	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	*Hbeth.*	ܚ
T.	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	*Teth.*	ܛ
Y.	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	*Yûd.*	ܝ
C or *Kb.*	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	*Cof.*	ܟ
L.	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	*Lomad.*	ܠ
M.	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	*Mim.*	ܡ
N.	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	*Nûn.*	ܢ
S.	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	*Semcath* ܤ	ܣ
The Support of a Vowel, but a Guttural.	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	*E.*	ܥ
F. or *P.*	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	*Pe.*	ܦ
S {grosly pron.		ܨ	ܨ	*Sode.*	ܨ
K.	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	*Kof.*	ܩ
R:		ܪ	ܪ	*Risb.*	ܪ
Sb.	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	*Sbin.*	ܫ
T. or *Tb.*		ܬ	ܬ	*Tau.*	ܬ

The *Syrians* were covered with ſhame at ſo inglorious a flight, and would gladly have found out ſome excuſe to palliate it. They pretended, that the gods of the *Iſraelites* being the gods of the hills, it was no wonder, that ſuch a misfortune had befallen them; and, to comfort their king, aſſured him, that if he could but draw out the *Iſraelites* upon a plain, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they preſided over the plains (E). They moreover laid ſome blame upon the two and thirty kings, as not hearty in his cauſe, or ſubmiſſive enough to diſcipline, and deſired, that truſty ſkilful officers might be ſubſtituted inſtead of them. They then adviſed their king to levy juſt ſuch an army as the former, chariot for chariot, horſe for horſe, and never doubt of ſucceſs.

BEN-HADAD hearkened to all this, and bore his diſhonour as uneaſily, we may ſuppoſe, as any of his ſubjects could for him. And when the ſeaſon of the year came about, he marched towards the king of *Iſrael* with ſuch an army, as if he meant to make good what he had boaſted towards the city of *Samaria*. He pitched in *Aphek*, in a plain we may be ſure, to be within the reach of his own gods, and *filled the country*, as it is expreſſed. Seven days he lay here incamped, over-againſt the deſpicable numbers of the *Iſraelites* (F). Upon the ſeventh day it came to a battle between them, and that day the *Syrians* loſt of foot only one hundred thouſand. This ſlaughter ſo confounded them, that they gave ground, and retreated with precipitation to the city of *Aphek* itſelf, which was near, where twenty ſeven thouſand of them were cruſhed to death by the city wall, which fell on them (G). Year of the Flood, 2099. Year before Chriſt 900.

BEN-HADAD

(E) So early was the notion of topical deities, and of the gods fighting together with the men who worſhipped them. However, they muſt have known, that the *Jewiſh* law was delivered on a hill; that the temple of *Jeruſalem* ſtood on a hill. They could not but know, that the enemy's country was very hilly, and that the *Iſraelites* were particularly fond of ſacrificing and worſhipping *in high places*. Knowing all this, it is no wonder, that the *Syrians*, conſidering the theology of the times, ſhould talk after ſo wild a rate.

(F) It may be very well asked, why the *Syrians*, ſeeing the advantage of numbers ſo greatly on their ſide, lay idle ſo long? But it may be anſwered, that the *Iſraelites* were incamped on a hill, and therefore they would not venture to attack them, chooſing to ſtay till they ſhould ſhift their quarters.

(G) This is ſo extraordinary a caſualty, that it may be well asked how it came to paſs? It is ſuppoſed they ranged themſelves round the walls of the city to make a defence; and that the walls were

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W.		⁄	⁄	*Waw.*	ܘ
Z.		⁄	⁄	*Zain.*	ܙ
Hb.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Hbeth.*	ܚ
T.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Teth.*	ܛ
Y.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Yûd.*	ܝ
C or *Kb.*	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Cof.*	ܟ
L.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Lomad.*	ܠ
M.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Mim.*	ܡ
N.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Nun.*	ܢ
S.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Semcath* ΔΔ	ܣ
The Support of a Vowel, but a Guttural.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*E.*	ܥ
F. or *P.*	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Pe.*	ܦ
S {grosly pron.		⁄	⁄	*Sode.*	ܨ
K.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Kof.*	ܩ
R.		⁄	⁄	*Rîsh.*	ܪ
Sh.	⁄	⁄	⁄	*Shin.*	ܫ
T. or *Th.*		⁄	⁄	*Tau.*	ܬ

The *Syrians* were covered with ſhame at ſo inglorious a flight, and would gladly have found out ſome excuſe to palliate it. They pretended, that the gods of the *Iſraelites* being the gods of the hills, it was no wonder, that ſuch a misfortune had befallen them; and, to comfort their king, aſſured him, that if he could but draw out the *Iſraelites* upon a plain, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they preſided over the plains (E). They moreover laid ſome blame upon the two and thirty kings, as not hearty in his cauſe, or ſubmiſſive enough to diſcipline, and deſired, that truſty ſkilful officers might be ſubſtituted inſtead of them. They then adviſed their king to levy juſt ſuch an army as the former, chariot for chariot, horſe for horſe, and never doubt of ſucceſs.

BEN-HADAD hearkened to all this, and bore his diſhonour as uneaſily, we may ſuppoſe, as any of his ſubjects could for him. And when the ſeaſon of the year came about, he marched towards the king of *Iſrael* with ſuch an army, as if he meant to make good what he had boaſted towards the city of *Samaria*. He pitched in *Aphek*, in a plain we may be ſure, to be within the reach of his own gods, and *filled the country*, as it is expreſſed. Seven days he lay here incamped, over-againſt the deſpicable numbers of the *Iſraelites* (F). Upon the ſeventh day it came to a battle between them, and that day the *Syrians* loſt of foot only one hundred thouſand. This ſlaughter ſo confounded them, that they gave ground, and retreated with precipitation to the city of *Aphek* itſelf, which was near, where twenty ſeven thouſand of them were cruſhed to death by the city wall, which fell on them (G). Year of the Flood, 2099. Year before Chriſt 900.

BEN-HADAD

(E) So early was the notion of topical deities, and of the gods fighting together with the men who worſhipped them. However, they muſt have known, that the *Jewiſh* law was delivered on a hill; that the temple of *Jeruſalem* ſtood on a hill. They could not but know, that the enemy's country was very hilly, and that the *Iſraelites* were particularly fond of ſacrificing and worſhipping *in high places*. Knowing all this, it is no wonder, that the *Syrians*, conſidering the theology of the times, ſhould talk after ſo wild a rate.

(F) It may be very well asked, why the *Syrians*, ſeeing the advantage of numbers ſo greatly on their ſide, lay idle ſo long? But it may be anſwered, that the *Iſraelites* were incamped on a hill, and therefore they would not venture to attack them, chooſing to ſtay till they ſhould ſhift their quarters.

(G) This is ſo extraordinary a caſualty, that it may be well asked how it came to paſs? It is ſuppoſed they ranged themſelves round the walls of the city to make a defence; and that the walls were

Ben-hadad now gave all over for loſt, and was not a little ſurprized, perhaps, that his gods had failed him. In deſpair therefore he concealed himſelf in the city of *Aphek*; but his officers reminding him, that the kings of *Iſrael* had been generous enemies, adviſed him to throw himſelf upon *Ahab*'s mercy, and offered themſelves to prepare the conqueror to receive him kindly, with ſackcloth on their loins, and ropes about their necks. In this humble diſguiſe they accordingly went and accoſted *Ahab*, intreating him in behalf of their king. *Ahab*, overjoyed at his victory, was in admirable temper to receive them, and in a kind of tranſport called *Ben-hadad* his *brother*, and declared he was glad to hear he was living. The artful *Syrians* caught at the word *brother*, and made the beſt uſe of it they could for the ſervice of their diſconſolate king. *Ben-hadad* then was brought to *Ahab*, who deſired him to ſtep up into his chariot. While he was thus in the chariot with *Ahab*, he made many proteſtations and promiſes to him. He promiſed to deliver up all his father had wreſted from *Iſrael*, and not only that, but to allow *Ahab* great authority in his capital *Damaſcus*, even the ſame his own father had enjoyed in *Samaria* (H). By theſe fair ſpeeches

beaten down upon them by the *Iſraelites*, or ſhook down by an earthquake (11) In a word, that God was immediately concerned in this deſtruction (12). It need not be ſuppoſed they were all deſtroyed, but partly killed, and partly wounded or diſperſed.

(H) What privilege or authority *Ben-hadad* promiſes to *Ahab* is very doubtful. What privilege or authority *Ben hadad*'s father enjoyed in *Samaria*, is a queſtion we ſhould be glad to clear up, were it poſſible. *Joſephus* (13) has it, that *Ahab* ſhould have as free liberty in *Damaſcus* as his father had had in the city of *Samaria*, which was built but a few years before by *Omri* king of *Iſrael*. It is moſt likely, according to the *LXX* and the *Vulgate*, that he promiſes *Ahab*, the *Iſraelites* ſhould live free in *Damaſcus*, with all the liberties they enjoyed at home; that they ſhould have free ingreſs and egreſs [ἔξοδον], according to the former, or build them ſtreets to live together, by their own country laws, according to the latter; and the ſame, it ſeems, had been enjoyed by the *Syrians* in *Samaria*: this is the apparent ſenſe of our own verſion of this paſſage, and the moſt ſtrictly agreeable with the original. "Some think by "*ſtreets*, he means market places where commodities were ſold, "the toll of which ſhould belong to *Ahab*. Others think he means "*courts of judgment*, where he ſhould maintain a juriſdiction over

(11) Patrick *upon* 1 *Kings* xx 30. (12) Cleric. *in* 1 *Reg*, xx. 30. (13) *Antiq. ubi ſupr.*

"*Ben hadad*'s

ſpeeches he ſo wrought upon the mind of *Ahab*, that he was immediately reſtored to his liberty, and a peace was concluded [m].

How ſtrictly ſoever *Ben-hadad* adhered to his word with *Ahab* in other reſpects, he kept poſſeſſion of *Ramoth-gilead*, which was the ſubject of a freſh war, wherein he was invaded by *Ahab*, who alſo prevailed on *Jehoſhaphat*, king of *Judah*, to be his confederate. The two kings led their forces againſt *Ramoth-gilead*; where they found the *Syrians* prepared to receive them; but *Ahab*, having ſufficient reaſon to fear that the enemy would mark him out for deſtruction, diſguiſed himſelf before the battle, while the king of *Judah* put on his royal robes. The apprehenſions of *Ahab* were not without foundation; for the king of *Syria* commanded his two and thirty captains, who had rule over his chariots, to direct their arms only againſt the king of *Iſrael*. This had like to have proved fatal to *Jehoſhaphat*, who had inevitably been ſlain, had not the officers ceaſed their purſuit of him, when they diſcovered that he was not the perſon they had in commiſſion to deſtroy. But *Ahab*'s precautions could not ſave him from the fate he endeavoured to evade; for one of the *Syrians* (I) drew a bow at a venture, and ſmote him between the joints of his harneſs: upon which he ordered his charioteer to carry him out of the field of battle, and died in the evening. But whether the *Syrian* chiefs had any knowledge of this accident,

[m] 1 Kings xx.

" *Ben-hadad*'s ſubjects: others, that we now call a piazza, of which " *Ahab* ſhould receive the rents. But commonly interpreters think " he means *fortifications*, whereby he might bridle the chief city " of the kingdom of *Syria*; that they might not make irruptions " into the land of *Iſrael*. Citadels, as we now ſpeak, to keep " them in awe, and to be a check to them, if they attempted any " thing againſt the *Iſraelites*: yet, after all, *Gotf. Vallandus* hath " ſaid a great deal to prove, that the *Hebrew* word ſignifies *Pa-* " *laces*; which he being allowed to build, was a great token of ſub- " jection (13)". We muſt here obſerve, that we read of no cities *Ben-hadad*'s father took from *Ahab*. What he took was from *Baaſha*. However, he may have made other incroachments upon the kingdom of *Iſrael*, which are omitted.

(I) The *Syrian* who drew this bow is, by *Joſephus*, called *Aman*. According to the ſame hiſtorian, *Ben-hadad* was in this battle himſelf; to us it ſeems, that he did not command in perſon, but committed the conduct of this war to *Naaman*.

(13) Patrick *upon* 1 *Kings xx.* 34.

and, giving over their ſearch, joined in the aſſault, we cannot pretend to ſay; but it appears, that the battle was fierce and obſtinate, and that it laſted till night; under the covert of which each ſide drew off, with equal loſs and doubtful victory [n].

The ſtory of Naaman's *leproſy.*

Now the general, who commanded the *Syrians* in the laſt battle, was called *Naaman*; and, for his behaviour and conduct upon that day, his maſter beheld him as the deliverer of his country, and received him into higheſt favour as ſuch: and indeed he ſeems to have been a very excellent perſon; but unfortunately he was a leper, which drew him to *Samaria*, hoping there to be cleanſed, as he was. For the *Syrians*, it ſeems, continuing at enmity with *Iſrael*, made frequent inroads into their country, and, at times, carried off great booty, and numbers of captives. It happened that a captive among the reſt, a *little maid*, as ſhe is called, ſerved in the houſe of *Naaman*; and obſerving her maſter to be a leper, would wiſh him at *Samaria*, where was a prophet who could relieve him. Thus was ſhe wont to expreſs herſelf to her miſtreſs; and at laſt it was reported to *Naaman* himſelf, that ſhe had ſaid ſo and ſo. *Naaman* then told it to *Ben-hadad*, who was for embracing any opportunity to procure him relief, and with that intent wrote a letter to the king of *Iſrael*, to recommend *Naaman* to him, and to entreat, that he would cure him of his leproſy. With this letter *Naaman* departed, taking with him ten talents of ſilver, ſix thouſand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment, that he might reward the perſon who ſhould cleanſe him, in proportion to his own elevated rank, and in proportion to the value of ſo great a bleſſing. He mounted his chariot, and went attended by a number of horſemen, and delivered his letter to the king of *Iſrael*. *Jehoram* miſtook *Ben-hadad*'s meaning, and thought he wanted him in perſon to cure *Naaman*, an impoſſibility for him to do, and fancied, that he only ſought thereby an opportunity to wage open war with him. *Naaman* in this comfortleſs dilemma, received a meſſage from *Eliſha*, who promiſed to help him. He therefore went to the prophet's houſe, and ſtopped at the door with all his train. Here he waited ſome time, and at laſt a ſervant came out to him from the prophet, with orders, that he ſhould waſh himſelf ſeven times in the river *Jordan* (K). This direction, after ſo patient an attendance,

[n] 1 Kings xxii. 3, —35.

(K) It is obſerved, that by the laws of *Moſes* lepers were ſprinkled

dance, provoked him to diſdain. He thought he was derided. He expected the prophet to have appeared in perſon, in a formal manner, to call upon the name of GOD, and apply his hands to the afflicted parts. If waſhing could be of any avail, he thought the ſtreams of *Abana* and *Pharpar* at *Damaſcus*, far beyond any waters of *Iſrael*: in ſhort, thus diſappointed, as he thought, he gave vent to the keeneſt reſentment. But his attendants, much grieved to obſerve him in ſuch diſorder, begged him, in the moſt diſcreet and affectionate terms, to conſider how eaſy a matter it was to follow the prophet's directions, whether any good came of it or not; and he, being a man of ſenſe, hearkened to them, and drove to the river, and dipping himſelf ſeven times therein, was perfectly changed *.

HE returned to the prophet with inexpreſſible joy, renounced all idolatry, and would gladly have forced a preſent upon him; but his endeavours this way were to no purpoſe. He entreated the prophet to grant him two mule-loads of earth, it being his deſign to worſhip or ſacrifice to none other but GOD. He then conſulted *Eliſha*, whether or no it might be lawful for him to attend on his king in the temple of *Rimmon*, his office requiring him to ſupport his prince at his devotions, ſo that he could not avoid bowing down when he did. As for the earth, it is not ſaid that the prophet granted him any (L); and

ſprinkled ſeven times (14). It is ſuppoſed, that there was ſomething peculiarly efficacious in a ſevenfold repetition, as the Almighty went through the great and beneficent work of creation within ſeven days (15); that accordingly it was enjoined in honour of GOD, and being performed had its proper effects.

* This, ſays biſhop *Patrick* (16), was the only cure of a leproſy we read of, till CHRIST, the great prophet came into the world. It was, and ſtill is, in thoſe parts, as loathſome a diſeaſe, as it is inveterate. It differs much from the leproſy which is ſeen among us. It defiles the whole ſurface of the body with a foul ſcurf, deforms the joints, particularly at the wriſts and ankles, which ſwell out with a gouty ſcrophulous ſubſtance, very loathſome to look on; the legs of thoſe afflicted with it look like thoſe of old battered horſes: in ſhort, it may paſs for the utmoſt corruption of the human body on this ſide the grave (17).

(L) It is not ſaid, in the text, that *Eliſha* granted this his requeſt; but our tranſlators, in their argument to the chapter, where this whole ſtory is found, imagine that he did. From the words which

(14) *Levit. xiv. 7.* (15) *Cleric. in 2 Reg. v.* (16) *Upon 2 Kings v. 14.* (17) *Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. in the Append. Letter II.*

follow,

and as for his ſcruple of conſcience we have not the prophet's deciſion thereon; he left it, perhaps, undecided, as a matter of indifference in *Naaman*'s caſe, and diſmiſſed him in peace.

Naaman, thus purified both in body and mind, departed; but, being on the road, was circumvented by *Gehazi* the prophet's ſervant, who accoſted him with a forgery in the prophet's name, whereby he got from him one talent of ſilver, and two changes of raiment; wherefore his leproſy became entailed upon *Gehazi* and his poſterity [o]; which is ſaid to have given this generous *Syrian* an opportunity of diſplaying a noble inſtance of his generoſity, the good effects of which are ſaid to ſubſiſt at this very day (M).

Soon after *Naaman*'s return to *Damaſcus*, *Ben-hadad* began to execute ſome private deſigns againſt *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael*; whence it is naturally enough gathered, that *Naaman* either died, or reſigned, or was diſcarded, very ſoon after his return home (N). It was not an open war that *Ben-hadad* meditated againſt the king of *Iſrael*, but all was ſecret, and myſterious, and ſtratagem (O). But *Ben-hadad* was continually

[o] 2 Kings v.

follow, it appears that he wanted this earth to raiſe an altar with it, a pious motive, though miſtaken.

(M) This is ſaid by a mere tradition, no doubt, but we do not know how to paſs it over. At *Damaſcus*, juſt by the city walls, is an hoſpital richly endowed for the reception of lepers; ſaid to be the ſame built by *Naaman* for *Gehazi*, ſervant to *Eliſha* (18).

(N) A late writer (19) tells us, without heſitation, that *Naaman* loſt his great office of general for refuſing to worſhip *Rimmon*; but the argument he builds on, which is the next thing we ſhall conſider, ſeems to be but weak.

(O) The words of the text (20) itſelf are; *Then the king of* Syria *warred againſt* Iſrael, *and took counſel with his ſervants, ſaying in ſuch and ſuch a place* ſhall be *my camp*; and by what follows, he enjoined them ſtrict ſecreſy. From hence the late writer (21), we juſt now touched on, affirms that *Naaman* was diſplaced; for which reaſon the king of *Syria* now commanded his army in perſon, and being not uſed to ſuch exerciſes, he on all occaſions conſulted his general officers. Did not *Ben-hadad* command his army twice in perſon before; once at *Samaria*, and once in the fatal day of *Aphek*? why then ſhould he not command it a third time? and why muſt he

(18) *Thevenot's Travels into the Levant, Par. II. Book I. cap iv*
(19) *Baſnage's Script. Chron. p. 627.* (20) 2 *Kings vi* 8
(21) *Baſnage ubi ſupr.*

he

nually fruſtrated in all his aims, and began to ſuſpect the fidelity of ſome about him. To remove ſo dangerous a ſuſpicion from his breaſt, he was told, that it muſt certainly be *Eliſha* who diſconcerted all his meaſures, he being indued with ſuch a degree of omniſcience that nothing could be concealed from him, though tranſacted in the greateſt privacy imaginable. *Ben-hadad* had heard enough concerning that prophet, from *Naaman*, to incline him to believe as much; and therefore, by a ſtrange abſence of thought, reſolved to lay hands on him in the firſt place; and to that purpoſe, detached a ſtrong party to *Dothan*, where he underſtood him then to be. They came to that city in the night, and the next morning were, by the prophet, ſmitten with ſuch a deception of ſight, that they ſuffered him to guide them into the very heart of the city of *Samaria*, where their right ſenſe returned to them, that they might behold their ſituation. Here, inſtead of being made priſoners of war, they were hoſpitably entertained, and generouſly diſmiſſed; and making their report to *Ben-hadad* of all that had happened, the prophet's power, and the king's humanity, a ſtop was put to the war (P).

THIS peaceable diſpoſition ſubſiſted not long, and in the concluſion *Ben-hadad* marched againſt *Samaria* [p] once more. This city he beſieged with his whole force, reduced it to the greateſt ſtraits, and was on the point of taking it by famine; ſo that either the ſiege was long and obſtinate, or elſe the place was poorly ſtored. He, as we have ſaid, was on the point of taking the city, when he was alarmed in the night, by a noiſe like that of a great army ruſhing in upon him; and preſently it came into his head, that *Joram* had hired the kings of the *Hittites* (Q) and *Egypt* to come to his

[p] 2 Kings vi. 8—29.

be ſo ignorant in military affairs? if he committed his army for once to the conduct of another, muſt it be thought he did it always? Finally, what wiſe king was there ever who did not on all occaſions conſult his general officers? It is certainly wrong in an hiſtorian to be poſitive in matters of palpable darkneſs, to be fond of an hypotheſis, that is, to write by the ſpirit.

(P) According to *Joſephus* (22), upon the report they made to their king, he gave over his private deſigns, and ſtrait reſolved, inſtead thereof, to wage open war with *Joram*

(Q) Who theſe kings of the *Hittites* were is very uncertain. *Joſephus* (23) calls them the kings of the iſlands. That any

(22) *Antiq. l.* 9. *c.* 2. (23) *Ubi ſupr,*

remnant

his relief; the apprehenſion of which ſo terrified him, that he raiſed the ſiege with unſpeakable precipitation. His army would not ſo much as take time to mount, but left every thing ſtanding in the camp juſt as it was, when they took the alarm, and dropped every thing that was in the leaſt cumberſome to them as they went along. They might have tracked them by the cloaths and veſſels they threw away from them in their haſte [q].

Ben-hadad muſt at this time have been well advanced in years, and whether he had contracted ſome illneſs by the fatigue of his flight, and violence of his ſurprize, or whether his ſpirits were broken by ſo repeated a ſhame, he took to his bed. As he lay ſick it was told him, the prophet *Eliſha* was coming to *Damaſcus* (R); whereupon he ſent *Hazael*, with forty camels load of the choiceſt productions (S) of *Damaſcus*, to conſult the prophet concerning his indiſpoſition. *Hazael* then went to the prophet, whom he accoſted in the moſt reſpectful manner on the behalf of *Ben-hadad*. The anſwer he received was, that *Ben-hadad* might recover, but would not. The prophet having expreſſed himſelf in this dark manner, fixed his eyes upon *Hazael*, till he put the man out of countenance (T), and ſuddenly burſt into tears. *Hazael*, amazed at this, and humbly deſiring to know what might be the cauſe of it, was told, That he was to ſucceed *Ben-hadad*, and to be a cruel and mercileſs perſecutor of the children of *Iſrael*; that he would ſet their ſtrong holds on fire,

[q] Ibid. vii. 6, 7.

remnant of the *Canaaniti/h Hittites* ſhould at this time be formidable in any of theſe parts, is paſt our underſtanding, though ſome think that way (24). We are told, the remnant of them was reduced to the moſt abject degree of ſervitude by *Solomon* (25).

(R) By *Joſephus* (26) the prophet was not yet arrived at *Damaſcus*, and *Hazael* was ſent out to meet him. Some (27) ſuppoſe he was juſt coming into the city.

(S) By the largeneſs of this preſent, it is thought *Eliſha* was accompanied by many of the ſons of the prophets, or that even four camels load had been ſufficient (28).

(T) This ſeems to be the moſt natural explication of the text. *Hazael* beheld the prophet with an eye of veneration, and as one infinitely his ſuperior, and therefore was abaſhed when *Eliſha* fixed his eyes ſo ſtedfaſtly upon him.

(24) *Patrick upon* 1 *Kings* x. 29. *Cleric. in* 2 *Reg.* vii. 6. (25) *See before* 188. (26) *Ubi ſupr.* (27) *Patrick upon* 2 *Kings* viii. 7. (28) *Cleric. in* 2 *Reg.* viii. 9.

fire, ſlay their young men with the ſword, daſh their children, and rip up their women with child. *Hazael* profeſſed to underſtand not what the prophet meant, nor could conceive how ſo mean a perſon as himſelf could ever have it in his power to commit ſuch outrages (U): whereupon he received a further confirmation, a confirmation from GOD himſelf, that he was to be king of *Syria*. With this he returns to his maſter, who, by this ſolicitous meſſage to the prophet, unknowingly ſhortened the term of his days. *Hazael* flattered him with hopes of recovery, but the next day ſtifled him with a thick cloth dipped in water [r]. So ended the reign of the great *Ben-hadad*, who having adorned *Damaſcus* with fine ſtructures, as is ſaid, and added to the glory of *Syria*, was advanced to be a god (X) [f]. *Hazael.*

HAZAEL, having thus murdered his ſick lord, aſcended his throne. He had, by the wiſe providence of GOD, been nominated to the diadem of *Syria* ſome years before, and the prophet *Elijah* had orders to anoint him [t]. He was a ſcourge

[r] Ibid. viii. 7. 15. [f] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 9. c. 2. [t] 1 Kings xix. 15.

(U) The text runs; *But what is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?* Whereby moſt have underſtood, that he diſclaimed ſuch barbarity as the prophet foretold of him; but the real meaning of this paſſage is, *but what is thy ſervant, a dog?* alluding to his mean condition, which would never allow him to commit what only a great prince had power to do (29). This is confirmed by the prophet's anſwer, that he was to be king of *Syria*; which comes in very naturally.

(X) We are almoſt tempted to think, that *Hazael* may have been the chief promoter of this deification, to cover his own guilt. He ſeems to have been afraid it ſhould be known he was the murderer of his maſter, by his manner of diſpatching him. *Joſephus* calls this *Ben-hadad*, by the names of *Adad*, *Adar*, and *Ader*; which difference ariſes from the near ſimilitude of the *Hebrew R* and *D*, as we have already (30 noted. According to Sir *Iſaac Newton* (31), the *Damaſcus* and *Arathes* we formerly mentioned (32), were this *Ben-hadad* and his queen, who were worſhipped in their ſepulchres, or temples. But by this ſuppoſition it ſhould ſeem, that idolatry was yet in its nonage among the *Syrians*, whereas *Joſephus* (33) talks of ſtately temples erected by *Ben-hadad* in his life-time (34).

(29) *See Patrick upon 2 Kings viii. 13. Vid. etiam Cleric. in 2 Reg. viii. 13. & Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupr.* (30) *See before in the notes, p. 270, (A).* (31) *Short Chronol. p. 32.* (32) *See before in the notes, p 255, (E).* (33) *Ubi ſupr.* (34) *See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chron. of ant. kingd. apud p. 222*

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in the hand of God, to chaſtiſe the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and under him the *Syrian* monarchy aroſe to its meridian. However, he ſeems to have ſat very quietly on his throne, till he was provoked by *Joram* king of *Iſrael*, and *Abaziah* king of *Judah*, who leagued againſt him to wreſt *Ramoth-gilead* out of his hands, in imitation of what their fathers had attempted in the reign of *Ben-hadad*; and ſo it happened, that *Hazael* either could not, or would not prevent them from poſſeſſing themſelves of that city, as we apprehend, though *Joram* was dangerouſly wounded in the attempt. But *Hazael* made himſelf ample amends, by invading both the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and purſuing them almoſt to deſtruction. He began with *Jehu* king of *Iſrael*, and ſubdued to his dominion, all in general that belonged to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, on the other ſide *Jordan*, the countries of *Gilead* and *Baſhan*, the two tribes *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* [u]. In the proſecution of this conqueſt he, no doubt, punctually fulfilled, by his cruel rage, all the things the mournful prophet had foretold of him, in the remarkable converſation they had together (Y).

Year of the Flood, 2115. Year before Chriſt 884.

With the ſame fury and ſucceſs he waged war upon *Jehoahaz*, the ſon of *Jehu*, till he had left him but fifty horſe, ten chariots, and ten thouſand foot; for the reſt had periſhed in battle againſt *Hazael*, who, as it is ſtrongly expreſſed, *made them like the duſt by threſhing*; and, to conclude, he oppreſſed *Iſrael* all his days [x].

Year of the Flood, 2159. Year before Chriſt 840

Hazael, having thus chaſtiſed *Iſrael*, turned his arms againſt the kingdom of *Judah*, for they had both confederated againſt him; ſo that he had a fair pretence for infeſting them both. He croſſed the *Jordan* therefore; and, after ſeveral ſucceſsful attempts upon other places, as we may ſuppoſe, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong and royal city of *Gath* [y], which had been the ſeat of the *Philiſtine* kings, but was now poſſeſſed by the houſe of *David* [z]. His next thought was to attempt *Jeruſalem* itſelf; but, as he was meditating this great enterprize, he was diverted therefrom by the rich gifts of the weak and apoſtate *Jehoaſh*, who then reigned at *Jeruſalem*; and who, dreading the *Syrian* power, ſent *Hazael* all

[u] 2 Kings x. 31---33. [x] Ibid. xiii. 3, 7, 22. [y] Ibid. xii. 17. [z] See before in the Notes, p. 226, 231.

(Y) *Joſephus* (35) aſſures us he did; that he neither ſpared man, woman, or child, where ever he came, but put all to fire and ſword.

(35) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 8.

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the treaſure and rich moveables that had been ſet apart, and dedicated by his father for ſacred, and other uſes. *Hazael* was pacified with ſo noble a preſent, and deſiſted from his deſigns againſt *Jeruſalem* [a] for a while.

BUT he was ſoon ſtirred up again to war upon *Jeruſalem*; he had not yet been the inſtrument of ſufficient judgment upon that diſtracted city. Wherefore towards the end of the ſame year, as we apprehend, he detached a party from his army to ſerve againſt that city, and to make good his firſt intentions on it. This party is expreſly remarked to have been very ſmall; but yet it prevailed againſt the great hoſt of *Jehoaſh* king of *Judah*, ſacked *Jeruſalem*, ſlew all the princes of the people there, and ſent their ſpoil to *Hazael* at *Damaſcus* (Z). And by this expedition did *Hazael* alſo make himſelf maſter of *Elath* on the *Red-ſea*, as appears, and as we ſhall endeavour to confirm hereafter, in the hiſtory of *Rezin*, the laſt king of *Syria*. *Hazael* having thus ſubdued, and tyrannized over the kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, died, and was deified (A).

[a] 2 Kings xii. 17. 18.

(Z) *Joſephus* (36) makes but one expediton of theſe two. According to him, *Hazael*, having taken *Gath*, ſtrait beſieged *Jeruſalem*; whence he was prevailed on to depart, by the great bribes mentioned in ſcripture. But it is impoſſible, that what is ſaid of *Hazael*'s war with *Judah*, as it is repreſented in the ſecond book of *Kings* (37), and in the ſecond book of *Chronicles* (38), ſhould have been otherwiſe than we have repreſented. Nothing is plainer, than that thoſe two books ſpeak of two very widely different events.

(A) It is no wonder, conſidering the blindneſs of the times, that they deified ſo fortunate and ſo great a prince as *Hazael*. He, as well as his predeceſſor *Ben-hadad*, adorned *Damaſcus* with temples, and their ſtatues were carried about in proceſſion in the days of *Joſephus* (39), the *Syrians* boaſting their antiquity. From hence there is room to imagine theſe two to have been their primary deities, and that the temples they are famed for building, were no more than noble ſepulchres for themſelves (40); but we forbear, to expatiate hereon, and, having given the hint, ſubmit it to better judgments.

(36) *Ibid.* (37) *xii.* 17, 18. (38) *xxiv.* 23, 24.
(39) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 2. (40) *See Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chron. of ant. kingd. amend. p.* 222. *See before p.* 255.

Ben-hadad III. Year of the Flood, 2163. Year before Christ 836.

He left behind him a son and successor, called *Ben-hadad*, who suffered a total reverse of his father's fortune, ere he had reigned long (B). Thrice was he defeated by *Jehoash*, the son of *Jehoahaz* king of *Israel*, whereby he lost all that his father had wrested from *Israel*. Nothing more is said of this obscure and unfortunate reign. However, nothing is more likely, than that this *Ben-hadad* was subdued to a tribute by *Jeroboam*, the son of *Jehoash*, king of *Israel*, who kept *Syria* in the strictest subjection, during all his long reign.

Rezin. Year of the Flood, 2257. Year before Christ, 742.

The *Syrians* recovered themselves again, amidst the disorders which raged in the kingdom of *Israel* upon *Jeroboam*'s death; but not so perfectly as to be quite a free people; for we are apt to think they were under considerable acknowledgments to the newly-erected empire of *Assyria* (C). But not

(B) It is said (41), *The anger of the lord was kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Ben hadad the son of Hazael, all their days.* Whence it might be imagined, that *Ben hadad* kept *Israel* under as long as he lived. But the word *their* is not in the original, and by what follows (42), it is evident, that the text means no such thing, referring only to the days of *Hazael* himself. To solve this matter, however, it is likely, that *Ben-hadad* was taken into the government by his father as his colleague; and that as long as they reigned together, they kept *Israel* under. St. *Jerom* (43) writes, that all the subsequent kings of *Syria* were called *Ben-hadad* from this prince, the third of the name according to scripture. This we take notice of, as it is apparently a great mistake. This prince borrowed the name of *Ben-hadad* from the first race of the *Damascene* kings, to which his father was an alien. The names *Hadad* and *Ben-hadad* were affected, as it seems, by all the kings of *Syria*, from *Hadadezer* of *Zobah* downwards. *Ben hadad* signifies only the son of *Hadad*. The father of the first prince of this name is called *Tabrimon*; but by his son's name it may to some appear, that he was also stiled *Hadad* (44). *Josephus* calls him *Adad*, and we must desire the reader to excuse an omission in the list of *Damascene* kings, according to that historian, and to write *Adad* under *Hazael*.

(C) This is a conjecture which we apprehend to have some tolerable foundation. The kingdom of *Damascus* had been broken and enervated by servitude under *Israel*; and when *Pul* king of *Assyria*, was stirred against *Menahem*, the third that bore the title of king in *Israel* after *Jeroboam*, we cannot conceive, but he must have

(41) 2 *Kings xiii.* 3. (42) *Ver.* 22. (43) *Amos i.* (44) *See before, p.* 265.

marched

not to dwell on this uncertainty, *Rezin* was their laſt king. Towards the latter end of his reign, he entered into a league with *Pekah* king of *Iſrael*, againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*. They were ſtirred up by heaven to puniſh *Ahaz*, and their deſign was to dethrone him, and make room for a ſtranger to *David*'s line called, *Tabeal* [b]. With this intent they beſieged *Ahaz* in *Jeruſalem*, but without effect. *Rezin*, however, that he might not be wholly a ſufferer by this diſappointment, marched his army into *Edom*, and, whatever elſe he did there, made himſelf maſter of *Elath* on the *Red-ſea*, which he annexed once more to the dominion of *Syria* (D), and there he planted a colony of his own (E), Year of the Flood, 2258. Year before Chriſt 741.

[b] Iſai. vii. 1—6.

marched through *Syria*, and have made himſelf maſter there in the firſt place. It is plain he was bent upon extending his dominion, and how he could think of reducing *Iſrael* before he had ſecured *Syria*, which lay between him and his projected conqueſt farther weſtward, is what we cannot conceive. It is likely, that *Syria*, invited him, ſubmitted to him, and joined him, and that it now firſt became a province of *Aſſyria*.

(D) Our verſion ſays, he *recovered* Elath *to* Syria; ſo, ſays the vulgate; *in tempore illo reſtituit Raſin rex Syriæ, Ailam Syriæ*. Whence we gather, it muſt have been conquered to *Syria* by *Hazael*, when he ſent a part of his army againſt *Jeruſalem* (45). *Benhadad* II. his predeceſſor, had no war that we read of with the king of *Judah*, and after *Hazael*'s death, *Syria* was unable to make her own cauſe good, and therefore but ill qualified to extend her dominion. *Azariah* king of *Judah* reſtored it to *Judah* (46), and drove out the *Syrians* (47), when they were ſubdued by *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*. *Le Clerc*, in his verſion, will have it, that he reſtored this noble emporium to the *Edomites*, taking on him, by a little too much preſumption, to alter the reading of the text from לארם *Laaram*, to לאדם *Leedom*. It had been but common juſtice in *Rezin* to have reſtored it to its natural lord; but we cannot enter into *le Clerc*'s notion that he did it, becauſe the place was too far out of his reach to keep. He was ſtronger than the king of *Judah*, and might upon that account have kept it long enough, had he lived.

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which ſubſiſted many years after the ſubverſion of the kingdom itſelf of *Syria* [c].

The next year *Rezin* and *Pekah* proſecuted the war againſt *Ahaz*, and, to diſtract him the more, divided their power into three bodies, that they might invade him in three different places at once. *Rezin*, for his part, ſucceeded well by this diviſion; for he loaded his army with ſpoils, and led away multitudes of captives, wherewith his avarice being pretty well glutted, he returned to *Damaſcus* [d].

But this acquiſition proved fatal to *Rezin* and his kingdom: for *Ahaz*, grown deſperate, and bent upon revenge, ſent all he had to *Tiglath-pileſer*, king of *Aſſyria*, therewith to bribe him againſt *Rezin*. Hence it was (F), that *Rezin* was invaded by *Tiglath-pileſer*, who ſlew him, and carried *Damaſcus* (G) away captive to *Kir*, whither they were tranſplanted [e]. Thus was the empire of the antient *Syrians* abolished according to the prophets; *Behold Damaſcus is taken away from* being *a city* ----- *and the kingdom* ſhall ceaſe *from Damaſcus, and the remnant of Syria* [f] --- *I will ſend a fire into the houſe of Hazael, which ſhall devour the palaces of Benhadad. I will* ---- *cut off* ---- *him that holdeth the ſceptre from the houſe of Eden: and the people of Syria ſhall go into captivity unto Kir, ſaith the* Lord [g].

Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Chriſt 740.

The KINGS *of* HAMATH.

We have but a very ſhort, and imperfect account of theſe kings, whether as to their firſt ſetting up, or their continuance; and there is ſome doubt as to the ſituation of their

[c] 2 Kings xvi 6. [d] Id. ib. xv. 37. [e] 2 Kings ubi ſupr. ver. 9. [f] Iſai. xvii. 1, 3. [g] Amos i. 4, 5.

(F) Not for this reaſon only; there may have been another. We apprehend, that *Rezin*, being a turbulent enterprizing prince, gave umbrage to *Tiglath-pileſer*, to whom he was certainly tributary, or under ſome other obligation. For *Tiglath-pileſer* had warred in theſe parts before, with great ſucceſs againſt the *Iſraelitiſh* dominions (49). He may have been prompted to deſtroy *Rezin*, as he looked on him with a jealous eye, as well as to earn *Ahaz*'s bribe, who promiſed to become his tributary into the bargain.

(G) *Joſephus* (50) makes but one action of this and the foregoing.

(49) *See* 2 *Kings* xv. 29. (50) *Ubi ſupr.*

city

city (H). They ſeem to have been raiſed by the *Syrians* of the *Canaaniti∫h* blood (I); at the ſame time the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, who we think were *Aramites*, erected their kingdom. And this they did perhaps to defend themſelves againſt the ambitious views of that new monarchy, and to keep themſelves in one diſtinct and entire body. But however this was, for we are perfectly in the dark concerning it, thus far is certain, that *Toi* (K), their firſt king we read of, was engaged in an unequal war with *Hadadezer*, the great king of *Zobah*; the ground of which we can apprehend to have been nothing elſe, but his refuſal to ſubmit to the power of that ambitious prince. In all probability, he was on the verge of ſubjection, when *Hadadezer* bowed under the ſuperior might of *David*, who having humbled the pride of *Zobah*. *Toi* beheld him in a double light, as his preſent deliverer, and his future protector. *Toi* therefore, to ſecure his people in their rights, and himſelf on the throne, ſent his ſon *Joram* with a coſtly preſent in veſſels of gold, and ſilver, and braſs, there- Year of the Flood, 1955. Year before Chriſt 1044.

(H) This city was called *Hamath*, and ſometimes *Hamath the great* (51): whence ſome have conceived there were two *Hamaths*, or cities ſo diſtinguiſhed; but for the ſame reaſon they ought to think there were two *Sidons*, which was ſometimes called plain *Sidon*, and ſometimes *Sidon the Great* (52). *Joſephus* (53) places *Hamath* to the north of the land of *Canaan*, and *Abu'lfeda* (54), who reigned in *Hamath*, and, who being ſo learned a prince as he was, ſhould know at leaſt, as well as any body, places *Hamath* upon the *Orontes*, between *Hems* and *Apamea*, that river ſurrounding it on the eaſt and north. There was a country of *Hamath*, ſurnamed *Zobah*, which lay to the eaſtward of the land of *Canaan*, about *Palmyra* or *Tadmor* (55); ſo that here may have been another city of the name, whence, after all, may have been derived the diſtinction of *Hamath the Great*.

(I) We have already offered ſomething from the Orientals, in proof, that ſome of *Canaan*'s deſcendants did ſettle themſelves in *Syria* (56); to which we will now add from *Abu'lfeda* (57), that this whole country was called *Shâm*, becauſe many of the ſons of *Canaan* تشاموا *Taſhâmu*, or travelled towards the left hand in migrating thither; for *Syria* lies to the left of the *Caaba* at *Mecca*. This is one way of accounting for the name of *Shâm*, there are others which may be remarked hereafter.

(K) *Joſephus* writes him *Thæus*.

(51) *Amos vi* 2. (52) *Joſh xi*. 8. (53) *Antiq. l.* 9 *c.* 11. (54) *Vid.* Schult. *Comment. Georg. in vit.* Salad. *ad voces* Fluvius Orontes & Hamata. (55) *See* 2 *Chron. viii.* 3, 4. 1 *Kings ix.* 18. (56) *See before in the Notes, p.* 253. (57) *Vid.* Schult. *ubi ſupr. ad vocem* Syria.

with to conciliate the fortunate conqueror, and to congratulate him on his ſucceſſes, and return him thanks for the deliverance he owed him [h]. All this, to our apprehenſion, implies, that *Toi* became thereafter the creature of *David*, and tributary to his throne.

Whoever ſucceeded *Toi*, whether his ſon *Joram*, or *Hadoram*, or any other, it is likely he cultivated a good intelligence with the kings at *Jeruſalem*, till *Rezon*, the founder of the *Damaſcene* kingdom, aroſe. At this time it is likely the king of *Hamath* ſubmitted to a new maſter, or protector. To conclude; this kingdom was moſt certainly ſubject to the kings of *Damaſcus*, as was the reſt of *Syria*, till *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael* prevailed againſt it [i], when he reduced *Damaſcus*. Upon the diſſolution and captivity of *Damaſcus* it may have lifted up its head a little [k]; but the *Hamathites* were in their turn conquered, and tranſplanted, by *Sennacherib* and *Eſarhaddon* [l], kings of *Aſſyria*. So ended the antient kingdom of *Hamath*.

The KINGS *of* GESHUR.

The kings of *Geſhur*, if compared with thoſe of *Zobah*, *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath*, were, it is likely, but petty princes (L). Perhaps they were far more conſiderable for the alliance *David* made with their family, than for the extent of their dominion. We take them to have been one of the royal families, which in antient times divided the whole country of *Syria* between them. The firſt of them we meet with is called Ammihud, who being the father of *Talmai* [m], who is expreſly ſaid to have been king of this part, we venture to give him the ſame title.

Year of the Flood, 1969. Year before Chriſt 1030.

Talmai. He had a daughter named *Maacah*, who was wife to *David* [n], and the mother of *Abſalom*, whom he ſheltered three years [o], when he fled to him for the murder of his brother *Amnon*. To conclude; we cannot doubt, but that *Geſhur* bore the *Damaſcene* yoke, till they finally changed it for the *Aſſyrian*, and were tranſplanted, as were all the other *Syrians*.

[h] 2 Sam. viii. 9, 10. [i] 2 Kings xiv. 28. [k] 2 Kings xviii. 34. xix. 11, 13. [l] Compare Ezra iv. 2. with 2 Kings xvii. 24. [m] 2 Sam. xiii. 37. [n] Ibid. iii. 3. [o] Ibid. xiii. 37, 38. xvi. 1.

(L) *Joſephus* (59) does not allow them to have been kings, but only a family of note and figure in the country where they dwelt.

CHAP.

(59) *Antiq. l. 7. c. 8.*

CHAP. VI.

The History of the PHOENICIANS.

SECT. I.

The Description of PHOENICE.

THE tract we commonly call *Phœnicia* is, more accurately, *Phœnice*; which being ſufficiently known to the learned, we ſhall not multiply words about it, but haſten to what is more material.

Name.

WHENCE it borrowed this name of *Phœnice* is not determined. Some [a] derive it from one *Phœnix*: others [b], from the *Greek* word *Phœnix*, ſignifying a *palm*, or *date*; as if that tree remarkably abounded here: ſome [c] again ſuppoſe that *Phœnice* is originally a tranſlation of the *Hebrew* word *Edom*, from the *Edomites* who fled hither [d] in the days of *David*. By the contraction of *Canaan*, (for it was a part of that land) it was alſo called *Chna* [e]. Antiently it was called *Rhabbothin* and *Colpitis* [f] (A). The *Jews* were wont to

[a] SYNCELL. p. 152. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 158. [c] Sir ISA. NEWT. Chron. of ant. Kingd. amend. [d] See before, p. 142. [e] See before, p. 267, & 268, (C). [f] STEPH. BYZAN. ad vocem. Φοινικὴ.

(A) This laſt name is a tranſlation of the firſt: רבהוצין, *Rabhotſen*, is in *Hebrew* a great gulph or bay. From *Rabhotſen*, by changing the *Hebrew* T S into the *Greek* T, comes *Rabhoten*, and with a little variation *Rhabbothin*. Κόλπος, *Colpos*, is *Greek* alſo for a bay or gulph; whence it appears, that *Colpitis*, or *Colpites*, is a tranſlation of *Rhabbothin*. *Bochart* (1) therefore is of opinion, that theſe names did not properly belong to the eaſtern *Phœnice*, or the country properly ſo called, but to the *Phœnician* colonies in *Africa*, whoſe principal cities ſtood upon great and deep gulphs or

(1) *Geogr. ſacr. l.* 2. *c.* 13. *col.* 746.

to call it *Canaan* [g], though ſome part of it at leaſt they knew by the name of *Syrophœnice* [h] (B). Theſe were the names peculiar to the ſmall country before us, though of them *Phœnice* was ſometimes extended to all the maritime countries of *Syria* and *Judæa*; and *Canaan* to the *Philiſtines* [i], and even the *Amalekites* (C). On the contrary, theſe two names, and the reſt, were moſt generally ſwallowed up by thoſe of *Paleſtine* [k] and *Syria* (D).

The proper *Phœnice*, as preciſely as we can gather, lies between the thirty ſecond and thirty fifth degrees of north

[g] Vid. Matt. xv. 22. [h] Vid. Mark vii. 26. [i] Zephan. ii. 5.
[k] See before, p 190, 232.

bays. However, he is not wholly unwilling to allow, that theſe names may have diſtinguiſhed a part of the proper *Phœnice* near *Libanus*, as he expreſſes himſelf, becauſe it had a deep gulph or bay, according to *Mela*. *Tripoli* ſtands in the deepeſt bay, at preſent, on this coaſt.

(B) *Bochart* (2) clears up this matter thus. He ſuppoſes, that the borderers, both upon the *Phœnician* and *Syrian* ſide, were called by the common name of *Syrophœnicians*, as partaking equally of both nations. Some (3) would have it, that the *Phœnicians* of *Aſia* in general were called *Syrophœnicians* diacritically to diſtinguiſh them from the *African Phœnicians*. Others (4) take the *Syrophœnicians* and *Cœleſyrians* for the ſame people.

(C) Accordingly *Philo* (5) includes the *Amalekites* under the denomination of *Phœnicians*.

(D) Or rather *Phœnice*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*, were promiſcuouſly uſed for each other, and particularly the two former. *Phœnice* and *Paleſtine*, ſays *Stephanus Byzantinus* (6), were the ſame. As for *Syria*, we have already obſerved, that in its largeſt extent (7), it ſometimes comprehended *Phœnice* and *Cœleſyria*. *Herodotus* plainly confounds theſe three names, we mean, uſes one for the other indifferently. Firſt, he ſays, the *Phœnicians*, coming into *Syria* from the Red-ſea, ſettled in the maritime parts of *Syria*, and that the *Phœnicians* dwelt in *Syria* (8). In the next place, he ſays, that *Phœnice* was a part of *Paleſtine*, which, according to him, ſtretched along the ſea ſhore quite to *Peluſium* in *Egypt* (9). Thirdly, he places *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, in *Syria* (10), and *Aſcalon* in the *Paleſtine Syria*; but yet its inhabitants he calls *Phœnicians* (11). In a word, we could wiſh, that the geography ſince *Herodotus*'s time had been leſs indiſtinct than his in many caſes.

(2) *Geogr ſacr. p.* 349. (3) *Apud* Bochart *ubi ſupr. p.* 350. (4) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (5) *l. 1. p.* 636. (6) *Ad vocem* Τύρ. (7) *See before, p.* 232. (8) Polyhymnia, *c.* 89. (9) *Ibid* & Euterpe, *c.* 104. (10) *Ibid. c.* 157. (11) Clio. *c.* 105.

latitude.

latitude. It took up no great ſpace of longitude; but whether more or leſs we ſhall paſs it over, being quite in the dark as to that. This, as near as we can gather, was the extent of this kingdom, and its ſituation. In general we may ſay, it was bounded by *Syria* on the north and the eaſt; by *Judea* on the ſouth; and by the mediterranean on the weſt.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime and the mediterranean, or the coaſt and the country [l].

AND theſe two general diviſions were ſubdivided into diſtricts depending upon the more remarkable towns and cities, and ſo on. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that this country was partitioned into ſeveral kingdoms.

ON the coaſt are the famous cities of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Tripoli*, *Byblus*, and *Berytus*. *Sidon* we may properly enough call the metropolis of *Phœnice*, ſince it ſeems to have been the eldeſt city of this part, borrowing its name from *Sidon* the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, by whom they [m] pretend it to have been built, and it is not unlikely. But all are not agreed in the derivation of that name from *Sidon* (E).

THIS city was ſeated on the ſea-ſide, and is ſaid to have had a ſummer and a winter harbour [n] (F), or one much more land-

[l] See before, p 233. [m] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [n] ACHILL. TAT. apud RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſtr.

(E) *Trogus* (12) derives the name from a *Phœnician* word, as he calls it, *Sidon*, ſignifying a fiſh. And this *Bochart* (13) gives into; for *Seid*, the name of this city at preſent, is, as we may render it, a fiſhing-place. The ſame *Bochart* (14) ſeems to doubt, whether or no *Canaan*'s eldeſt ſon was called *Sidon*, as we read in the writings of *Moſes* (15), which he interprets to be meant of the city itſelf, which is uſed inſtead of the name of the father of the *Sidonians*, or the founder of that city, whatſoever his name was: but why the name of the eldeſt ſon ſhould be paſſed over, and the reſt ſpecified, is what we are not able to conceive. Others (16) again derive the name of this city from *Sida*, the daughter, as they pretend, of *Belus*.

(F) This we imagine, becauſe we find no mention made of a double harbour by any of the moſt accurate travellers and geographers; whereas, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter, there are ſtill viſible marks of this at *Tyre*. This city had a mole, till *Faccardine*, the *Emir* of the *Druſes*, demoliſhed it, to free himſelf from the viſits of the *Turkiſh* gallies; ſo that now the ſhipping have no other ſhelter,

(12) Juſt. *l.* 18. *c.* 3. (13) *Geogr. ſacr. p.* 302. (14) *Ibid.*
(15) *See before, p.* 157. (16) *Vid* Sand. Trav. *p.* 210. 4. Ed.

land-locked or encloſed than the other, which we take to be a miſtake (G) in the relator, which how it came to paſs may be tolerably accounted for (H). It is now called *Seyde*.

Tyre. Tyre, antiently *Sor* (I), is commonly called the daughter of *Sidon*, and ſtood alſo upon the ſea, two hundred ſtades or furlongs to the ſouthward of *Sidon*. *Tyre* muſt be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in order of time [q] : as *Tyre* on the continent, or *Palæ-Tyrus* [old *Tyre*], *Tyre* on the iſland, and *Tyre* on the peninſula, after the iſland was joined to the main land (K). It had two havens (L), the one looking

[q] Vid. Reland. Palæſt. Illuſtr. vol. 2. ad vocem Tyrus.

than a ſmall ledge of rocks, about a mile diſtant from the ſhore on the north ſide of the city (17).

(G) It is obſerved, that *Sidonian* and *Tyrian* were ſynonimouſly uſed (18). Whether or no the ſeeming miſtake here noted may not have ariſen from ſome ſuch uſage, we leave the reader to judge.

(H) It is, at this day, pretty well ſtocked with inhabitants, but much ſhrunk from its antient extent, and more from its ſplendor, as appears from the veſtiges of the antient city that are left (19).

(I) From hence this city came to be called *Sarra* by the *Latini*, and not from *Sar* a fiſh, as *Servius* upon *Virgil* intimates (20). From hence, alſo ſay they, is derived (21) *Tyre*, it being the *Syrian* way to convert the *T S*, or *S*, into *T*. So that the *Syrians* pronounced it *Tor*, *Tur*, *Tyr* ; and hence the *Greeks*, adding their termination, formed Τύρος, in *Latin Tyrus*. Some pretend, that this city gave name to the whole country of *Syria*, and that *Syria*, *Tyria*, and *Aſſyria*, were indifferently uſurped for each other (22) ; to which we cannot aſſent. This name ſignifies a rock (23) ; for it ſtood upon little better.

(K) There were four different places in *Phœnice*, which bore the celebrated name of *Tyre* (24).

(L) Theſe were formed by the *Iſthmus*, which joined the iſland to the main. Theſe harbours were called, the one *Open*, and the other *Cloſe*. The former looked towards *Egypt* ; it was the ſouthermoſt of the two ; and was accordingly called the *Egyptian* port (25). The *Sharif Edryſy* ſays, that one of theſe ports had an arch over the entrance of it, through which the ſhipping paſſed, and that it

(17) Maundr. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 45. (18) *Vid.* Rel. *Pal. Il. p.* 956. (19) Maund. *ubi ſupr.* (20) *Vid.* Bochart. *ubi ſupr. p.* 735. (21) *Vid.* Ceil. *Geogr. Antiq. Tom.* 2. *l.* 3. *c.* 12. *p.* 277. (22) *See Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chronol. of ant. kingd amend.* (23) *Vid.* Bochart *ubi ſupr.* (24) *Vid.* Scyl. *Peripl. in minor. Hudſon, vol.* 2. (25) *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 17.

was

looking towards *Sidon*, and the other towards *Egypt* [r]. This city, including *Palæ-Tyrus*, was 19000 paces in circumference (M) ; but the city itſelf was only twenty two furlongs about, or not quite three of our miles [f], which is allowing it conſiderably too much, if our modern accounts may be relied on (N). However, it appears, that this famous emporium

[r] STRAB. l. 16. p. 757. [f] PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. l. 5. c. 17.

was fortified with a chain which ran a-croſs it (26). Theſe bays, or ports, are ſtill pretty large, and in part defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, reſembling a mole, ſtretching directly out on both ſides, from the head of the Iſland ; but whether theſe ridges are walls, or rocks, is uncertain (27) ; it is moſt likely, however that they are walls.

(M) From hence it ſeems plain, that *Tyre* on the iſland, and old *Tyre* on the main, were conſidered as but one city, after the *Iſthmus* was thrown up between them ; and poſſibly they may have had buildings contiguous to each other. If *Pliny*'s numbers are right, the old city muſt have been by much the moſt extenſive part of the whole, and eſpecially as the place appears at this Day. According to *Pliny (28)* the iſland was but ſeven hundred paces from the continent ; according to *Strabo (29)*, it was thirty ſtades, or ſomewhat better than three of our miles from *Palæ-Tyrus* ; and according to the ſame geographer (30), *Tyre*, was wholly an iſland, after the ſame manner as *Aradus*, excepting the artificial *Iſthmus*, which formed it into a Peninſula. Not to loſe time upon ſo obſcure a ſubject. as whether *Tyre* and the old town were joined by buildings a-croſs the *Iſthmus* ; we ſhall only repeat what we advanced at firſt, and which we ſhall endeavour, to make out in the next

Note, that old *Tyre* was much larger, that is, ſtood upon more ground than the new, if *Pliny*'s circumference be allowed of.

(N) By them, it appears, that *Tyre* itſelf was but a ſmall city in extent, though it covered the whole iſland to the very waſh of the ſea ; and the ſcantineſs of their ground was doubtleſs, what induced them to raiſe their buildings ſo high as they did ; a method they would otherwiſe have avoided for fear of earthquakes, which had threatened them with deſtructon (31). At preſent the iſland appears to have been, in its natural ſtate, of a circular form, hardly containing forty acres of ground, and the foundations of the wall which ſurrounded it, are ſtill to be ſeen at the utmoſt margin of the land *(32)*. If then it be true, that the whole circuit of the old and new *Tyre* was nineteen thouſand paces, or nine-

(26) *L.* 16. *p.* 758. (27) *Ibid p.* 756. (28) Strab. *ubi ſupr. p* 757. (29) *Vid.* Albert. Schult. *Ind. Geogr. in vit. Saladin ad vocem Tyrus.* (30) Maund. *ubi ſupr.* (31) Strabo *ubi ſupr.* (32) Maund. *ubi ſupr. p.* 50.

teen

um was never of very great bigneſs. It could ſpread out its walls no farther than the margin of the iſland. For this reaſon it muſt have been, that they built their houſes very lofty, and with more ſtories, as we are told, than the houſes had at *Rome* [t]. The buildings of this city in general were ſpacious and magnificent, and above the reſt appeared the temples built by *Hiram* to *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Aſtarte* [u]. Its walls were one hundred and fifty foot high, and proportionably broad, and firmly built of large blocks of ſtone bound together with white plaiſter [x]. It is now called *Sûr* (O).

Arvadites. Aradus (P) was not ſtrictly ſpeaking a city of *Phœnice*. It was an iſland city like *Tyre*, and ſtood oppoſite to the ſouthern limits of the ſea coaſt of *Syria* [y]. That the *Phœnicians*, however, reckoned this city as a part of themſelves, is plain

[t] Strabo ubi ſupr. [u] Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. & apud eund. contra Ap. l. 2. [x] Arrian de Exped. Alex. Magn. l. 2. [y] Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36. col. 305.

teen *Roman* miles (33); and that they were diſtant from each other but thirty ſtades, or three of the ſame miles and three quarters (34); it muſt be evident, that the old city ſtood upon much more ground than the new. A good part of the iſland was made ground (35), as we call it.

(O) It is now a mere *Babel* of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being no ſuch thing as one entire houſe left. Its preſent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour themſelves in vaults, and ſubſiſt chiefly by fiſhing (36).

(P) *Bochart* (37) takes this, and that part of the continent oppoſite to it, to be the ſeat of the *Canaanitiſh* tribe, called *Arvadites* (38); and we are very much inclined to ſubſcribe to his judgment upon this head. The iſland of *Aradus* is about twenty ſtades, or two *Roman* miles and a half, from the ſhore, and about ſeven eighths of a *Roman* mile in circumference. The buildings were, like thoſe of *Tyre*, of many ſtories high (39). By the ſame pen we are told, as a very remarkable thing, that the *Aradians*, when beſieged, could by the help of long tubes, draw up freſh water from the bottom of the ſea (40).

(33) Plin. *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 19. (34) Strabo *ubi ſupr. p.* 758. (35) Menand & Dius, *apud* Joſeph. *l.* 8. *c.* 2. (36) Maund. *ubi ſupr. p.* 48, 49. *De* Bruyn. *Voy. au. Lev. Tome* 2. *in* 4. *to p.* 341. (37) *Phaleg. l* 4 *c.* 36. *col.* 305. (38) *See before, p.* 157. *and in the Notes. p.* 152, (F). (39) Strabo *l.* 16. *p.* 753, 754, &c. (40) *Idem ibid. Vid. etiam* Plin. *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 2. *c.* 103. *l.* 5. *c.* 31.

by

by ſeveral good authors [x]. There are ſome remains of it extant (Q).

TRIPOLI, on the ſea-coaſt of the continent, derived its origin from the joint contribution of the three cities above-mentioned, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Aradus*. Accordingly it was at firſt three diſtinct cities at a furlong diſtance from each other, inhabited by three different draughts, or colonies, but all within one common encloſure or wall [y]. It is ſtill a conſiderable place (R), and bears its old name. *Tripoli.*

BYBLUS is reported to have been the firſt city built in this country [z]; but whether we are here to underſtand the *Byblus* which ſtood on the ſea, or the old *Byblus*, [*Palæ-Byblus*] which was farther up within land, may be a needleſs enquiry (S). *Byblus.*

BERYTUS muſt not have been much inferior to *Byblus* in antiquity, ſince it is ſaid to have been ſtanding in the days of *Cronus* [a]. It is now called *Barût*, or *Beroot* (T). Theſe were the chief cities of the maritime *Phœnice* [b]. *Bery'us.*

WE will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the *midland Phœnice*. *Ptolemy* reckons in it the following towns: *Arca*, *Palæbyblus* [old *Byblus*], *Gabala*, and *Cæſarea Paneæ*. This province was conſiderably extended in the times of Chriſ- *Phœnice Mediterranea.*

[x] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 17. POMP. MEL. l. 2. c. 7. STRAB. l. 16. p. 753. STEPH. BYZANT. ad vocem Ἀραδος. [y] DIOD. SIC. l. 16. c. 41. PLIN. ubi ſupra, &c. [z] See Vol. I. 300. [a] See Vol. I. p. 306. [b] See before, p. 295.

(Q) It ſeems to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs in length; and is wholly filledup with tall buildings, like caſtles. The *Turks* call it *Ru-ad* (41).

(R) And there are ſome remains of the antient city or cities, (which you will) ſtill to be ſeen, in the fields near the ſhore; many heaps of ruins and Pillars of granate (42).

(S) *Byblus* was the city and ſeat of the famous ſuperſtition, in memory of *Adonis*. It is pleaſantly ſituated; but at preſent it is but ſmall; though, ſmall as it is, its handful of inhabitants have room to ſpare (43).

(T) "At preſent it retains nothing of its antient felicity, except "the ſituation; and in that particular it is indeed very happy. It "is ſeated on the ſea-ſide, in a ſoil fertile and delightful, raiſed "only ſo high above the ſalt-water, as to be ſecure from its overflowings, and all other noxious and unwholſome effects of that "element. It has the benefit of good freſh ſprings, flowing down "to it from the adjacent hills (44).

(41) Maundr. *ubi ſupr* p. 19. (42) *Idem ibid.* p. 31. (43) *Idem ibid* p. 38. (44) *Idem ibid.*

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tianity, when, being considered as a province of *Syria*, it included not only *Damascus* but *Palmyra* also [c].

Soil and Climate. The soil of this country is good, and productive of many excellent necessaries for food and cloathing. The air is wholesome. The climate is of the best. It is plentifully watered by small rivers, which running down from mount *Libanus*, are subject to swell to an immoderate degree, either encreased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Upon these occasions they overflow the country, to the great danger and hindrance of the traveller, and damage of the country. Among these rivers is that of *Adonis*, which we shall have occasion to mention, upon another occasion, presently.

Natural Curiosities. The sea on this coast formerly abounded with such fish, as in an extraordinary manner redounded to the honour and profit of *Tyre* in particular. Therewith they died the choicest purple. And on the shore there was a sand, wherewith the first and best glass was made (U), a staple manufacture of this antient country. To these we shall add a remarkable property of the river *Adonis*. At certain seasons, and upon certain occasions, it appears bloody. Hence was continued, at least, that extraordinary superstition in memory of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*, *yearly wounded*. The cause of this red face of the river was antiently known, and declared by those who were not so superstitious as the rest of their contemporaries and countrymen, and who attributed it only to a kind of *minium*, or red earth, which this river brought away when it swelled to unusual heights [d]. It is still subject to the same appearance in the time of floods (W).

Artificial Curiosities. There are still some few remains of the antient splendor of this now desolate land. *Thevenot* [e] tells us, there are fine antiquities to be beheld at *Tyre*, but does not specify them. *Sandys* [f] could discover nothing there but a heap of ruins. The

[c] Vide Reland Palæst. Illust. p. 217. [d] Vide Luc. de Dea Syr. [e] Travels into the Lev. Part I. Book ii. c. 60. [f] l. 3. p. 168.

(U) There antiently went a story, that this sand could be melted no where but at *Sidon* (45).

(W)... "We saw ..... the water [of the river *Adonis*] ... stained "to a surprizing redness; and ... observed ... *it* had discoloured the "sea a great way into a reddish hue (46).

(45) Strabo *ubi supr.* p. 758. (46) Maund. *ubi supra*, p. 34.

mong

more modern travellers [g] are more particular. They take notice of the ruins of the metropolitan church there, near which is an extraordinary kind of a column, of unusual dimensions, which one [h] represents as a triple; another, [i] as a double column only, or two joined together. This last [k] informs us, that it is of granate, of one block only, and fourscore foot long. Besides this, there are many columns entire, and many broken [l]. But nothing in, and about, this ruined city demands our attention more deservedly than a place the *Turks* call *Roselayne*; where are seen, what are vulgarly called *Solomon*'s cisterns, or wells. The current tradition is, that they are filled from a subterraneous river, which that wise king, by his great sagacity, knew to run under ground here; and which made him undertake so admirable a work. The country people say, that nobody ever could reach the bottom of these wells, though the thing has been attempted with great lengths of line; and one of our travellers pretends to give a reason for the fruitlesness of these attempts, by supposing the current or spring to be so very strong, at a certain depth, as to prevent the lead from taking the ground [m]. All this is rejected, and confuted by another traveller [n]; who supposes these wells cannot have been built before the days of *Alexander*; because the aqueduct which conveys the water from them to *Tyre* is carried over the Isthmus, formed by that conqueror, when he made himself master of *Tyre*: and, as these cisterns cannot be supposed to be antienter than the aqueduct, so we may be sure, says he, that the aqueduct is not older than the ground it stands upon. Of these cisterns there are three entire at this day, one about a furlong and a half distant from the sea, the other two a little farther up. The first is an Octagon in form, twenty yards in diameter. On the south side it is elevated nine yards above the ground, and on the north but six: and, as unfathomable as it is reported to be, ten yards of line confuted the opinion. Its wall is only of gravel and pebbles, but so firmly consolidated with a strong cement, that it seems to be an entire vessel of rock. Upon the brink there is a walk round it, eight foot in breadth: from whence, descending by one step on the south side, and by two on the north, you land on another walk, twenty one foot broad. All this structure, though so very broad at top,

[g] DE BRUYN Voy. au Lev. Tom. II. 4to. p. 338,339, &c. De la ROQUE Voy. de Syr. et M. Lib. Tom. I. p. 17,18; &c. MAUNDRELL's Journ. from Aleppo to Jerus. p. 48, 49, &c. [h] DE BRUYN ubi supr. [i] De la ROQUE ubi supr. [k] Ibid. [l] DE BRUYN ubi supr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] MAUNDRELL ubi supr.

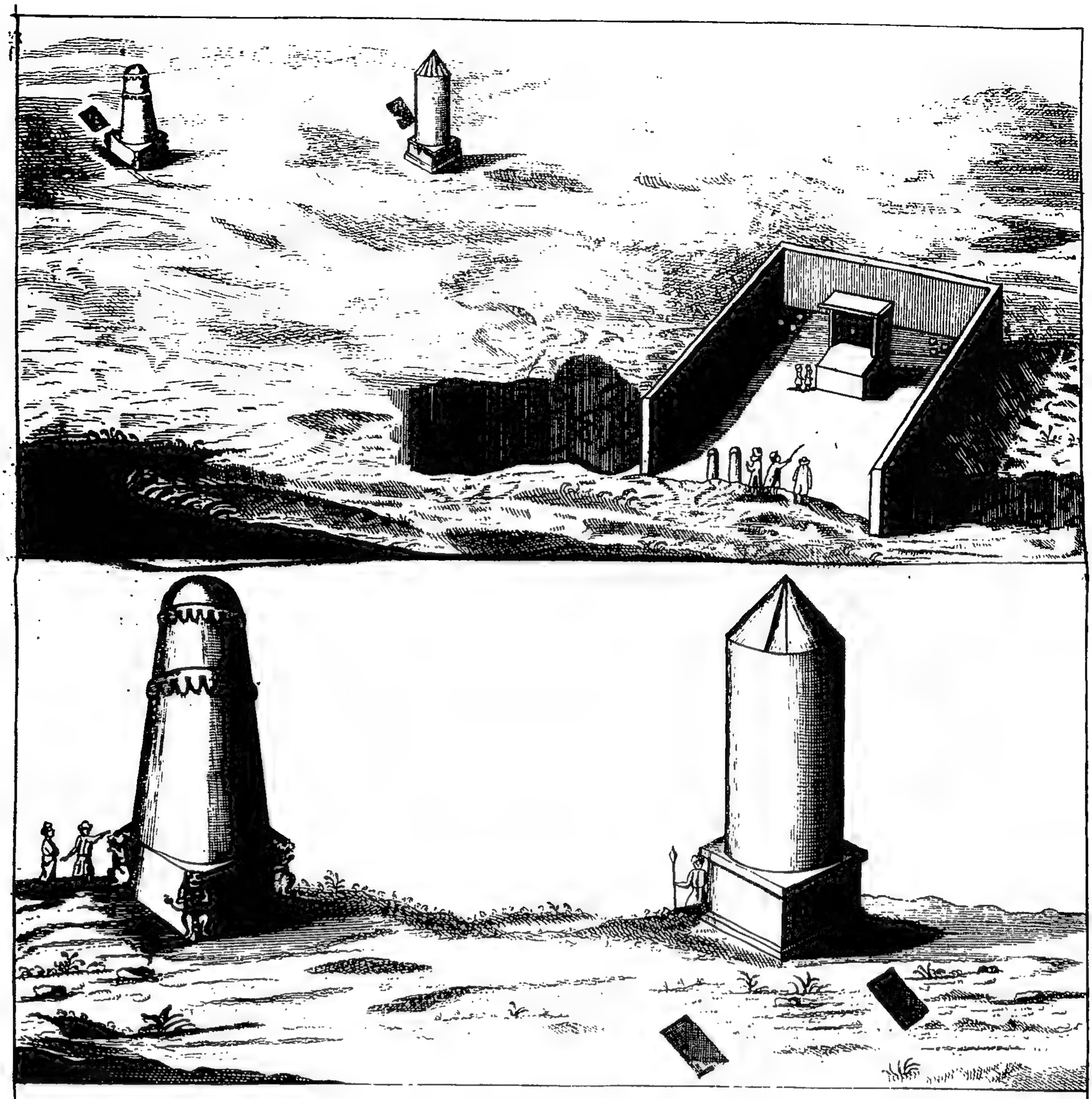
is hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks; nor could the extremity of the cavity be reached with a long rod. The whole vessel contains a vast body of excellent water, and is so plentifully supplied, that, though there issues from it a brook which drives four mills, it is always brim-full. On the east side of this cistern was the antient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct raised about six yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. This aqueduct (now dry) is carried eastward about one hundred and twenty paces, and then approaches the two other cisterns, which are of a quadrilateral figure, the one twelve, the other twenty yards square. These have each of them a channel, which communicates with the aqueduct; and the water of these three noble springs being thus joined ran together to *Tyre*. The aqueduct is now gone to decay, but may easily be traced out. It goes about an hour northward, and then turning to the west, proceeds over the *Isthmus* into the city.

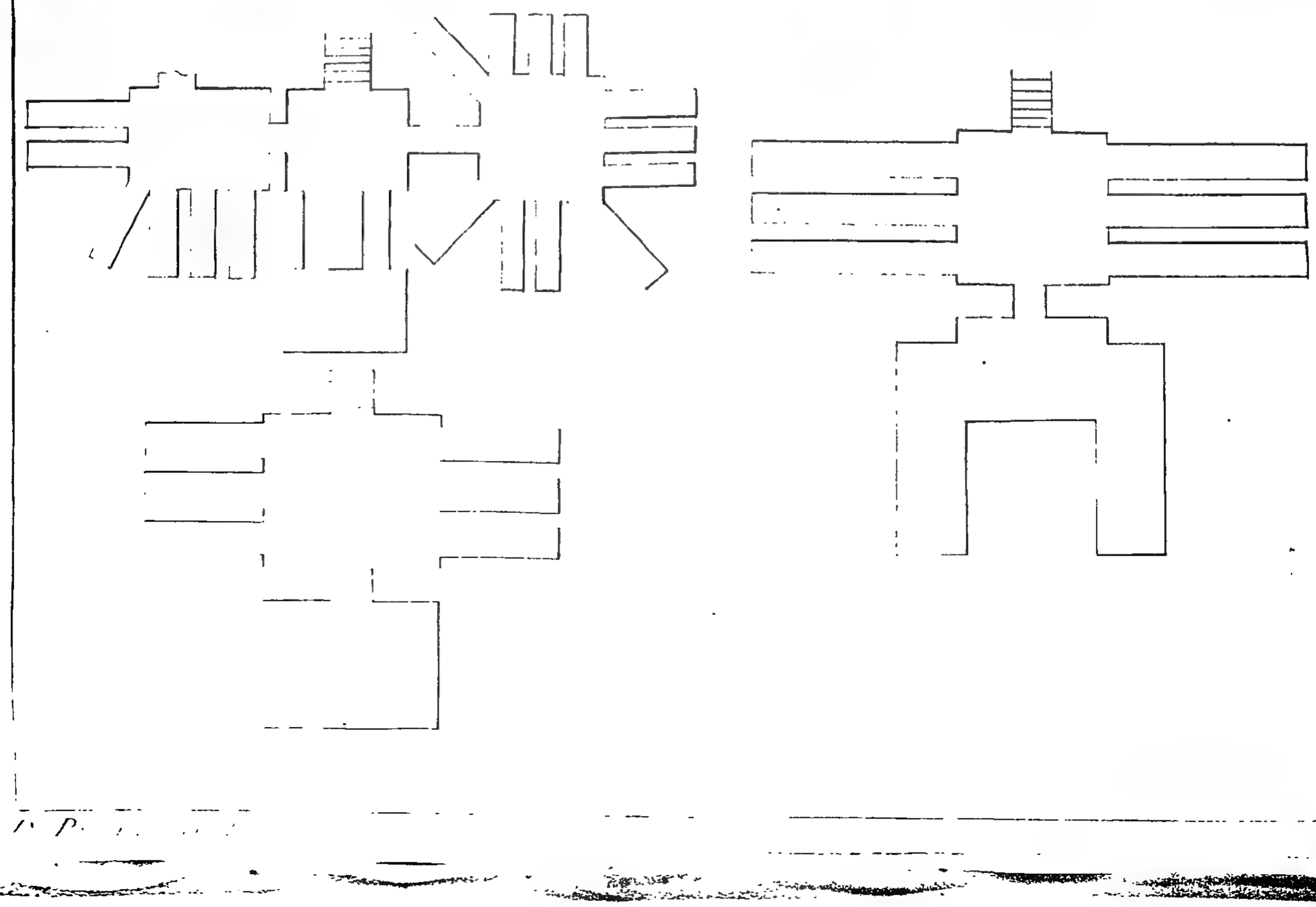
Some footsteps of what *Sidon* once was, are to be seen among the gardens without the walls of the present city [o]; such as beautiful columns, and other fragments of that kind. Here they pretend to shew a monument of high antiquity, no less than the tomb of *Zebulun*. It stands within a small chappel in a garden [p], and is deeply revered by the *Jews* [q]. This tomb is made of two stones only; the one supposed to be at the head, and the other at the feet of the deceased. Their distance is better than ten of our feet, which they give out to have been the stature of this patriarch [r].

At *Byblus* also are many heaps of ruins and fine pillars scattered up and down in the gardens near the present town [s]. Finally, on the continent, a little southward of the isle of *Aradus*, whereon the city of that name antiently stood, are several antiquities of a very extraordinary kind. The *first* is a dyke, thirty yards over at top, cut into the firm rock. Its sides go sloping down, with stairs cut out of the living rock, and descending gradually from top to bottom. This dyke stretches in a direct line, east and west, more than a furlong, bearing continually the same figure of stairs running in right lines all along its sides. It breaks off at last at a flat marshy ground, extending about two furlongs between it and the sea.

[o] Idem ibid. p. 44. Sandys Trav. l. 3. p. 164. [p] Idem ibid. Theven. Voy. au Lev. Part II. l. 1. c. 3. [q] Sandys ubi supr. [r] Theven. ubi supr. [s] Maund. ubi supr. p. 33.

Our





Our obſerver thinks it hard to imagine, that the water ever flowed up thus high; and harder, without ſuppoſing that, to deviſe why all this pains was taken in cutting the rock after ſuch a faſhion. *Secondly*, A little to the ſouthward of this dyke, there is a court of fifty five yards ſquare, cut alſo in the natural rock; the ſides of the rock ſtanding round it are about three yards high, and ſupply the place of walls. On three ſides it is thus encompaſſed; but to the northward it lies open. In the centre of this area, a ſquare part of the rock is left ſtanding, being three yards high and five yards and a half ſquare. This ſerves for a pedeſtal to a throne erected upon it. The throne is compoſed of four large ſtones, two at the ſides, one at the back, and one at the top, in the manner of a tribunal or canopy. This whole ſtructure is about twenty foot high, and faces towards the open ſide of the court. The ſtone that forms the canopy is five yards and three quarters ſquare, and adorned with a handſome corniſh. At the two innermoſt angles of the court, and likewiſe at the open ſide, are left pillars of the natural rock, three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

ABOUT half a mile to the ſouthward of this court, and this throne, there are in each two towers. They are ſepulchral monuments, and ſtand over an antient burying-place. They are about ten yards diſtant from each other. The one is in form, a cylinder, crowned by a multilateral pyramid, and is in all thirty three foot high, including the pedeſtal, which is ten foot high, and fifteen ſquare. The other is a long cone diſcontinued at about the third part of its height; and, inſtead of ending in a point, is wrought into a hemiſpherical form. This is its general conſtruction. It ſtands upon a pedeſtal ſix foot high, and ſixteen foot ſix inches ſquare, adorned at each angle with the figure of a lion in a ſitting poſture, pretty much defaced; though at beſt the ſculpture of them appears to have been but bad. This is all that is viſible of theſe ſepulchres, as well as of a third and others near, above ground. But under ground there are ſquare chambers of convenient height for a man, and long cells branching out therefrom, variouſly diſpoſed, and of different lengths, wherein the dead bodies were depoſited. Theſe ſubterraneous chambers and cells are all cut out of the hard rock [a]: but becauſe a bare deſcription of them would communicate but an imperfect idea of them to the mind, by reaſon of the variety and irregularity of their diſpoſition, we

[a] MAUNDR. Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem.

ſhall

shall insist no farther on them; but refer you to the draught of them.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the antient Phœnicians.

Antiquity. IT is universally allowed, that the *Phœnicians* were *Canaanites* (A) by descent; nothing is plainer, or less contested; and therefore it were time lost to go about to prove it. We shall only add, that their blood must have been mixed with that of foreigners in process of time, as happens in all trading places; and that many strange families must have settled among them, who could consequently lay no claim to this remote origin in this part, how much soever they may have been called *Phœnicians*, and reckoned of the same descent with the antient proprietors.

The *Phœnicians* were governed by kings, and their territory, as small a slip as it was, included several kingdoms, as those of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Berytus*, and *Byblus*. In this they imitated, and adhered to the primitive government of their fore-fathers, who like the other *Canaanites*, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed the sovereign dignity, reserving to themselves the natural rights and liberties of mankind [a]. It may appear plain by their history, that even the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, when in their zenith, were far from uncontrolable by the subject.

[a] See before, p. 165.

(A) *Bochart* (1) insinuates, that the *Canaanites* were ashamed of their name, on account of the curse denounced on their progenitor, and terrified by the wars so vigorously, and successfully waged on them by the *Israelites*, purely because they were *Canaanites*; and that therefore to avoid the ignominy of the one, and the danger of the other, they abjured their old name, and changed it for *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, *Syrophœnicians*, and *Assyrians*. *Heidegger* (2) conjectures also, that they were ashamed of their ancestor *Canaan*. We can think no such thing. It seems unnatural. It may be combated by many solid Objections; but, because they would draw us into too great a length, we forbear to make them.

(1) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 34. *col.* 301. (2) *Hist. Patriarch Exerc.* 23. § 2. *p.* 491.

2

WE have no particular ſyſtem of their civil laws, and ſhall therefore paſs to their religion.

Religion.

THE *Phœnicians*, being originally *Canaanites*, muſt once, as well as the reſt of their kindred, have had a knowledge of the true GOD, whom they, as is moſt likely, called *Baal*, or lord [b]. But by degrees degenerating to the deification, tranſlation, and worſhip of ſuch, as, by their own confeſſion, were once mortals like themſelves, they became perverſe and blind idolaters. The chief of their deities, in order as we find them in their own records, are theſe. *Beeljamen*, which, in *Phœnician*, is *Lord of heaven*, thereby meaning the ſun [c]: *Cronus*, or *Baal* [d], who is likely to have been the *Baal-berith*, or the *Cronus* antiently worſhipped at *Berytus* [e]: *Aſtarte* [f], *Cronus*, or *Baal* the ſecond, *Zeus Belus*, or *Baal* (B), *Apollo*, *Melicarthus*, *Melcartus*, or *Hercules* [g]. Theſe are the gods of this people we ſhall chiefly take notice of here, the reſt we have treated of amply enough, in the antiquities and mythology of this people [h]. We will only add one obſervation; which is, That it is almoſt certain the *Phœnician* idolatry and ſuperſtition is not all their own; and that their ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Perſians*, and *Greeks*, made great alterations in the whole ſyſtem of what was taught and practiſed among them in a religious way. We need only look back to what happened in *Syria* *, upon its being ſubdued, to be fully convinced of this.

How far they retained, or how far they loſt, a due ſenſe and notion of the true GOD in this their multifarious idolatry; and whether or no they might not, through theſe low diſguiſes and their frantic adoration, point intentionally at GOD himſelf, is hard to ſay. It is reported of the *Egyptians*, that, amidſt all their endleſs polytheiſm, they ſtill acknowledged one ſupreme GOD [i]: and hence, as we ſhall ſee, the religion of the old *Phœnicians* was in ſubſtance hardly differ-

[b] Vide SELD. de Di Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 7. [c] See Vol. I. p. 176. [d] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 298. [e] Ibid. [f] See Vol. I. p. 301. [g] See Vol. I p. 304. [h] See Vol. I. p. 174,—181 294—308. * See before, p. 255. [i] See Vol. I. p. 445.

(B) Here we have no leſs than three *Baals*, who are ſaid to have been once mortal men; which might fairly induce one to think, that the learned are miſtaken in ſuppoſing the *Phœnician* God *Baal*, of every ſort and denomination, was erected in honour of, and to repreſent, the ſun (3).

(3) *Vide* Seld. *de Di. Syr. Syntag.* 2. *c.* & Bochart. *Geogr. Sacr.*

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SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Extent, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Phœnicians.

Antiquity. IT is universally allowed, that the *Phœnicians* were *Canaanites* (A) by descent; nothing is plainer, or less contested; and therefore it were time lost to go about to prove it. We shall only add, that their blood must have been mixed with that of foreigners in process of time, as happens in all trading places; and that many strange families must have settled among them, who could consequently lay no claim to this remote origin in this part, how much soever they may have been called *Phœnicians*, and reckoned of the same descent with the antient proprietors.

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(1) *Phaleg. l. 4. c. 34. col. 301.* (2) *Hist. Patriarch Exerc. 23. § 2. p. 491.*

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(3) *Vide* Seld. *de Di. Syr. Syntag.* 2. *c.* & Bochart. *Geogr. Sacr.*

ent from that of the *Egyptians* (C), as has been formerly observed [k]; it is very probable that their theory and doctrine agreed together, as well as their practice and traditions.

How they pictured *Beelſamen* we no where find; but we apprehend, that they did not repreſent him at all: for, meaning by him, in a more eſpecial manner the ſun, whom they had ſo daily before their eyes in all his glory, it is likely, they made their addreſſes immediately to him, according to the antient rite [l]. There were many *Baals* [m]. The *Baal* of *Sidon* was called *Thalaſſius*, or the Sea *Baal* [n]. There was *Baal-berith* (D), and others, each repreſented under proper attributes

[k] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 180. [l] See Vol. I. p. 176.
[m] 1 Cor. viii. 5. [n] Hesych.

(C) Biſhop *Cumberland* (4) draws the following parallel between them, to ſhew how nearly they were related. "1. *Plutarch* (5) "makes *Oſiris* the ſon of *Rhea*, a wife of *Cronus*: ſo our author "[*Sanchoniatho*] owns *Rhea* married to *Cronus*. 2. *Plutarch* makes "*Iſis* to find, at *Byblus*, a king called *Melcander*, and that name "is plainly derived from the *Hebrew Melec*, or *Moloch*; which "title, *the Biſhop thinks*, was appropriated eminently to *Cronus*, "or *Ham*, in old times. 3. The Queen whom *Iſis* found at *By-*"*blus*, *Plutarch* tells us, is by ſome called *Aſtarte*, [or *Aſparte*, "as it is in the *Greek*] which is the name of one of *Cronus*'s wives "in *Sanchoniatho*. 4. *Plutarch* makes *Typhon* a contemporary with "*Cronus* and his children; ſo doth *Sanchoniatho*." When the the whole is weighed on each ſide, it muſt be allowed, that the antient mythology of both was derived from the ſame ſource; but that the gods of the *Phœnicians* were ſo antient as they made them, and as we commonly take them to be, is what we ſhall occaſionally diſpute hereafter.

(D) This is a further proof with us, that all the *Baals* of the *Phœnicians* were not intended for the ſun: we here ſee one denominated from the ſea. A Lord of the ſea, as well as a Lord of heaven; which ſeems to diſtinguiſh them into two very widely different deities. We cannot help thinking, that they had different genealogies for, and traditions of, all their *Baals*. This appears from what we have obſerved in the note above the laſt. We ſee they were procreated ſucceſſively from father to ſon; and it is hard to ſuppoſe, that they had the ſame ſtories of, and the ſame dependance on, them all: however, we will not anſwer for all the inconſiſtencies that may have crept into the minds of the idolatrous *Phœnicians*, nor examine into the pretences, that the partiſans of each idol may have broached in favour of its antiquity, or pre-

(4) *On Sanch. p.* 107. (5) *See, Vol. I. p.* 513.

eminence.

attributes, we may ſuppoſe; but we know nothing particular (E) of their idols. *Baal* is called ſometimes a god, and ſometimes a goddeſs; and reverſly, *Aſtarte* is ſometimes termed a goddeſs, and ſometimes a god (F): but by the *Phœnician* mythology ſhe was wholly a goddeſs; for there we find her mentioned as the mother of many children o. She is particularly called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, and in *Hebrew*

o See Vol. I. p. 302.

eminence. After all, they may have each laid claim to the firſt honour, and conſequently they might have each tranſlated their *Baal* into the ſun, or bright GOD of heaven; ſo that all their ſuperſtition may indeed have centred in him. We are very much inclined to think, the ſun and moon were the two great objects of their worſhip; and theſe we take moſt generally to have been ſtiled *Baal* and *Aſtarte*; and that they ſometimes addreſſed themſelves immediately to thoſe great luminaries and rulers of the night and day, and ſometimes obliquely, by repairing to the images of their own fancy. For though they had tranſlated them into thoſe lights, yet they remembered, perhaps, that they were once mortals and benefactors, and therefore may have adored them under their human form, as well as in their celeſtial dignity, being taught, perhaps, or taking it into their heads, that their worſhip would be imperfect if they did not thus divide it.

(E) *Fuller* (6) ventures to picture *Baal* in general as a royal hero, with armour and a mantle on his body, a diadem on his head, and a ſword in his hand; in act to ſtrike.

(F) The *Hebrews* knew no diſtinction of ſex in the gods; whence this aroſe. There are many inſtances to prove this; but we ſhall only produce one, where in one verſe only, with reference to *Baal*, he is both maſculine and feminine. Καὶ καλαλείψω ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βαὰλ, καὶ πᾶν στόμα ὃ οὐ προσκύνησεν αὐτῷ (7). In other copies however it is τῷ Βάαλ: but the ſame do in other places make him feminine, as well as here maſculine. *Bochart* (8) will have *Baal-berith* to have been a goddeſs, becauſe *berith* in *Hebrew* is feminine; but, as it is moſt likely, that thereby is meant no more than the *Baal* of *Berytus* (9), we do not ſee how this conjecture will ſtand. *Aſtarte* was called a god by the *Hebrews*, they having no name in their tongue for a goddeſs (10).

(6) *Piſgah-ſight.* (7) *Reg. xix.* 18. (8) *Canaan l.* 2. *c.* 17. *col.* 775. (9) *Vide Cumberland on Sanchon. p.* 151. (10) *Vide Boch. ubi ſupra.*

brew Aſhtaroth (G). Some [p] will have it, ſhe was ſo called becauſe ſhe was repreſented in the form of ſheep. But this is rejected as a mere notion. She was certainly repreſented as *Iſis* was [q], with cows horns on her head [r] (H), and for the ſame

[p] R. Cimch. apud Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2. [q] See Vol. I. p. 305. [r] See Vol. I. p. 447.

(G) *Aſhtaroth*, which ſignifies flocks of ſheep or goats. It is conjectured, that men in antient times being chiefly addicted to a paſtoral life, and delighting chiefly therein, drew their moſt favourite ſimiles of beauty from thence. This is ſuppoſed to have been the reaſon why *Aſteroth*, or *Aſtarte*, was ſo called (11). It was firſt ſtarted by Biſhop *Cumberland*, (12), that her firſt name was *Naamah*. His lordſhip tells us, that he could not think of *Plutarch*'s *Nemanus*, *Cronus*'s wife, but *Naamah* came into his mind. A late author (13) has taken up this, and puſhed it as far as it can poſſibly go. He finds, that *Naamah* ſignifies the *fair one*. He finds alſo, that ſhe was the wife of *Ham*. That he carrying her about with him, "changed her "name to one that in another language had the ſame ſignification, "and called her *Aſtarte*, as it is in the *Greek*, or *Aſhtaroth* in the "*Hebrew*; which word ſignifies in *Hebrew* flocks of cattle, "ſheep or goats." According to theſe interpretations we do not perceive the exact ſimilitude of theſe two names, *Naamah* and *Aſtarte*. There is an alluſive one, if you will. A fair woman was a beauty, ſo was a *flock of cattle* in antient days; *ergo Naamah* and *Aſtarte* are tranſlations of each other. However, our author brings us back again to his *fair one*; for *Lucian*, in his moſt inaccurate and unſatisfactory account of the *Syrian* goddeſs, happening to ſay a prieſt aſſured him, that *Aſtarte* was *Europa*, the ſiſter of *Cadmus*, it is ſufficient for our author to believe they really were but one; and ſo he comes round to *Naamah* his *fair-faced one* again: for *Bochart* ſearching after the etymology of *Europa*, finds, that חור אפא *Ur appa*, in the *Phœnician* tongue is, in *Greek*, λευκο-πρόσωπον, which may be aptly enough rendered *fair of face*; wherefore our author calls *Bochart* in to his aid, and diſcovers ſelf-evidently, that *Europa* is *Aſtarte*, and *Aſtarte Naamah*. *Q E D.* The inconnection and preſumption in all this, are too glaring for us to animadvert upon them. Nor ſhould we have taken any notice at all of this paſſage, had it not been delivered as from the Tripos. Nor ſhould we have taken notice of this one, had it been the only piece of the kind in the work. As ſome of the *Jews* abſurdly derive her name from being repreſented under the form of ſheep (14): others (15) derive it from the numbers of victims offered up to her; as if they ſacrificed to her by whole flocks at a time.

(H) *Aſtarte*, we are told (16), put on a bull's head, as the mark of her ſovereignty; but *Mercury* claps on a bull's or ox's head upon

(11) *Vide Bedford's Script. Chron. p* 234. (12) *Ubi ſupr.* (13) *Beaford's Script. Chron. ubi ſupr.* (14) *Vide Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2.* (15) *Scalig. apud eund.* (16) *See Vol. I. p.* 305. *Iſis*

ſame reaſon; that is, to repreſent the moon's increaſe and decreaſe; for ſhe was undoubtedly conſecrated into that planet [f], and adored under the ſtile of *Queen of heaven* (I). She was alſo the *Phœnician Aphrodite*, or *Venus* (K).

As

[f] See before, ibid.

Iſis to ſupply the place of her diadem, which the enraged *Orus* had torn off (17). We may ſee by both theſe ſtories, that the ox's head was eſteemed an enſign of ſupreme dignity; and that *Aſtarte* and *Iſis* were names for one perſon *Bochart* (18) obſerves, that the word *Aſhtaroth* may be extended to herds in general, and is not confined to the ſmaller cattle only; and inſinuates, that ſhe may be the *Grecian Io* turned into a cow. It is alſo held that ſhe was the great *Juno*, as we ſhall ſee anon. Whence, by the way, we may ſeemingly account for the epithet *Homer* ſo often beſtows upon *Juno*, Βοῶπις Ἥρη, the *ox-eyed Juno*. Doctor *Clarke* in his notes upon *Homer* (19) thinks that nothing particular is alluded to thereby; that this epithet is uſed only to expreſs the majeſty of her countenance, and cites *Libanius*, who ſays as much, Ὅμηρος ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος, ὡς εἶησαν ὀφθαλμοὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καλοί τε μεγαλοί τε, "βοῶπιν" αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσε· which is, that *Homer* only underſtood ſhe had a large fine eye.

(I) There is all the reaſon in the world to believe this. It appears ſufficiently from her horned front. *Lucian* (20) took her for the moon. *Herodianus* (21), miſtaken in her name, calling her *Aſtroarche*, ſays, that the *Phœnicians* would have her to be the moon. *Selden* (22) thinks it indubitable, that ſhe was the *Baliſamia*, corrupted from *Baleth-Samain*, the *Queen of heaven*, as alſo *Baaltis*. Some (23) ſay on the contrary, that ſhe was worſhipped in the ſtar called *Lucifer*; but the ſame conſider her under the name of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, which alſo ſhe bore; ſo that her attribute may have been altered or varied in this caſe, as well as her name. We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this again a little farther.

(K) *Cicero* (24) is very explicit upon this. Enumerating the ſeveral *Venus's*, the fourth, ſays he, was a *Syrian* of *Tyre* called *Aſtarte*; who, as the tradition goes, married *Adonis*. That ſhe was a *Venus* we underſtand from ſeveral other writers; but for the preſent ſhall content ourſelves with this one very plain teſtimony; upon which we beg leave to animadvert a little. *Cicero* places her the fourth in order, which we apprehend he does, as ſuppoſing the three, that precede her in his account, to be older than ſhe. Again ſhe marries *Adonis*, who is univerſally allowed to be an *Aſ-*

(17) *See Vol. I. p.* 251. (18) *Canaan l.* 2. *c.* 2. *col.* 709. (19) *Il. ix. ver.* 451. (20) *De Dea Syr.* (21) *Apud Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag.* 2. *c.* 2. (22) *Ibid.* (23) *Theoph. apud Gyrald. Hiſt. Deor. Syntag.* 13. (24) *De Nat. Deor. l.* 3.

As there were many *Baals*, so also there were many *Astartes* (L). She went under different names, and was doubtless very variously represented (M). She is said to have consecrated

Syrian by descent. What are we to conclude from hence? Why, it seems apparent enough, that the superstition in honour of *Adonis* was introduced by the *Assyrians* when they conquered *Phœnice*, and that *Astarte* was his contemporary. This seems to take off considerably from her great antiquity. Sir *Isaac Newton* (25) reckons that the *Baalim* and *Ashtaroth* came originally from the banks of the *Tygris*, whence they migrated into *Phœnice*. Hence he derives all the superstition and idolatry of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*: the *Tyrian*, *Syrian*, and *Assyrian Belus*, says he *, were all one. If we might be allowed to declare our sentiment on this head, we would add, that the greatest part of what we know of the *Phœnician* religion is of *Assyrian* origin, and that it was imposed on them together with the *Assyrian* yoke. This will bring down the antiquity of these fabulous deities very low. We know how the *Syrians* boasted the antiquity of their great *Adod*, or *Adad*, the king of gods, as *Sanchoniatho* (26), in his *Phœnician* Antiquities, stiles him; we know also how vainly they did it, and how falsely (27). If then there be such a flaw to be found in the pretended age of *Adad*, the same must affect *Cronus* and *Astarte*, his contemporaries and confederates (28). They are certainly of late date, in comparison of what the learned have generally thought them.

(L) This we have sufficiently insinuated already. We have already seen her, *Venus*, *Juno*, and the *Moon*. The LXX more than once mention her in the plural number. A father of the church 29 observes, that *Juno* was undoubtedly the *Astarte* of the *Pæni*, and consequently of the *Phœnicians*; and that she was mentioned in the plural with regard had to the many statues of her; and that as each statue was called a *Juno*, thence came many *Junos*, or *Astartes*. To this we will add, that *Astarte* was positively the *Grecian Io* (30).

(M) We cannot doubt, but she was pictured as variously as the characters she bore, and the attributes bestowed on her required. As much a *Venus* as she was, it seems she was pictured with arms, as the goddess of war (31). She was far otherwise represented in her temple, on mount *Libanus*, where she was mourning her lost *Adonis*: her head was muffled up in a veil; her left hand, which was under her mantle, supported her head; and floods of tears streamed down her cheeks (32). It must have been, we think, an

(25) *Chronol of ant. kingd amended, p.* 161. * *Ibid. p.* 270.
(26) *See Vol I. p.* 304. (27) *See before in the Notes, p.* 255 (E).
(28) *See Vol I. p.* 304. (29) Aug. *ad Jud. 2. quest.* 67.
(30) Eurip. *apud* Seld. *ubi. supr* (31) *Vide* Bochart. *Canaan. l. 1. c. 42. Col.* 664. (32) Macrob *Saturn. l. 1. c. 27.*

Astarte

ſecrated *Tyre*, by depoſiting a fallen ſtar there [t] (N). We have little or nothing to ſay of their *Apollo* (O). He is taken for the *Phut* of *Moſes*, and *Put* [u], whence the *Pythius* [w] of the *Greeks*; but as we have occaſionally conteſted the exorbitant antiquity of his kindred gods, we cannot allow his. *Hercules*, or *Melcartus* (P), was the great and antient god of *Tyre*. They antiently repreſented him in no form. His temple

[t] SUID ad vocem Ἀσάρθη. [u] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 303 (R) [w] Vide BOCHART. Geogr. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3. col. 11.

Aſtarte that *Lucian* ſaw crowned with a tower, and with a ſiſtrum in her hand, and ſupported by lions; but we cannot pick out of him in what temple, or where, he ſaw this idol. It cannot be the *Syrian* goddeſs, as he calls her, of whom he gives a different deſcription (33). This laſt idol reſembles, in ſome particulars, certain images of *Iſis* (34); but to trace her out through all her forms is a taſk we are unequal to, for want of proper lights.

(N) Hence it was, we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was worſhipped as a ſtar (35); and hence the notion of the ſtar, or globe of light, which at certain times darted down from the top of mount *Libanus* near her temple at *Aphac*, and plunged itſelf into the river *Adonis* below, and was thought to be *Venus* (36). *Bochart* (37) knows not what to make of this fallen ſtar, which *Aſtarte* is ſaid to have carried to *Tyre*. Inſtead of ἔυρεν ἀεροπετῆ ἀστέρα, he would read ἔυρεν ἀερόπετη *vel* ἀέροπετῆ, ἀστερίαν, *Ælian* acquainting us from *Ariſtotle*, that there was a kind of eagle called *Aſteria*; and therefore he would have it a bird inſtead of a ſtar. But, by what precedes, it is moſt likely, that it was really a ſtar they meant. The practice ſquares very nicely with the doctrine, as does alſo the ſtory of the ſtar that was wont to fall from the top of *Libanus* into the river below.

(O) We only know, that he was in great repute among them; and that the *Tyrians*, when beſieged by *Alexander*, were ſo much afraid that he ſhould leave them, as they ſuperſtitiouſly dreaded, and go over to the enemy, that they chained him with golden chains (38) to the altar of *Hercules* (39).

(P) So called from מלך קרתא *Melec-cartha*, *the king of the city*, which *Bochart* (40) ſuppoſes to be *Tyre*. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (41) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, or governour, or prince of the city of *Carteia* in *Spain*. *Heſychius* (42) ſays, that the *Amathuſians* called *Her-*

(33) *See before, p.* 257 (34) *See Vol. I. p.* 446. (35) *See before, p.* 309 *in note* (I). (36) *Vide* Bochart. *ubi ſupr. col.* 749. (37) *Ubi ſupr. col.* 709 (38) Diod. Sic. *l.* 17. *p.* 584. (39) Plutarch *in vit. Alex* (40) *Canaan ubi ſupra col.* 709. (41) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amended, p.* 111, 112. (42) *Apud* Bochart. *ubi ſupr.*

temple had no images in it [x] (Q), a seeming undeniable instance of his high antiquity (R). However, that they deviated from this laudable custom may, perhaps, appear, when we come to the siege of *Tyre* by *Alexander* [y]. Among their gods we may also place *Adonis*, *Thammuz*, or *Osiris*, which

[x] See before in the Notes, ubi supr. [y] See ibid.

cules by the name of *Malic*. *Pliny* (43) calls him, corruptly, *Midacritus*. He was a great navigator, and was the first that brought lead from the *Cassiterides*, or islands of *Britain*. According to others (44) he invented the shell purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth stained therewith.

(Q) This is in part contradicted by *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius* of *Tyana*, who particularly dwells on the temple of *Gadira*, or *Gades*, which is (45) said to have had no images in it, and to have continued in that simple state to the time of *Silius Italicus* (46). In *Philostratus* we find indeed, that there were no statues erected either to the *Egyptian* or *Theban Hercules*; for both were worshipped in this same temple, as he informs us: there were only two plain brazen altars erected to the *Egyptian Hercules*. But though the gods were unrepresented, their temple was adorned with the twelve labours of *Hercules* (as they are commonly called) finely wrought; the *Hydra*, and *Diomede*'s horse. In this temple were kept the golden belt of *Teucer*, and the golden olive of *Pygmalion*, bearing *Smaragdine* fruit, of wonderous workmanship (47). By this may be learned, that, at least, the *Theban Hercules* was the *Tyrian Melcartus*; for we need not say, that *Pygmalion* was king of *Tyre*.

(R) We have already given his genealogy in the *Phœnician* Antiquities (48). The *Egyptians* reckoned their *Hercules* to be seventeen thousand years older than their king *Amasis* (49). The *Tyrians* were more modest, and only reckoned their *Hercules* to be as old as their city, which was two thousand three hundred years *. The *Tyrians* paid as great a veneration to their hero as the *Egyptians* could do to theirs (50); but whether both their *Herculess* were in reality one and the same, is what we pretend not to decide. *Cicero* (51) reckons the *Tyrian Hercules* the fourth of those he enumerates, and calls him the son of *Jupiter* and *Asteria*, the sister of *Latona*, and the father of *Carthage*. *Lucian* (52) says, that the *Tyrian Hercules* was not the *Hercules* celebrated by the *Greeks*, but another far more antient, who was a *Tyrian* hero.

(43) *l.* 7. *c.* 56. (44) *Incertus apud* Suid. *ad vocem*. (45) *Ibid* (46) *See Vol. I in the Notes, p.* 304. (47) Philost. *in vit.* Apoll. Tyan. *l.* 5. *c.* 1. *p.* 211. (48) *See Vol. I. p.* 303. *& seq.* (49) Herodot. *l.* 3. *c.* 43. * *Idem ibid.* (50) *Vide* Macrob. *Saturn. l.* 1. (51) *De Nat. Deor.* (52) *De Dea Syr.*

you

you will (S); nor must we forget the *Patæci* (T) they carried about in the prows of their ships [z]. Other deities they had

[z] HERODOT. l. 3. c. 37.

(S) They were certainly but one, or meant the same object. Whence the people of *Amathus*, an antient city of *Cyprus*, conflated their *Adonosiris* (53), which is a compound of both the names, *Adonis* and *Osiris*; for the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* laid equal claim to him (54) under different appellations, though he was certainly an *Egyptian* (55). So then the beautiful *Adonis*, begotten by *Cinyras* an *Assyrian* (56), is in reality the *Egyptian Osiris*. It is a very labyrinth we are in, to consider these things as they are told us; but take the following parallel (57), between the solemnities and ceremonies sacred to them both: they had both of them their ἀφανισμὸς, *disappearance* or death; they both had their ζήτησις, or their *search after them* with mourning; and they both had their ἔυρεσις, or *invention*, with joy and gladness. In reality they were but one. Both the nations in this case meant no other than the sun; concerning whose approach and departure they framed such fables as might best take with the people. The month of *June* was the season when all this superstition was transacted both by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* (58).

(T) They were small statues. *Herodotus* (59) likens them to pygmies. *Hesychius* (60) and *Suidas* will have them to have been placed in the poops of the ships. The fashion was, for certain, changed in the great length of time between them and *Herodotus*. They were carried about for protection from disasters of the sea. They were the tutelar gods of sea-faring men (61) Thus the *Spaniards* at this day carry to sea with them, little images of the saints, that they may stand their friends in distress. They will perform you a nine days devotion to St. *Francis Xavier* for a fair wind and favourable weather when at sea; and if the miracle is not wrought as expected, vow never more to trouble the saints again. The next minute the captain will hang him up an image of our lady of *Bethlem*, and declare, that he will not take her down till she gives him a fair wind. If she will not do as he would have her, she must give place to our lady of mount *Carmel*, who upon nonperformance is changed for our lady of the *Rosary*; and if she prove deaf also, up goes our lady of *Solitude* instead of her; and she not

(53) *Vide* Steph. Byzant *de Urb. & Popul ad vocem* Ἀμαθοῦς. (54) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (55) *Vid. eund. ibid* (56) *Vide* Apollod. *Bibliot. l.* 3. *c.* 13. & Cyril. *in Is. l.* 2. *Tom. III p.* 274. (57) *Vide* Marsh. *Can. Chron. Secul.* 1. *p* 31. (58) *Vide eund. ibid* (59) *l.* 3. *c.* 37. (60) *Ad vocem* Παταικοί. (61) *Vid.* Seld. *de Di. Syr. Syntagm.* 2. *c.* 16. Bochart. *Canaan l.* 2. *c.* 3 *col.* 712, 713.

hearing

had, which we know nothing of. The *Cabiri* will have their turn in the *Grecian* mythology. [a]

We do not read, that the *Phœnicians*, how nearly soever they may have agreed with the *Egyptians* in the main points of their superstition, ever extended their worship, like them, to the inanimate creation. But since there was such a harmony between them in other respects, it is by no means unlikely, that they were tainted with some of the meanest, and most unaccountable superstitions of that fabulous and mysterious kingdom. But this is only a conjecture, which we leave to the readers determination.

Their priests, religious customs, &c.

Beelsamen we have understood to have been in an especial manner the sun himself [b]; and to him they addressed themselves with stretched out arms, as we gather [c]. What else was practised, when they made their addresses to the sun only, we no where find.

Baal had his prophets and his priests in great numbers. We read of four hundred and fifty of them which were fed *at* Jezebel's *table* only [d]. They were wont to offer burnt-offerings and sacrifices to this their god or gods [e], and to dance and skip about the altar, with violent gesticulations (U); and having worked themselves to the height of frenzy, by this exercise, and a violent straining of their voices, they began to cut and slash their bodies with knives and lancets: this done, they betook themselves to prophesy [f], as it is called, or rather raved, as if possessed by some invisible power [g]. Such was their barbarous way of worship (W); nor need we

[a] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p 297. [b] See before, p. 306.
[c] See Vol. I. p. 176. [d] 1 Kings xviii. 19. [e] 2 Kings x. 24.
[f] 1 Kings ubi supr. [g] Vide Patrick in loc.

hearing any more than the rest, our lady of *Affliction* takes her turn (62), and so on *ad infinitum*. These are Christian *Patæci*. Why should we wonder at the blind *Phœnicians?* This we thought worth the notice. It is a good parallel, and comes from a good *Roman* Catholick, who was an eye witness of this practice.

(U) It is uncertain whether they danced round the altar, or leaped upon it, or jumped over it, or how this was: "*Abarbinel* "thinks, this leaping or dancing was a rite used in the worship of "the sun; which puts all things in motion (63).

(W) Though all this was practised upon a particular occasion, or when they took on them to perform a miracle, we are persuaded there is nothing new in it. They are said to have wounded their bodies after their usual manner (64).

(62) *See* Frezier's *Voyage to the South-sea, p.* 143 *of the Eng. Transl. in* 4to. (63) Patrick *upon* 1 *Kings xviii.* 26. (64) 1 *Kings xviii.* 28.

wonder

wonder at it, conſidering their more barbarous cuſtom, in earlier days, of ſacrificing even ſuch perſons as were moſt dear to them, to appeaſe or reconcile their imaginary gods, when they laboured under any public calamities. This is charged very home upon them, not only by the teſtimony of others [h], but by their own confeſſion [i]. This alſo they had in common with the *Egyptians* [k]. This cruel practice, however, was diſcontinued here, as well as in *Egypt*, pretty early; but at what time, and upon what motives of perſuaſion, we have not to ſay.

MANY prieſts or prophets attended alſo on the rites of *Aſtarte*. *Jezebel* had no fewer than four hundred of them to her ſhare [l]. Our verſion calls them, *prophets of the groves*: but Mr. *Selden* has proved, by comparing many paſſages of ſcripture together [m], that *Aſtarte* is meant by them; and ſome [n], who know not how to conteſt this interpretation, believe ſhe was worſhipped in a grove, which is very likely, ſuch places being for the moſt part accounted ſacred to religious rites, in the firſt times [o]. We muſt not doubt, but ſhe was ſerved with much form, pomp, and myſtery; and women, particularly, are ſaid to have been employed to weave hangings, or tabernacles, for her [p]. When ſhe was adored as the *Queen of heaven*, or the moon itſelf, they offered up to her cakes, which were prepared for that ſervice with great ceremony: *The children gathered the wood, and the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the queen of heaven* [q]. They alſo burned incenſe to her, and poured out drink-offerings to her [r]. This *Aſtarte*, *Queen of heaven*, was, as we have ſaid, the moon itſelf [s]; for as they paid their homage immediately to the ſun, the ſame, we may ſafely ſuppoſe, they did to the moon. It was an antient cuſtom. Thoſe great lights were always conſidered together. The inimitable *Job* [t] ſays, If *I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking in brightneſs, and my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand, this alſo were an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judges.* Some [u] fancy, upon what authority does not at preſent occur to us, that her cakes were ſtamped with a creſcent. At *Byblus* ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner; for there

[h] PORPHYR. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. 2. § 56, &c. [i] See Vol. I p. 305. [k] See before, p. 30. [l] 1 Kings ubi ſupr. v. 19. [m] PATRICK in loc. [n] CLERIC in loc. [o] See before, in the Notes, p. 101, (D). [p] 2 Kings xxiii. 7. [q] Jerem. vii. 18. [r] Idem xliv. 17, 18. [s] See before, p. 309. [t] Job xxxi. 26, 27, 28. [u] See FULLER's Piſgah-ſight.

ſhe had a temple, as the *Venus* of *Adonis* [w]. And there, ſuch women as would not conform to the cuſtom of ſhaving their heads, at the annual time of lamenting *Adonis*, were bound to proſtitute their bodies for one entire day, to all ſtrangers, that would have them, for hire; and the money ſo got was preſented to the goddeſs [x]. Her temple at *Aphac* on mount *Libanus* was a perfect ſink of lewdneſs, a very ſchool of the moſt beaſtly luſt. The men there ſunk into the moſt degenerate effeminacy to comfort the mournful goddeſs [y]. The moſt ſhameful commerce between the ſexes was allowed within theſe prophane walls. And this was permitted and practiſed, as ſome [z] conjecture, becauſe in this place *Venus* firſt ruſhed herſelf into the arms of *Adonis*. Or, as others [a] ſay, becauſe this was either the firſt, or the laſt place where they enjoyed each other. Other temples ſhe doubtleſs had, and other rites, which it were in vain for us to attempt either to diſtinguiſh or enumerate. What elſe may be ſaid of her, or her worſhip, we may have occaſion to reſume hereafter. Though ſhe is called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, her principal temple ſeems to have been that at *Tyre*, built by *Hiram* [b].

After what manner they worſhipped their *Apollo* is uncertain; but to their *Hercules* they are ſaid to have paid great honour. His worſhip was performed with great ſolemnity: the aſſiſtants were all clad alike, in *Egyptian* linen all. They offered the incenſe to him with a looſe flowing garment; the prieſtly veſt was adorned with broad ſtreaks, or ſtripes of purple; their feet were bare; their heads were ſhaven; they were pure from any pollution, as it was thought, contracted from the other ſex; and the fire of the altar never went out. Women were not allowed to enter into the temple, and ſwine were carefully kept from approaching it [c]: ſuch were the ceremonies uſed, and cuſtoms obſerved, in the worſhip of the *Tyrian Hercules*. They paid him tythes. More might be ſaid concerning this *Hercules*'s temples, and the honours done him; which we ſhall defer till we come to treat of *Hercules* in general.

We ſhall now cloſe up this account of their religious practices, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, with what they were wont to do in commemoration of *Adonis*, or *Oſiris*, or *Adoniſiris*,

[w] Lucian de Dea Syr. [x] Idem ibid. [y] See before, in the Notes, p. 309 & ſeq. [z] Bochart. Canaan, l. 2. c. 14. col. 749. [a] Etymol. magn. apud eund. ibid. [b] Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. [c] Silius Ital. l. 3.

or

or *Thammuz*; for, as we have already obſerved [d], all theſe names centred in one object. His father, they pretend, was one *Cinyras* an *Aſſyrian*, who founded the city of *Paphos* in the iſland of *Cyprus* [e]. Some ſay his name was *Gingris*, or *Gingras* [f] among the *Phœnicians*. But whatever his name was, it is agreed, he was a moſt beautiful youth. On the one hand [g] it is reported, that *Venus* was enamoured of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to *Proſerpine*; that when *Venus* came to demand him of her, ſhe refuſed to deliver him to her; and that hence a diſpute aroſe between them, which was decided by *Jupiter*, who decreed, that the youth ſhould be one third of the year with *Proſerpine*, another third with *Venus*, and that during the laſt third, he ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf as he beſt liked. That in conſequence of this, *Adonis*, ſmitten with the charms of *Venus*, ſpent two thirds of his time with that fond goddeſs; whereat *Diana* taking offence, ſent a wild boar to put a miſerable end to his life. On the other hand [h], it is reported, that *Adonis* was the offspring of an inceſtuous embrace. That he was begot by his father *Cinyras* on his own daughter *Myrrha*. That to hide the guilt of ſo unlawful a commerce from the eyes of the world, he was expoſed on the mountains, where he was nurſed by the nymphs, and became a great ſportſman. That *Venus*, ſeeing him at his manly ſport, fell in love with him, and received him into an intimacy with her: and that *Mars*, conceiving a violent jealouſy thereat, turned himſelf into the ſhape of a wild boar, and ſlew the beauteous youth. That *Venus*, being unſpeakably grieved at the ſad news, followed him to the ſhades to demand him; but that *Proſerpine*, at firſt refuſing to deliver him, was at length brought to this agreement. That he ſhould be half the year with her, and half the year with *Venus*, who returned with joy to the earth again, and acquainted her followers with the ſucceſs of her deſcent, and ordained a feſtival to be celebrated in commemoration thereof. Whoever compares this with what is related of *Iſis* and *Oſiris* [i], will find it to be the very ſame ſtory in a different dreſs. In conſequence of this myſterious tradition, there was great grief among the women, at *Byblus* eſpecially, for the death of *Adonis*, which was ſucceeded by as great joy for his recovery.

[d] See before, p. 312. [e] APOLLOD. Biblioth. ubi ſupr. [f] JUL. POL. l. 2. c. 4. l. 4. c. 14. [g] APOLLOD. Biblioth. ubi ſupra. [h] CYRIL. in Is. ubi ſupr. [i] See Vol. I. p. 519.

But the *Jewish* writers have among them another ſtory concerning the origin of the rites of *Thammuz* or *Adonis*. *Maimonides* [k] relates that the antient *Zabij* held *Thammuz* to have been an idolatrous prophet, who preaching up to a certain king the doctrine of worſhipping the ſeven planets and the twelve ſigns, the king ordered him to be put to a cruel death. That on the very night of his death, all the idols, from the uttermoſt parts of the earth, met together in the temple of the golden ſtatue, or the ſun, at *Babylon*; and that he acquainted them with the tragical end of *Thammuz*. That hereupon the images wept and lamented all night for *Thammuz*, and that as ſoon as morn appeared they all flew back to their places. Hence, ſays he, was derived the cuſtom of mourning over *Thammuz*. Finally, it is ſaid he was the ſon of a heathen king, whoſe image the *Jewiſh* women adored with tears, nor refrained from offering ſacrifices to it [l].

Whoever he was, and whatever they meant by him, the ſuperſtition of mourning over him was an univerſal cuſtom of the women in thoſe parts. They began their lamentations at a ſtated time. They ſet up their outcries as ſoon as they perceived the river *Adonis* to run with a bloody face [m], as at certain times it did [n]. The lamentations of a mother for the loſs of her only ſon could not be more piercing or extraordinary [o]. They then proceeded to their ſacrifices of the dead, having firſt diſciplined themſelves with whipping; and on the morrow, pretending him to be revived, and aſcended through the air to the upper regions, they ſhaved their heads, as the *Egyptians* did for the loſs of *Apis*; and at *Byblus* at leaſt, thoſe who would not comply, were bound to proſtitute themſelves in the manner, and for the purpoſes above ſpecified [p]. Some [q] relate, that on a certain night, while this ſolemnity laſted, they laid an image in a bed, and, having gone through a bead-roll of lamentations over it, light was brought in, and the prieſt anointing the mouths of the aſſiſtants, whiſpered to them that ſalvation was come---that deliverance was brought to paſs. Upon which their ſorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken as it were out of its ſepulchre. Or as others ſay [r]; the prieſts of *Oſiris* in *Egypt* wrote to the women of *Byblus*, ſignifying to them, That they had found that god. They ſent this letter in an earthen pot,

[k] In More Nebochim. [l] Philast. apud Seld. de Dei. Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 11. [m] Lucian de Dea Syr. [n] See before, p. 300. [o] Amm. Marcell. l. 19. [p] See before, p. 316. [q] Jul. Firm. apud Purch. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 17. p. 90. [r] Procop. & Cyril. in Iſa. xviii.

as

as ſome ſay, or in a ſmall ark, or head as it is called [r], made of the papyrus, which came by ſea of its own accord to *Byblus*. This voyage it performed in ſeven days [t], and it no ſooner appeared in the port, but the women danced, feaſted, and rejoiced as extravagantly as they had before wept, mourned, and lamented [u]. This cuſtom has made ſo laſting an impreſſion on the women of thoſe parts, that it is viſibly kept up by them of *Aleppo* to this day [w].

THERE are different ways of explaining away all this myſtery. *Adonis* was the ſun. The upper hemiſphere of the earth, or that which we think ſo, was antiently called *Venus*, the under, *Proſerpine*. Therefore when the ſun was in the ſix inferior ſigns, they ſaid he was with *Proſerpine*, when he was in the ſix ſuperior, with *Venus*. By the boar that ſlew *Adonis* they underſtood winter; for the boar they made, and not unaptly, the emblem of that rigid ſeaſon [x]. Or by *Adonis* they meant the fruits of the earth, which are for one while buried, but at length appear flouriſhing to the ſight. When therefore the ſeed was thrown into the ground, they ſaid *Adonis* was gone to *Proſerpine*; but when it ſprouted up, they ſaid, he had reviſited the light and *Venus*. And hence probably it was, that they ſowed corn, and made gardens for *Adonis*; for ſuch a cuſtom they alſo had [y]. We may ſafely ſuppoſe there was no ſmall variation among thoſe who received this piece of ſuperſtition, when they talked of what it meant, and why it was practiſed. Finally, *Plutarch* [z] takes *Adonis* to be *Bacchus*. *Oſiris* alſo, the ſun [a], as we have ſeen, was *Adonis* [b]. To be brief, it was contended, that *Oſiris* was buried at *Byblus* [c]. *Adonis* is lord, ſo is *Baal* [d].

PLUTARCH [e] alſo informs us, that *Iſis* had a temple at *Byblus*, where they worſhipped the heath which had concealed *Oſiris*'s coffin. This *Byblian Iſis* muſt certainly have been *Aſtarte*; ſo that we end with the *Baalim* and *Aſteroth* as we began.

HERODOTUS [f] mentions the *Phœnicians* to have been circumciſed: but *Joſephus* [g] aſſerts, that none of the nations, included under the vague names of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, uſed that rite, the *Jews* excepted; ſo that if the *Phœnicians* had

[r] LUCIAN ubi ſupr. [t] Idem ibid. [u] PROCOP. & CYRIL. ubi ſupr. [w] See SELLER's Hiſtory of Palmyra in the Preface. [x] MACROB. Saturn. l. 1. c. 21. [y] Vide Vos. de Idololat. l. 2. c. 5. p. 167. [z] Sympoſ. l. 4. p. 671. [a] See Vol. I. p. 443, & ſeq. [b] See before, p. 313. [c] Luc. de Dea Syr. [d] See before, p. 999. [e] De Iſid. & Oſirid. [f] l. 2. c. 104. [g] Contr. Ap. l. 1.

antiently

antiently that cuſtom, they came in time to neglect it, and at length wholly laid it aſide. They abſtained from the fleſh of ſwine [h].

Their Arts and Learning.

Much is ſaid of the *Phœnicians*, their arts, ſciences, and manufactures. But as what we find concerning them is couched in general terms only, we have it not in our power to expatiate on particulars. The *Sidonians*, under which we comprehend all the *Phœnicians* in general, as was antiently a very uſual thing *, were of a moſt happy genius and frame of mind, capable of any thing [i]. Arithmetic and aſtronomy either took riſe among them [k], or were brought by them to their perfection, and applied to mercantile, nautical, architectonical, and fabrical uſes. From them thoſe excellent ſciences flowed into *Greece* [l], together with their letters [m]. They were from the beginning, as it were addicted to philoſophical exerciſes of the mind; inſomuch that a *Sidonian*, by name *Moſchus*, taught the doctrine of atoms before the *Trojan* war [n], and *Abdomenus* of *Tyre* * undertook to grapple even with *Solomon*, by the ſubtile propoſitions he offered to that wiſeſt of earthly kings. *Phœnice* continued to be one of the ſeats of learning, and both *Tyre* and *Sidon* [o] produced their philoſophers of later ages, *Boëthus* and *Diodatus* of *Sidon*, *Antipater* of *Tyre*, and *Apollonius* of the ſame place, who wrote of the writings and diſciples of *Zeno* [p]. Their doctrine concerning the origin of the world, and the formation of things, we have already mentioned [q].

Their Language.

Their language was at leaſt a dialect of the *Hebrew*. It was that of the antient *Canaanites*. Their letters or characters we take to have been the ſame with the *Samaritan*. But for our particular thoughts of both the one and the other, and for the conſtruction of both, we muſt crave the reader's patience till we come to treat of the *Hebrew* tongue.

Their Manufactures.

How great ſoever they were for the ſciences, and for their diſcoveries and improvements in the learned way; it is far from being improbable, that they excelled much more in the labours of the hand than in thoſe of the head [r]. The glaſs of *Sidon*, the purple of *Tyre*, and the exceeding fine linen they wove, were of their own growth, and their ſtaple manufactures. Theſe are ſaid to have been their own inventions [s].

[h] Herodian. l. 5. * Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 37. col. 301. [i] Idem. ibid. col. 303. [k] Strab. l. 16. p. 757. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Herodot. l. 4. c. 6. [n] Posidonius apud Strabo, ubi ſupr. * Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. l. 8. c. 2. & contr. Ap. l. 1. [o] Strabo ubi ſupr. [p] Idem ibid. [q] See Vol I. p. 23. [r] Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 35. col. 303 [s] Vide eund. ibid.

And for their extraordinary skill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and ſtone; in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was ſolid, and great, and ornamental in architecture, we need not only put the reader in mind of the large ſhare they had in erecting, and decorating of the temple at *Jeruſalem* under their *Hiram*; than which nothing is more known, nothing more certain, nor is there any thing that can more redound to their honour, or inſinuate a clearer or greater idea of what their own buildings muſt have been. Their fame was ſuch for their juſt taſte, fine deſign, and luxuriant invention, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleaſing, whether in apparel, or veſſels, or toys, was called, by way of excellence, *Sidonian* workmanſhip or contrivance[t].

Their Trade and Navigation.

THUS far we have conſidered them as learned men and artificers, improving themſelves, and cultivating their minds ſedately at home. It remains, that we mention them as merchants, navigators, and planters of endleſs colonies in foreign parts. As they were merchants, they may be ſaid to have engroſſed all the commerce of the weſtern world at leaſt. As navigators, they were the boldeſt, the moſt experienced, and greateſt diſcoverers of the antient times; they had for many ages no rivals. And as they were planters of colonies, they did ſo much that way, that, when it is remembered, that their country was probably little more than the ſlip of ground between mount *Libanus* and the ſea, it is ſurprizing, how they could furniſh ſuch ſupplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native ſeat. They were the moſt buſy, moſt enterprizing people, that can well be conceived.

WE have ſtarted a conjecture, that the *Phœnicians* were not a little induced to become foreign dealers by their neighbourhood with the *Syrians*, whom we have conſidered as the moſt antient of thoſe who negotiated any thing conſiderably, and regularly, with the more eaſtern regions[u]. And we ſee no reaſon we have to depart from this poſition. For their own territory was but ſmall, and but little able to afford any conſiderable exports, if we except manufactures; but that their manufactures were any thing, to ſpeak of, till they began to turn all the channels of trade into their own country, is hard to believe. In *Syria*, which was a large country, they found ſtore of ſuperabundant productions of the natural growth of that country, and many choice, and precious, and uſeful commodities brought from the eaſt. Hereupon, having a ſafe coaſt and convenient harbours on the one ſide of them, and excellent materials for ſhip-building upon the mountains on the

[t] Vide eund. ibid.

[u] See before, p. 267 & ſeq.

other, and perceiving by degrees how acceptable many commodities, that *Syria* furniſhed them with, would be in foreign parts; and being at the ſame time, perhaps, ſhewn the way by the *Syrians* themſelves, who may have navigated the *Mediterranean*; they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation, and, by an uncommon application thereto, ſoon eclipſed the *Syrians* themſelves on the *Mediterranean* Sea. Nature herſelf pointed to them their advantages, and daily experience before their eyes, and a laudable ambition, may have prompted them to that, which brought them to be conſidered as the firſt of the earth for riches and ſplendor, if not for power.

It were in vain to talk of the *Edomites*, who fled hither in *David*'s time [w]; or to enquire whence *Herodotus* derives the *Phœnicians* from the *Red-ſea* [x]. Their origin we have already ſeen [y]. That ſome of the *Edomites* fled into this country in the days of *David* we have already ſhewn. And that the *Edomites* were a trading people we have elſewhere noted [z]. What Improvements they brought with them into *Phœnice* is hard to ſay. And by the way, it is as hard to ſpeak of their numbers, or to ſay, how it could be poſſible for a parcel of refugees to communicate their own name to the antient proprietors, as is pretended [a]. It ſeems to be plain, that they brought with them a knowledge of the *Red-ſea*, and of the ſouth parts of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Æthiopia*; and that by their inſtructions and lights, they made the *Phœnicians* acquainted with thoſe coaſts, which before they knew nothing of, and enabled them to undertake the voyages they did in thoſe parts for *Solomon*, and for *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt*. But we will dwell no longer on theſe particulars ſo hard to be aſcertained. We have only ſtarted them to exerciſe thoſe of our inquiſitive readers, who have leiſure and inclination to bend their thoughts this way; and ſhall only add, by way of ſummary, That it is our opinion, the *Phœnicians* were both younger merchants and navigators than the *Syrians*, and that they reaped conſiderable advantages by the acceſs of the fugitive *Edomites*, that ſought for ſhelter among them in *David*'s time.

Their whole thoughts were how to advance their trade. They affected no empire but that of the ſea. They ſought to enlarge no other dominion. They ſeem to have aimed at nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their commerce.

[w] See before, p. 142. [x] See before p. 143, (U). [y] See before, p. 304. [z] See before, p. 134. [a] See before p. 225 & ſeq.

They

They traded to all the known parts they could reach, or knew the way to. The *British* isles, commonly understood by the *Cassiterides*, *Spain*, other places in the ocean, both to the north and south of the *Straits* mouth, in general all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, the *Black-sea*, and the lake *Mæotis* [b]; in all these parts they had settlements and correspondents, from all which they drew what was useful to themselves, or might be so to others reciprocally: and thus they exercised the three great branches of trade, as it is commonly divided, into importation, exportation, and transportation, in full latitude. Such was the extent of their sea trade, as for their correspondence by land in *Syria*, and by the way thereof, in *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and even the *Indies*, not to carry the thing any farther; this may furnish us with some adequate idea of what this people once was, how rich, and how unhyperbolically their merchants are mentioned in scripture as equal to princes [c]. Their country was at that time the great warehouse where every thing, that might either administer to the necessities or luxury of mankind, was to be found; which they distributed as they judged would be best for their own interest, which they must have had the art of cherishing, as much as we have in our days. It would be in vain for us to undertake a detail of what they brought by sea, or of what was sent them over land from each particular place, or of what they sent to the several countries they dealt with. We shall have occasion to specify the particulars, when we come to mention the antient trade of each country. Their own principal commodities were the purple of *Tyre*, the glass of *Sidon*, and the exceeding fine linen made in this country [d]: these, and other fine pieces of art in metals and wood, seem to have been the chief, and almost only commodities of *Phœnice* itself. Their country was so small, that it is not to be imagined they could afford to export any of the fruits thereof. It is more likely, that they rather wanted, than abounded with, the fruits of the earth.

HAVING thus spoken in general terms of their trade, we shall now just touch upon their shipping, and some things remarkable in their navigation. Their larger embarkations were of two sorts. They divided them into round ships, or *Gauli*, and long ships, gallies, or *Triremes* [e]. When they drew up in line of battle, the *Gauli* were at a small distance off each other in the wings, or in the van, and the rear, and a-

[b] Vide HUET. Hist. de la Comm. et de la Navig. des Anc.
[c] Isai. c. xxiii. v. 8. [d] See before, p. 320 [e] Vide BOCHART. Canaan, l. 2. c. 11. col. 739.

bout; their *Triremes* were contracted together in the centre [f]. If at any time their ships bound on a voyage observed, that a stranger kept them company, or followed them in their track, they were sure to get rid of him if they could, or deceive him, if possible; in which they would go so far as to venture the loss of their ships, and even their lives, so that they could but destroy, or disappoint him [g]; so jealous were they of foreigners, and so tenaciously bent on keeping all to themselves. And to add to the dangers of the seas, and to discourage other nations from trusting themselves thereon, they affected piracy [h]; or to be at war with such as they met when they thought themselves strongest. This was but a natural stroke of policy in a people who grasped at the whole commerce of the then known world. Talking of their navigation, we must not forget the famous fishery of *Tyre*, which so remarkably enriched the city of *Tyre* in particular. The fish they sought after were those wherewith they dyed purple, the richest dye in the world. They were always careful to take them alive. An antient author [i] attributes the dissoluteness of *Tyre* to the number of the dyers there; from whence we may gather they were a rich and numerous body of people, proud and extravagant, vain and debauched. This fish is some how or other lost (X), or those on that coast at present know not how to catch it.

We might here speak of the *Phœnician* voyages in the service of *Solomon*, had we not a more proper place in our eye of expatiating thereon. The long voyage some of them undertook in the service, and to satisfy the curiosity of *Necho* king of *Egypt*, round *Afric*, going out of the *Red-sea*, and returning by the way of the *Straits* mouth, deserves not to be passed over. They were three years about it (Y). The reader,

[f] Polyæn. l. 6. [g] Vide Strab. l. 3. p. 175. [h] Huet. ubi supr. c. 16. p. 70. [i] Strab. l. 16.

(X) We are assured by an eye-witness, who is too modest to allow us the use of his name, that they have a kind of fish on the rocks on the coast a little to the westward of *Panama*, with which the *Indians* dye a red purple. That they carry their yarn down to the sea side, that they bring it back dyed: and that their hands are always discoloured, like those of our dyers.

(Y) We see then the *Portuguese* were only the Re-discoverers of the *Cape of Good-hope*. Here we will beg leave to animadvert a little upon a celebrated author (65), who will have it, the *Phœnici-*

(65) Huet. *Histoire de Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc.* chap. 8.

ans

reader, we hope, will not be diſpleaſed that we have dwelt ſo long on this extraordinary people. He will perceive we might have ſaid ten times more; and that it was impoſſible for us to ſay leſs of them than we have ſaid, either to refreſh his memory, or give him information. Their colonies and ſettlements will be particularly remarked in the order they may occur.

ans made it a common practice to trade with *India*, by the way of the *Cape of Good-hope*, from the times of *Solomon*. This is incredible on many accounts. 1. The *Phœnicians* had no ſuch temptation to undertake ſo long and dangerous a voyage as we have: the voyage to them muſt have been much longer than it is at preſent to us, 2. They are not above half ſo far from *India* as we are. 3. It is incredible, that the ſtructure and rigging of their ſhips were rightly adapted for ſo unfavourable a navigation; nor is it likely that they could at once furniſh themſelves with ſtores and proviſions ſufficient for their uſe and neceſſities, and at the ſame time have any great cargoe of goods on board. 4. Theſe diſadvantages conſidered, it muſt appear, that they might have been ſupplied with all the eaſtern commodities in general, at a much cheaper rate, from the *Egyptians* and *Edomites* on the *Arabian* gulph, and from *Syria* on the *Euphrates*; and this certainly was a part of the trade they drove with *Syria* and *Egypt* (66). 5. It is not to be imagined, if the contrary practice had been uſual, that all memory of it would have been loſt; that the *Romans*, in *Ovid*'s time, would have talked of the torrid zone as uninhabitable; and that *Herodotus* would have reckoned it as ſo noble a tranſaction of *Necus*'s reign, that he ſent the moſt expert *Phœnicians* he could procure to explore the ſhores of *Afric* (67); or that the ſame, in other reſpects, moſt knowing hiſtorian, would have diſputed the credibility of what the ſailors reported on their return, that they had the ſun on the right hand of them (68); it being the antient cuſtom, as we have ſomewhere read in *Plutarch*, to ſet the face to the weſtward; in which poſture the ſun muſt be on the right hand of him who is to the ſouthward of its courſe, which they muſt have been, over and over again who doubled the *Cape of Good hope*. In ſhort, the *Indian* commerce by that rout could have anſwered no manner of end to the *Phœnicians*, nor could they have been tempted to frequent it, ſituated as they were between *Egypt* and *Syria*, the two great magazines of what ever the eaſt afforded.

(66) *See before*, p. 268. (67) *See before*. p. 46. (68) Mel-pomen. *c*. 42.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the PHOENICIANS.

IT were labour in vain to dwell on this ſubject. In general we may ſay, that the hiſtory of the *Phœnicians* is no other than a continuation of that of *Canaan*; as is on all hands allowed (A). Their particular epochs it is impoſſible to diſcover. Their records, once ſo faithfully kept [a], are now no more. We will not therefore enter profeſſedly upon ſo dark a matter, but ſhall content ourſelves with touching thereon occaſionally hereafter. It is obſerved [b], that they boaſted an exceſſive antiquity, no leſs than thirty thouſand years; in which, however, they were far more reaſonable than ſome others, who certainly could claim very little, or nothing beyond them in that particular. To adhere to the method we have laid down, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſeries of the kings of the different kingdoms of this country, ſo far as we can collect them.

KINGS of SIDON.

* * * * * * * * *

Agenor,
Phœnix,
Phalis,

* * * * * * * * *

An anonymous king,

* * * * * * * * *

Tetramneſtus,

* * * * * * * * *

Tennes,
Strato,
Ballonymus, Allbdolominus, Abdolomitus, or *Alonymus.*

[a] Vid. JOSEPH. contr. AP. l. 1. [b] AFRICAN. apud SYNCELL. p. 17.

(A) We have already given ſeveral proofs to evince this. We ſhall add, that the compiler of the *Alexandrine Chronicle* (1), ſpeaking of the *Canaanites* driven out by *Joſhua*, calls them, in part, *Phœnicians*.

(1) P. 183. 1.

KINGS

KINGS and JUDGES of *Tyre.*	Reigned According to MENAND. EPHES.	According to THEOPHIL. ANTIOC.
* * * *		
Abibal, or *Abeimal*,		
Hiram, *Hierom*, *Hieromen*, *Irom*, *Chiram*, or *Suron*,		
Baleaſtartus, or *Bazor*,	7 Years - - -	- - - 17 Years
Abdaſtartus,	9 - - - - - -	- - - - 12
The eldeſt of the murderers of *Abdaſtartus*,	12 - - - - - -	- - - -
Aſtartus,	12 - - - - - -	- - - -
Aſtapimus, or *Atharymus*,	9 - - - - - -	- - - -
Phelles, or *Helles*,	8 Months - -	- - - -
Ethbal, *Ithobal* or *Futhobal*,	32 Years - - -	- - - - 12
Badezor, or *Bazor*,	6 - - - - - -	- - - - 7
Badezor's ſon, *Mettinus*,	9 - - - - - -	- - - - 29
Pygmalion,	40 - Years - -	- - - - -
* * * * *		
Elulæus,	36 - - - - - -	- - - -
* * * * *		
Ithobal,		
Baal,	10	
Judges: *Ecnibal*, - - -	2 Months -	- - - -
Chelbis, - - -	10 - - - - - -	- - - -
Abbar, the H. Prieſt,	3 - - - - - -	- - - -
Mytonus and *Geraſtus*,	6 - - - - - -	- - - -
Balator, - - -	1 - - - - - -	- - - -
Merbal, - - -	4 - - - - - -	- - - -

KINGS and JUDGES of *Tyre*.	Reigned Accord. to Menand. Ephes.	Accord. to Theophil.
Irom,	20	
† *Massen*,		
† *Strato*,		
* * * * *		
Azelmic,		
* * * * *		
Marion.		

The KINGS *of* ARAD, *or* ARADUS.

* * * * * * *	
Arbal,	
Narbal,	
* * * * * * *	
Geroſtratus	

We need only refer the reader to the very unaccountable difference between *Menander* the *Epheſian*, and *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, in their reigns of the *Tyrian* princes, to judge of the impoſſibility of fixing on any thing certain in the chronology of even the beſt and cleareſt times of the *Phœnicians* in general.

SECT. IV.

The Phœnician *Kings from the antient fabulous Hiſtory of the* Greeks.

Agenor.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of the *Phœnician* kings, we are, in ſome manner, obliged to inſert the following dark and fabulous account of the family of *Agenor*, the firſt king of *Phœnice* mentioned by the *Greeks*.

Agenor and Belus were, according to *Apollodorus* [a], the ſons of *Neptune* by *Libya*, daughter of *Epaphus*, who was king of a part of *Egypt*. *Belus* reigned in *Egypt*, and married *Anchinœ*, daughter of *Nilus*, by whom he had *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. *Agenor* paſſed from *Egypt* into *Phœnice*, where he ſettled, and became the father of a numerous race. He married *Telephaſſa* (*Stephanus* calls her *Telephe*) by whom

[a] l. 2.

he

he had *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cilix* [b], and, according to *Pauſanias*, *Electra* [c], and *Thaſus* [d]. *Pherecides*, as quoted by the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius*, gives him two wives, the one named *Damno*, by whom he had *Phœnix*, *Iſæa*, and *Melia*; the other called *Argiope*, who was mother to *Cadmus* and *Europa*. *Plutarch* mentions a fourth wife, called *Dioripppe*, who brought forth *Sipylus* [e]. *Antonius Liberalis* a fifth, named *Caſſiopea*, who bore him a daughter, by name *Carina*. And *Cedrenus* a ſixth, whom he calls *Tyrus*, pretending, that the city of *Tyre* borrowed its name from her. *Europa* (whom ſome writers will have to be the daughter of *Phœnix* and not of *Agenor*) was ſtolen by *Jupiter*, transformed into a bull, that is, in a ſhip named the bull; or bearing the figure of a bull in her ſtern, and carried into *Crete*. *Agenor*, being extremely grieved for the loſs of his daughter, ſent his ſon *Cadmus* with a great ſum of money in queſt of her: but he, not finding her, nor daring to return home without her, reſolved to go and ſettle elſewhere. With this deſign having fitted out a ſmall fleet, he put to ſea, and landed in *Thrace*, where he had the good luck to diſcover a gold mine, in the mount *Pangæus*. Being enriched with that metal, and in a condition to purſue his deſign, he was adviſed by the oracle of *Delphos* to leave *Thrace*, and paſs into *Bœotia*, which he did accordingly; and having driven out the *Hyantes*, who oppoſed him, and allowed the *Aones*, who voluntarily ſubmitted to him, to live in the country mixed with his *Phœnicians*, he founded a new kingdom, and built a city; which in derivation from his own name, he called *Cadmea*. That city was afterwards embelliſhed, and enlarged by *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the two ſons of *Antiope* (for they invaded the throne, during the minority of *Laius*, the ſon of *Labdacus* *Cadmus*'s grand-ſon) and by them called *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt, by the mother's ſide [f] (A).

ISAEA

[b] Idem l. 3. [c] PAUSAN. in BOEOT. [d] Idem in ELIAC.
[e] PLUTARCH de Fluviis. [f] PAUSAN. in Bœot.

(A) We find ſuch a diſagreement among authors, in the accounts they give of *Agenor* and his deſcendants, that it is impoſſible to come at the truth of the matter; and therefore not worth our while to attempt the unravelling of ſo perplexed and intricate a ſubject. What moſt authors ſeem to agree upon, is; I. That *Agenor* was by birth an *Egyptian*; that from *Egypt*, he paſſed (on what occaſion we know not) into *Phœnice*, where he ſettled and became the father of a numerous race. II. All the *Greek* writers agree him to have been the firſt king of *Phœnice*, and the founder of the cities of *Sidon* and *Tyre*.

But

Isaea and *Melia*, *Agenor*'s two daughters, married *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, their couſin germans. *Cilix* is ſaid, by *Apollodorus* [g], to have ſettled in *Cilicia*, and given his name to that

[g] Apollod. l. 3.

But in the ſucceſſion of the kings, ſome of the *Latins* place *Belus* the elder before him; and moſt of the moderns, upon the authority of *Joſephus* (1), make *Sidon* the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, founder of the city of *Sidon*, which was ſo called from him. And as to the city of *Tyre*, the ſame *Joſephus* tells us, that it was founded 240 years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple: from whence it is plain, if we follow *Joſephus* (whoſe authority, as to this particular, is far preferable to that of the *Greeks*) that theſe two cities were not built by one and the ſame perſon. *Tyre* was, without doubt, a colony of the *Sidonians*, it being called in ſcripture *the daughter of Sidon* (2). And *Juſtin* tells us, in expreſs terms, that the city of *Tyre* was built before the taking of *Troy*, by the *Sidonians*, who being driven out of their own country, by the king of the *Aſcalonians* were forced to ſeek new ſeats (3). III. It is agreed upon by moſt of the antients, that *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, and *Cilix*, were the children of *Agenor*; and that with them a great many *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* went into *Aſia Minor*, *Crete*, *Greece*, and *Libya*; and there introduced letters, muſic, poetry, and other arts, ſciences, and cuſtoms of the *Phœnicians*. It is pretended that *Europa* being carried away by *Taurus* king of *Crete*, *Agenor* ſent her brother in queſt of her; who, on that occaſion, as they were enjoined not to return without her, founded ſeveral *Phœnician* colonies in *Aſia Minor*, *Greece* and *Libya*; which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter. But Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that theſe *Phœnicians* went not to ſeek *Europa* but new ſeats, being driven out of *Sidon* by the *Edomites*, whom *David* had conquered and diſperſed. For, according to his computation, the conqueſt of the land of *Edom* by *David*, the coming of *Cadmus* into *Greece*, and the founding of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, and other *Phœnician* colonies in other parts, happened much about the ſame time. The *Edomites*, ſays he, not being able to withſtand *David*, abandoned *Edom*, and fled, ſome into *Egypt* with their young king *Hadad*, others to the *Perſian* gulph with their commander *Oannes*; and ſome from the *Red-ſea* to the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, where they fortified *Azoth* againſt *David*; and driving out the *Sidonians*, made themſelves maſters of their city, it being very convenient for the merchants, who fled from the *Red-ſea*. The *Sidonians*, being thus expelled, went in great numbers under *Cadmus* and his brothers into *Cilicia*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Greece*; while others fled under other leaders to ſeek new ſeats in *Libya*, where they built, as we are told by *Nonnus* (4), many walled towns. Their leader was alſo there called *Cadmus* (which imports, a man come from the eaſt), and his wife *Sithonis* a *Sidonian*. Sir *Iſaac* adds, that ſome of the *Sidonians*, who

(1) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 2. *c.* 6. (2) *Iſa. xxiii.* 12. (3) *Juſtin l.* 18. *c.* 3. (4) *Dionyſiac. l.* 13.

were

that country. He adds, that *Thasus* built the city of *Thasos* in *Thrace*, which is confirmed by *Pausanias* [h]. All we know of *Electra* is, that one of the gates of *Thebes* borrowed its name from her [i]. Of *Sipylus* we read in *Plutarch* [k], that mount *Sipylus* was so called from him. We shall have occasion to relate, more at length, what we read of *Cadmus* in the antient *Greek* writers, when we come to write the history of the *Theban* kings.

PHOENIX is supposed by the *Greeks* to have succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phœnice*, or rather of *Sidon*; which city, as likewise that of *Tyre*, they pretend to have been built by *Agenor*, wherein they are followed, among the *Latins*, by Q. *Curtius* [l]. That country, according to them, borrowing its name from *Phœnix* was called *Phœnice*, and the inhabitants *Phœnicians*. *Eusebius* adds [m], that he was the first who found out the scarlet colour, which was therefore called at first *Phœnicius*, and afterwards, with a small alteration, *Puniceus color*. *Phœnix.*

THE next king of *Sidon* we meet with in history is PHALIS, who flourished in the time of the *Trojan* war. He *Phalis.*

[h] PAUSAN in Elia, de Fluviis. [i] Idem in Bœot. [l] Q. CURTIUS l. 4. [k] PLUTARCH. [m] Præpar. Evang.

were driven out by the *Edomites* flying from *David*, laid the first foundations of the cities of *Tyre* and *Arad*, and made *Abibalus*, their leader, king of *Tyre*. So that according to his computation, *Tyre* was built in the time of *David*, and about the 16th year of his reign (5). But this is plainly contradicted by *Josephus*, who tells us, that *Tyre* was built two hundred and forty years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple (6); which work *Solomon* undertook in the eleventh year of the reign of *Hiram*, son and successor to *Abibal* king of *Tyre*. It is therefore plain, both from *Josephus*, and the *Tyrian* annals, which he quotes, that *Abibal* was not the founder of *Tyre*, and that that city was built long before *David*'s time.

Neither was *Abibal* the first king of *Tyre*, though he is the first we find mentioned in history; as appears from the same *Josephus*, who, in speaking of *Menander*'s history, tells us, that *Menander*, after having given an account of the reigns of the other kings of *Phœnice*, comes at last to *Hiram*, who was assumed to the throne upon the death of his father *Abibal* (8). From which passage it is manifest (if we give credit to *Josephus* and *Menander*), that *Abibal* was preceded by several other kings, whose reigns and actions *Menander* had described.

(5) *Sir Isaac Newton Chronol. of ant. kingd. Amend.* (6) *Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.* (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Joseph. contr. Apion. l. 1.*

prove l

proved a faithful ally to the *Greeks*, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours, though in vain, to draw *Sarpedon*, king of *Lycia*, over to their ſide [n]. He is mentioned by *Homer* [o] and honoured with the title of *moſt illuſtrious*.

These are the kings of *Sidon* we find mentioned in the antient *Greek* writers; but as their accounts are no ways to be depended upon, being interwoven, and darkened with a thouſand fables, we have thought fit to treat of them apart, leſt we ſhould ſeem to confound what is fabulous with what is truly hiſtorical.

SECT. V.

The Reigns of the Kings of Phoenice.

PHOENICE, as we have ſaid, was divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms; for beſides the kings of *Sidon*, and *Tyre* mentioned in ſcripture, we read in hiſtory of *Elbaſus* king of *Berytus*, to whom *Sanchoniatho*, according to *Euſebius* [a], dedicated his hiſtory of *Erylus* king of *Byblus* [b], and of other *Phœnician* kings [c], whoſe dominions were confined within the narrow bounds of one city, and its territory.

Of all the kings of *Phœnice*, thoſe of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Arad*, ſeem to have been the moſt powerful and wealthy, and make the beſt figure in hiſtory. But their ſucceſſions, and the years of their reſpective reigns, are over-caſt with ſuch a miſt, and interrupted with ſo many chaſms, that it is no eaſy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we ſhall here produce what occurs in hiſtory relating thereto, and ſeems chiefly to be depended upon. We will begin with *Sidon*, the moſt antient city of *Phœnice*.

The KINGS of SIDON.

Sidon. Sidon, the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, was, according to *Joſephus* [d], the founder, and very likely, the firſt king of this city, or at leaſt, the father of the people. But as to his actions, or the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. Neither are we better acquainted with the kings who ſucceeded him; for though the *Sidonians* are mentioned in the hiſtories of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and the *Judges*, yet we find not, in holy writ, expreſs mention made of their kings, till

[n] Dictys. l. 1. [o] Odyſſ. 8. [a] Euseb. præparat. Evangel. l. 1. c. 6. [b] Arrian. l. 2. [c] Strabo l. 16. [d] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c 7.

the

the time of the prophet *Jeremiah*, who ſpeaks of ambaſſadors ſent, (on what occaſion we know not) by the king of *Sidon* to *Zedekiah*, king of *Judah* [c].

THE next king we find mentioned in hiſtory, is TETRAMNESTUS, who aſſiſted *Xerxes*, in his expedition againſt *Greece*, with three hundred gallies, and is counted by *Herodotus* [f] among the chief commanders of the *Perſian* navy. *Tetramneſtus.*

TENNES appears next: it is uncertain whom he ſucceeded. In his reign the *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, not being able to bear the haughty behaviour, and tyrannical proceedings of thoſe whom *Darius Ochus*, king of *Perſia*, had ſet over them, entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebes* king of *Egypt* [g], and roſe up in arms, with deſign to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, and recover their antient liberty. As the *Perſians* were then making vaſt preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, which they could not well approach, but by marching through *Phœnice*, this revolt happened very opportunely for *Nectanebes*. Therefore, to encourage the *Phœnicians* to ſtand out in it, he ſent a body of four thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to their aſſiſtance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnice* a kind of *Barrier* to *Egypt*, and carry on the war at a diſtance. On the other ſide, *Tennes* king of *Sidon* (which city then exceeeded all the others of *Phœnice* in wealth) having fitted out with great expedition a powerful fleet, and raiſed a conſiderable army in his own dominions, took the field; and, being ſtrengthened by the *Greek* auxiliaries, engaged, and routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, whom *Ochus* had ſent to reduce him, and drove the *Perſians* quite out of *Phœnice*. The *Sidonians*, on their firſt taking up of arms, had laid waſte a delicious garden belonging to the kings of *Perſia*, cutting down all the trees wherein they took great delight; ſeized, and burnt all the forage which the *Perſian* governor had laid up for the ſubſiſtence of his cavalry; and what is ſtill worſe, puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch of their *Perſian* oppreſſors as fell into their hands. *Ochus* was provoked to ſuch a degree at theſe proceedings of the *Sidonians*, eſpecially after news was brought him of his lieutenants being defeated, and the *Perſians* driven out of *Phœnice*; that now he breathed nothing but revenge, threatening total deſtruction not only to the *Sidonians* but to all the inhabitants of *Phœnice*. Being thus bent upon revenge, he drew together all the forces he could, and having muſtered them at *Babylon* marched from thence into *Phœnice*, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand foot and thirty

[c] Jerem. c. xxvii. 3.

[f] HERODOT. l. 7.

[g] See before, p. 67.

thouſand

thouſand horſe. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon*, being terrified at the approach of ſo powerful an army, ſent privately a truſty ſervant of his own, called *Theſſalion* to the king of *Perſia*, offering not only to put him in poſſeſſion of *Sidon*, but likewiſe to aſſiſt him in the reducing of *Egypt*; where, as he was well acquainted with the country, he was capable of doing him good ſervice. *Ochus*, glad of this proffer, ſpared no promiſes to engage *Mentor* in his ſervice; who, having received ſuch aſſurances from the king of *Perſia* as he deſired, found means to draw *Tennes* king of *Sidon* into the ſame treaſon. In the mean time the *Sidonians*, not miſtruſting *Mentor*, and much leſs their own king, were preparing for a vigorous defence. The city was furniſhed with arms and proviſions of all ſorts to hold out a long ſiege, and the citizens had drawn a treble trench and a high wall round them. Beſides the mercenaries, the place was garriſoned with a brave body of tall, handſome, and ſtout *Sidonians*, all well exerciſed, and trained up in martial diſcipline; and the ſea-coaſt was guarded with a fleet of an hundred large gallies. But all was to no purpoſe; for *Tennes* no ſooner heard that the *Perſian* army was drawing near, but, feigning to go to the general aſſembly of the *Phœnicians*, he marched out with a body of five hundred men, and, taking along with him an hundred of the chief citizens to be created ſenators, as he pretended, went ſtrait to the enemy's camp, and delivered them up to *Ochus*, who received him as a friend, but cauſed all the citizens, as authors of the rebellion, to be immediately put to death. This ſeverity of *Ochus*, joined with the treachery of *Tennes*, ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Sidonians*, that five hundred more of the citizens, all men of rank, went out to throw themſelves at their enemy's feet, and implore his mercy with all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion imaginable. *Ochus*, on ſeeing them, aſked *Tennes*, whether it was in his power to put him in poſſeſſion of the city, for he was unwilling to take it upon treaty, being bent on the utter ruin of the *Sidonians*, in hopes, that ſuch an inſtance of ſeverity would make the other *Phœnicians* voluntarily ſubmit. *Tennes* aſſured him, he could deliver the city into his hands whenever he pleaſed: whereupon *Ochus* cauſed the five hundred citizens, though they were come out with olive branches in their hands, as badges of ſubmiſſion, to be ſhot with darts upon the ſpot. After this *Ochus* and *Tennes* marched at the head of the *Perſian* army towards the city, and were admitted, without the leaſt oppoſition, by *Mentor* and the *Greek* mercenaries, to whom *Tennes*, in leaving the city, had delivered up one of the gates for that end. The *Sidonians*, on the approach of *Ochus*'s army,

army, had designedly burnt all their ships, to prevent any one's withdrawing himself from the defence of his country: and therefore finding themselves thus betrayed, and the enemy within the walls, without any means left them to make their escape either by sea or land, they shut themselves up with their wives and children in their houses, and, setting fire to them consumed themselves, to the number of forty thousand, and the most valuable things they had, in the flames. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his subjects; for *Ochus* seeing he could do him no further service, and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he himself had brought upon his country. As *Sidon* was at that time in a very flourishing condition, and the most wealthy city of *Phœnice*; a vast quantity of gold and silver was melted down by the flames, and found in the ashes, which *Ochus* sold for great sums of money. The ruin and total destruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the design he had upon *Egypt*. And thus all *Phœnice* was again brought under the *Persian* yoke [h], and the prophecies of *Isaiah* [i], *Jeremiah* [k], *Ezekiel* [l], and *Zechariah* [m], touching the destruction of *Sidon*, fulfilled. Year of the Flood, 2648. Year before Christ 351.

AFTER *Tennes* reigned STRATO; for such of the *Sidonians*, as by being absent on traffic at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped the massacre, returning home after *Ochus* was gone back into *Persia*, rebuilt the city; but ever afterwards bore an immortal aversion to the *Persian* name. No wonder then if, a few years after, they so readily submitted to *Alexander the Great*, and so greedily embraced that opportunity of shaking off the yoke they groaned under. For the *Sidonians* are counted among the first in those parts, who sent ambassadors to *Alexander*, as he marched through *Phœnice*, to make their submission to him. *Strato*, as it seems, did not approve of this resolution, but could not prevent it, the citizens being obstinately bent against the *Persians*. For we are told, that *Alexander* deprived him of the crown, because he submitted at the instigation of the citizens, and not of his own accord [n]. *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Athæneus* [o], gives him *Strato.* Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Christ 332.

[h] DIOD. SIC. l. 16.
[i] Isa. xxiii.
[k] Jerem. xlvii.
[l] Ezek. xxviii, and xxxii. & DIOD. SICUL. l. 17.
[m] Zech. ix.
[n] CURT. l. 4.
[o] l. 12. c. 13.

the

the character of a moſt lewd and voluptuous prince, and tells us in particular, that in order to aſſemble the women, and have thereby an opportunity of chooſing the moſt beautiful for his own uſe, he inſtituted public ſports for them, conſiſting chiefly in dancing and ſinging, wherein ſuch as excelled the others were amply rewarded. *Ælian* [p] ſays, he died an unnatural death. Of one *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, S. *Jerom* [q] relates, that having adhered to the king of *Egypt* againſt the *Perſians*, and finding himſelf in danger of falling into the hands of an enemy, from whom he had no reaſon to expect any favour, he reſolved to prevent the impending calamity, by laying violent hands on himſelf; but fainting in the execution of his deſign, his wife, who was preſent, ſnatching, with a manly reſolution, the ſword out of his hand, freed him from that perplexity, by putting firſt him, and then herſelf, to death, without ſhewing the leaſt concern. But the circumſtances of this king's death, if true, plainly ſhew, that he was not the ſame perſon whom *Alexander the Great* ſtript of his dominions, on account of his attachment to the *Perſian* intereſt. This *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, is alſo mentioned by *Maximus Tyrius* [r].

Ballonymus.

Strato was ſucceeded by Ballonymus, of whoſe aſſumption to the throne we have the following account from *Diodorus* [s]. *Alexander*, having depoſed *Strato*, gave *Hephæſtion* power to beſtow the crown of *Sidon* upon which of his friends he pleaſed. Whereupon *Hephæſtion* named to the royal dignity one of the chief citizens, in whoſe houſe he then lodged, and was ſplendidly entertained; deſiring him to accept of it as a pledge of his friendſhip, and an acknowledgment of the many favours he had received in his houſe. The citizen, not at all dazled at the ſight of a crown, returned his generous gueſt a thouſand thanks, but at the ſame time earneſtly begged he would excuſe him from aſſuming a dignity, to which he had no title, as not being of the royal family. *Hephæſtion* was not a little ſurpriſed at this anſwer; but finding the *Sidonian* to be in earneſt, deſired he would name ſome one of the royal race to be inveſted with the dignity himſelf had refuſed. Upon this he named *Ballonymus*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, but ſo poor, that he was reduced to live in a very obſcure condition, and to maintain himſelf with his daily labour. However, his poverty and mean condition were no objection to *Hephæſtion*, who immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to him with the royal robes, and

[p] l. 7. c. 2. [q] Contra Jovian. l. 1. [r] Serm. 4. [s] Ubi ſupr.

tidings

tidings of his elevation to the throne. The meſſenger found him all in rags, and working in a garden as a common labourer. He was actually employed in drawing water out of a well, when the meſſenger acquainted him with his aſſumption to the throne, and cloathed him with the royal robes. He accepted without more ado the new dignity, and proceeding, with the meſſenger, towards the city, was there received by *Hephæſtion* with all the marks of diſtinction due to his character, and by him introduced into the *Forum*, where among the joyful ſhouts of the people who were extremely pleaſed with this election, he was proclaimed king of *Sidon* *. The ſame occurrence is related, with ſome ſmall variations of circumſtances, by *Plutarch* [t], *Curtius* [u], and *Juſtin* [x]. *Plutarch* makes this king *Alonymus*; *Curtius* calls him *Abdolominus*, and *Juſtin Abdolomius*. *Plutarch* makes him king of *Paphus*; and *Diodorus* both him and his predeceſſor kings of *Tyre*. But in this particular we have abandoned him to follow the current of moſt writers, who place both *Strato* and *Ballonymus* (as *Diodorus* calls him) among the kings of *Sidon*. All we know of his reign is, that to the laſt he proved faithful to the *Macedonians*, to whom he was indebted for his crown. And now that we have brought the kings of *Sidon* down to the conqueſt of *Phœnice* by the *Macedonians*, let us turn back to the kings of *Tyre*.

KINGS of TYRE.

WE are left quite in the dark as to the ſeries of the kings who reigned at *Tyre* before *Abibal*, with whom *Joſephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus* begin the ſucceſſion they have furniſhed us with from *Menander* the *Epheſian* and *Dius*, both authors, as *Joſephus* calls them [y], of unqueſtionable credit. *Dius*, who was by birth a *Phœnician*, wrote the hiſtory of *Tyre* extracted from the public records, which were carefully preſerved in that city. And *Menander* compiled the lives and actions of princes both *Greek* and *Barbarian*, as the ſame *Joſephus* tells us [z], from the public archives of the places he treats of.

THE firſt king of *Tyre* mentioned by theſe hiſtorians, as quoted by *Joſephus* and *Theophilus*, is ABIBAL, as *Joſephus* calls him [a], or *Abeimal*, as he is named by *Theophilus* [b]. As *Abibal.*

* DIOD. SIC. ibid. [t] PLUTARCH. de fortuna Alexandri. [u] CURTIUS l. 4. [x] JUSTIN l. 11. [y] JOSEPH. contra APION. l. 1. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] THEOPHIL. ANTIOCH. l. 3.

to his actions and years of his reign we are left quite in the dark. He was contemporary with *David*, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations against him, since *David* counts *the inhabitants of Tyre* among his enemies [c]. The *Tyrian* officers, who served the *Philistines* against *Samuel*, as we are told by *Syracides* [d], might have been sent by him. But these are, we own, bare conjectures, since neither *Josephus*, nor *Theophilus*, make any mention of his friendship or enmity towards the *Jews*.

Hiram. Year of the Flood, 1987. Year before Christ 1012

Abibal was succeeded by his son Hiram, whom *Theophilus* calls sometimes *Hieramus*, and sometimes *Hieromenus*, *Josephus*, *Hiram* and *Irom*, *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiramus*. This prince maintained a strict friendship with king *David*, to whom he sent ambassadors, probably to congratulate him upon his victory over the *Jebusites*, whom he had just then driven from the strong hold of *Zion*, and to conclude an alliance with him. He presented him with cedar-trees, and sent skilful workmen to build him a palace in *Jerusalem* [e]. And hence he is said in scripture to have been ever a *lover of David* [f]; which shews, that he was not only a faithful ally, but a sincere friend of *David*'s. Upon the death of *David* and the succession of *Solomon* to the throne, the affection *Hiram* had ever maintained for the father, prompted him to send a gratulatory embassy to the son, upon the news of his accession to the government, expressing great joy to see it continued in the family. Upon the return of these ambassadors, *Solomon* embraced the occasion, and wrote a letter to *Hiram* in these terms.

King Solomon to King Hiram, greeting.

Be it known to thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in his mind to erect a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war, and under a necessity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me in time of peace, both to begin, and to finish it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction of Almighty God. Blessed be his great name for the present tranquillity of my dominions! and by his gracious assistance, I shall now dedicate the best improvements of this liberty and leisure to his honour and worship. Wherefore I make it my request, that you will let some of your people go along with some servants of mine to mount Libanus, *to assist them in cutting down materials towards this building;*

[c] Psal. lxxxiii. 7. [d] Eccles. xlvi. [e] 2 Sam. v. 11. and 1 Chr. xiv. 1. [f] 1 Kings v. 1.

for

for the SIDONIANS *understand it much better than we do. As for the workmens reward, or wages, whatever you think reasonable shall be punctually paid them.*

HIRAM was much pleased with *Solomon*'s letter, and returned him the following answer:

King HIRAM to King SOLOMON.

NOTHING *could have been more welcome to me, than to understand, that the government of your blessed father is devolved by God's providence into the hands of so excellent, so wise, and so virtuous a successor; his holy name be praised for it! That which you write for, shall be done with all care and good will: for I will give order to cut down and export such quantities of the fairest Cedars and Cypress-trees, as you shall have "occasion for. My people shall bring them to the sea-side for u, and from thence ship them away to what part you please, where they may lie ready for your own men to transport them to* Jerusalem. *It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us such a provision of corn in exchange, as may stand with your convenience; for that is the commodity we islanders want most* [g].

JOSEPHUS assures us, that the originals of these letters were extant in his time, both in the *Jewish* and *Tyrian* records (B) [h]. And they are entirely agreeable with what is delivered in scripture upon the same subject [i]. *Solomon* was highly pleased with *Hiram*'s answer, and, in return for his generous offers, ordered him a yearly present of twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oil [k]. Besides the cedar-wood, and other materials for the building of the temple, *Hiram* sent to *Solomon* a man, who was very famous in *Tyre*, for working in gold, silver, and other metals, to assist and direct him in that great undertaking [l]. Nei-

[g] JOSEPH. l. 8. c. 2. [h] Idem ibid. [i] 1 Kings v. 2. & seq. [k] 1 Kings v. 11. [l] 2 Chron. ii. 13.

(B) But it is pretty odd, that *Eusebius* (1), who calls this king *Suron*, should give us this letter with so much variation from *Josephus* as he does. He therein specifies, that he had sent to *Solomon* eighty thousand *Phœnicians* and *Tyrians* . . . That the architect he sent him was a *Tyrian* by birth; but that by the mother's side he was descended of the tribe of *David*, and the like.

(1) *Præpar. Evang. l.* 9. *p.* 449

ther did *Hiram*'s friendſhip and kindneſs towards *Solomon* ſtop here; for he not only furniſhed him with the choiceſt wood from mount *Libanus*, and able architects and workmen, but moreover advanced him 120 talents of gold for the finiſhing of the fabric [m]. And *Solomon* was not behind-hand with him neither, in his acknowledgments and preſents; for, beſides the yearly ſupply of wheat and oil above-mentioned, he beſtowed upon him twenty cities in the land of *Galilee* [n], not far from *Tyre*; which *Hiram* upon a view of them (they not being much to his liking) fairly declined, with a reſpectful excuſe to *Solomon*, that he had no need of thoſe cities. From this refuſal, that part of the country was called *Cabul*, that is, *diſpleaſing* [o].

Hiram proved no leſs ſerviceable to *Solomon* in the building of his fleet, than in perfecting the grand work of the temple. For he no ſooner heard, that *Solomon* deſigned to build a fleet at *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*, two ſeaport towns on the *Red-ſea*, in order to carry on a trade from thence to *Ophir*, but he generouſly furniſhed him with as many builders and ſhipwrights as he had occaſion for: and after having thus aſſiſted him in building, fitting, and rigging out of his navy, he ſent him expert pilots and ſkilful mariners, to conduct his fleets to the land of *Ophir*; the *Tyrians* being in thoſe days, and for many ages after, the moſt experienced of all men in ſea affairs [p].

Dius, as quoted by *Joſephus* [q], tells us, that the love of wiſdom was the chief inducement to that tenderneſs of friendſhip betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram*; that they interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he who failed of the ſolution, ſhould incur a forfeiture; and that *Hiram*, finding the queſtion too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one *Abdemonus*, a *Tyrian*, reſolved the ſaid queſtion, and propoſed new ones to *Solomon*, upon the penalty of paying ſo much to *Hiram*, if he did not uncypher them.

The kingdom of *Tyre* was in a very flouriſhing condition under this prince. He repaired and improved divers cities in the eaſtern parts of his dominions; enlarged *Tyre*, and, by the help of a dam, joined it to the temple of the *Olympian Jupiter* ſtanding in an iſland. In this temple he dedicated a golden pillar to *Jupiter*. He built two temples, one to *Her-*

[m] 1 Kings ix. 14. [n] 1 Kings ix. 11. & Joseph. ubi ſupr,
[o] 1 Kings ix. 13. & Joseph. ubi ſupr. [p] 1 Kings ix. 27. and 2 Chron. viii. 18. & Joseph. ubi ſupr. [q] Joseph. ubi ſupr. & l. 1. contra Apion.

cules,

cules, another to *Aſtarte*, and beautified them with rich donatives. To *Hercules* he alſo erected a ſtatue, and is ſaid to have repaired the temples of other gods, and to have enriched them with offerings to a very great value[r]. *Hiram*, it ſeems, was rather a religious, than a warlike prince; for the only military expedition we read of, during his reign, is that which he undertook againſt the *Lyceans*, who refuſed to pay him a certain tribute that was due to him, but were reduced in a very ſhort time.

IT is related by *Tatian*, from *Theodotus*, *Hyſicrates*, and *Mochus*, three *Phœnician* hiſtorians, that king *Hiram* gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*: he adds, that by her *Solomon* was induced to worſhip *Aſhtaroth*, the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*[s]. *Hiram* lived 53 years, and reigned 34[t].

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon BALEAZAR, BALEASTARTUS, or BAZOR, as *Theophilus* calls him, who reigned ſeven years according to *Joſephus*, and ſeventeen according to *Theophilus*, and died in the forty third year of his age[u]. *Baleazar.*

ABDASTARTUS, the ſon of *Baleazar*, ſucceeded his father, and died according to *Joſephus*, in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. *Theophilus* ſays, he died at the age of fifty four, after having reigned twelve years. This prince was murdered by his nurſe's four ſons, and the eldeſt of them uſurped the kingdom, and governed twelve years. *Abdaſtartus.*

ASTARTUS, the brother of *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the throne to his family, lived ſixty ſix years, and reigned twelve. *Aſtartus.*

AFTER him, came his brother ASTARIMUS, who lived, if we believe *Joſephus*, fifty four years, and reigned twelve. *Theophilus* calls him *Athbarymus*, and ſays, that he lived fifty eight years. He was murdered by his brother *Phelles*, who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age. *Aſtarimus.*

PHELLES, or, as *Theophilus* calls him, HELLES, did not long enjoy the throne he had wreſted to himſelf, by ſo baſe and wicked an act, being murdered in the eighth month of his reign by *Phelles.*

ITHOBAL, whom *Theophilus* names *Futhobal*, ſon to *Aſtarimus*, and chief prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarte*; which dignity was next to that of the king. *Ithobal* lived to the age of ſixty eight years, and ruled thirty two, ſays *Joſephus*: but if we credit *Theophilus*, he lived but forty years, and reigned but twelve. He is called in ſcripture *Eth-baal*, and ſtiled king of the *Sidonians*[x]. *Joſephus* gives him the title of king of *Ithobal.*

[r] MENAND. EPHES. & DIUS apud JOSEPH. ubi ſupr. [s] TATIAN. orat. contra Græcos. [t] THEOPH. ANTIOCH. l. 3. [u] JOSEPH. l. 1. contra APION. JOSEPH. & THEOPH. ubi ſupr. [x] 1 Kings xvi. 31.

Tyre and *Sidon* [y]. Whence it is plain, that, in *Eth-baal*'s time, *Sidon* was subject to *Tyre*. When that subjection began is uncertain, for even in king *Hiram*'s time, the *Tyrians* were, in all probability, masters of *Sidon*; since *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, applied himself to *Hiram* for workmen of *Sidon*, who were famous for their skill in hewing of timber [z]. *Ithobal* built *Botrys* in *Phœnice*, and *Auzates* in *Africa* [a]. *Jezebel*, king *Ahab*'s wife (whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter), was daughter to this prince. *Menander*, as quoted by *Josephus*, tells us, that *in the time of* ETH-BAAL *king of* Tyre, *there was an extreme drought for want of rain, that lasted from the month* Hyperberetæus, *till the same month next year. There were prayers indeed*, says he, *put up for the averting of the judgment, which were followed with mighty claps of thunder* [b]. This was undoubtedly the drought under *Ahab*, for it was in his reign that *Eth-baal* was king of *Tyre*.

Badezor. AFTER him his son BADEZOR (who is called by *Theophilus* BAZOR) reigned, according to *Josephus*, six years, and lived forty five. *Theophilus* says he reigned seven.

Mettinus. HIS son METTINUS succeded him, and reigned nine years says *Josephus*, twenty nine says *Theophilus*. He died in the thirty second year of his age, leaving behind him two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and as many daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion. PYGMALION ascended the throne on the death of his father *Mettinus*, being at that time, as we are told by *Justin* [c], very young; that is, sixteen, according to the computation of *Josephus*, who supposes him to have lived fifty six years, and reigned forty [d]. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister *Elisa*, called also *Dido*, flying from *Tyre*, built *Carthage* in *Afric*. The occasion of her flight is commonly related thus. *Pygmalion* coveting the immense riches of his uncle *Sichæus*, who was a priest of *Hercules*, and had married his sister *Elisa*, determined by some means or other to make them his own. But as that could not be effected so long as *Sichæus* was alive, he invited him one day to hunt with him, and while those who attended him were engaged in the pursuit of a wild boar, ran him through with his spear; and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the

[y] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. & l. 9 c. 6. [z] 1 Kings v. 6. [a] MENAND. EPHES. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. [b] Idem ubi supr. [c] JUSTIN. l. 18. [d] JOSEPH. contra AP. l. 1.

fall

fall had been the occaſion of his death. *Juſtin* and *Virgil* ſay, that *Pygmalion* barbarouſly murdered his uncle at the altar [c]. But however that be, he reaped no fruit from his wicked attempt, being diſappointed, when he leaſt expected it, by the prudent and artful conduct of his ſiſter *Eliſa*; who, as ſhe was a woman of great ſagacity and penetration, well knew what had prompted him to the murder of her huſband; but at the ſame time, concealing her thoughts with an artful diſſimulation, ſhewed the ſame kindneſs and eſteem for him, as though ſhe had not entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of him. In the mean while, having formed a deſign of leaving *Tyre*, and ſaving both herſelf and the treaſures of her deceaſed huſband, from the cruel avarice of *Pygmalion*; under pretence of retiring to *Charta*, or *Chartaca*, a ſmall city between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, as if to live there with her brother *Barca*, ſhe deſired the king to furniſh her with men and ſhips to convey thither her effects. The covetous prince looked upon this as a fair opportunity of ſeizing at laſt what he had for ſo long a time ſo earneſtly deſired, though always in vain; becauſe *Sichæus*, who was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's avaritious temper, had taken care to conceal his riches under ground. With this view *Pygmalion* willingly granted *Eliſa* her demands; which he ſoon repented; for as ſhe was aſſiſted by her brother *Barca* and ſeveral ſenators, who were privy to her true deſign, and engaged to follow her at all adventures; her treaſures were put on ſhip-board, and the fleet out of ſight, before *Pygmalion* was appriſed of her reſolution. We are told, that, ſeeing himſelf thus deluded by a woman, and the vaſt riches, which he deemed already ſecured in his own coffers, ſnatched, by ſuch a cunning device, out of his hands, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out with all poſſible expedition, in order to purſue the fugitives; but was prevented by the tears of his mother, and the threats of an oracle. The firſt place our adventurers put into was the iſle of *Cyprus*, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, a commodity they wanted moſt of all, ſince their deſign was to plant a new colony. From *Cyprus* they ſteered their courſe for the coaſts of *Afric*, where they put an end to their voyage; and, being kindly entertained by the inhabitants of *Utica*, a *Tyrian* colony, laid the foundations of *Carthage*; a city, which, in after-ages, became ſo powerful both by ſea and land, as to contend with

[c] JUSTIN l. 11. VIRG. 1 Æneid.

Rome for the empire of the world [f]. From *Barca* ſprang the illuſtrious family of the *Barcæ* in *Afric*, which produced many celebrated heroes, and among others the great *Hannibal*. But of the *Carthaginian* affairs hereafter: Let us now return to *Phœnice*. *Pygmalion* is ſaid by *Stephanus* to have built the city of *Carpaſia* in the iſland of *Cyprus*. He ſent to the temple of *Hercules*, ſtanding in the iſland of *Gades*, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree of maſſive gold, and of moſt exquiſite and curious workmanſhip; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderous reſemblance with the natural fruit of that tree [g].

Elulæus. The next king of *Tyre* we find mentioned in hiſtory, is Elulæus, who reigned in the time of *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*. This prince, ſeeing the *Philiſtines* brought low by the war, which *Hezekiah* had made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing *Gath*, which had ſome time before revolted from the *Tyrians*. Whereupon the *Gittites*, applying themſelves to *Shalmaneſer*, engaged him in their cauſe; ſo that he marched at the head of a powerful army into *Phœnice*; but upon the concluſion of a peace between him and *Elulæus*, he withdrew his troops, and retired. Not long after *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palæ-Tyrus*, and ſeveral other maritime towns of *Phœnice*, revolting from the *Tyrians* proclaimed *Shalmaneſer* their king. Upon this, a new war being kindled between the *Tyrians* and *Aſſyrians*, *Shalmaneſer*, who could not abide to ſee, that the *Tyrians* were the only people in *Phœnice* that diſputed his power and authority, reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours towards the reducing of their city: and therefore, beſides his land forces, he ordered a fleet of ſixty ſail to be fitted out againſt them. But the fleet was encountered and diſperſed by the *Tyrians* with only twelve veſſels, and five hundred of the rowers were taken priſoners. This victory gained the *Tyrians* ſuch a reputation for naval affairs, that *Shalmaneſer*, dreading to engage them a ſecond time at ſea, turned the war into a ſiege, and leaving the army to block up the city, returned into *Aſſyria*. The forces he left behind him reduced the place to great ſtraits, by ſtopping the aqueducts, placing guards by the ſprings, and cutting off all the conveyances of water. However, by digging of wells within the city they found ſome

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before Chriſt 717.

[f] Justin. l. 18. Eustath. in Dionys. Velleius, vol. 2. Orosius l. 4. c. 2. Appianus de Bell. Pun. Liv. decad. 4. l. 4. Servius in 4. Æneid. Virg. Joseph. ubi ſupra, &c. [g] Philostrat. in vita Apollonii l. 5. c. 1.

relief

relief in their diſtreſs, which enabled them to hold out for the ſpace of five years; at the end of which, *Shalmaneſer* dying, the ſiege was raiſed [h]. *Elulæus* reigned thirty years.

ITHOBAL II. reigned in the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, who laid ſiege to the city of *Tyre*, which kept that mighty monarch, *that king of kings*, as the prophet *Ezekiel* ſtiles him [i], employed for thirteen years together [k]: ſuch was the power of the *Tyrians*, at that time. We have the deſcription of the ſiege in *Ezekiel* [l], who mentions a fort raiſed againſt the place, a mount caſt up, and engines of war erected to batter down its walls. At laſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a ſiege of thirteen years continuance, made himſelf maſter of the city; but as moſt part of the citizens had retired with all their effects elſewhere before he entered the city, he had nothing but an empty town for his pains, as is plain from the ſcripture, where it is ſaid: *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus .... yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus.* Therefore finding himſelf thus diſappointed, he vented his rage upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left, razing the town to the ground, and putting all he found in it to the ſword. To this deplorable condition was *Tyre* reduced by the *Babylonians*, and the ſevere prophecies, foretelling the overthrow of that city, plainly fulfilled [m]. *Ithobal*, in whoſe reign happened the deſtruction of *Tyre*, was, according to the character the prophet gives him [n], a moſt proud, arrogant, and aſſuming prince: pretended to know all ſecrets, to be as wiſe as *Daniel*, and even went ſo far as to rank himſelf among the gods; which brought that heavy judgment upon him, *becauſe thou haſt ſet thine heart as the heart of* GOD; *behold therefore, I will bring ſtrangers upon thee——they ſhall bring thee down to the pit, and thou ſhalt die the death of them that are ſlain in the midſt of the ſeas* [o]. From whence we may conclude, that in this war he was ſlain by the *Aſſyrians*.

Ithobal II. Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before Chriſt 585.

Year of the Flood, 2427. Year before Chriſt, 572.

As it is plain from ſcripture, that *Nebuchadnezzar* utterly deſtroyed the city of *Tyre*, which he found empty; and as, on the other hand, we are told by the *Phœnician* hiſtorians, that *Ithobal* was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Tyre* by *Baal*, and *Baal* by ſeveral temporary magiſtrates; it is very pro-

[h] JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. 9 c. 14. [i] Ezek. xxvi. 7. [k] PHILOSTRATUS apud JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. 10. c. 11. [l] Ezek. xxvi. 8. & ſeq. [m] Jerem. xxv. 22. xxvii. 3. xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxvi. 3. Amos i. 9. 10. Joel. iii 4. [n] Ezek. xxviii. 3, 4. [o] Idem ibid. ver. 6, 7, 8.

bable,

bable, that the inhabitants of *Tyre* retreated with their effects, before *Nebuchadnezzar* got poſſeſſion of the city, to an iſland about half a mile diſtant from the ſhore, where they built themſelves a new city; which, after the deſtruction of the old town, ſubmitted to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who thereupon

Baal. appointed *Baal* to be king under himſelf; but upon *Baal*'s death, in order to make the government more dependent on the *Aſſyrians*, changed the royal dignity into that of temporary magiſtrates, called *Suffetes* (C), or *Judges*; a name well known among the *Carthaginians*, who were originally *Tyrians*, and whoſe chief magiſtrates were called *Suffetes* [p].

Tyre governed by Judges.

Baal reigned ten years, and upon his death the following judges had the government of the city, *viz.* Ecnibal, the ſon of *Basbech*, two months; Chelbes, the ſon of *Abdæus*, ten months; the high-prieſt Abbar, three months; Mytgonus, or Myttonus, and Gerastus, the ſons of *Abdelimus*, ſix years. After *Tyre* had been thus governed for ſome years by judges, the royal dignity was reſtored,

Balator king. and Balator created king; but both he and his ſucceſſors were entirely dependent of, and tributaries to, the *Aſſyrians*, for the ſpace of ſeventy years; which being expired, they recovered, according to the prophecy of *Iſaiah* [q], their antient liberty and former privileges, of which in its proper place. *Balator* reigned but one year.

Merbal. Upon his death the *Tyrians* invited Merbal from *Babylon*, who reigned four years.

Irom. Merbal was ſucceeded by his brother Irom, who reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of *Irom*'s reign, *Cyrus*, according to the *Phœnician* annals, made himſelf maſter of the *Perſian* empire [r].

After *Merbal* reigned Mapen, the ſon of *Siron*. He ſerved in *Xerxes*'s navy againſt the *Greeks*; and, with the other commanders, adviſed him to engage the *Grecian* fleet at *Salamis* [s]. The *Tyrians*, as well as the other *Phœnicians*, were, at this time, as may be gathered from *Herodotus* [t], tributaries to the *Perſians*, though under a king of their own;

[p] Liv. l. 18. 30, & 34. Joseph. l. 1. contra Apion. [q] Iſai. xxiii. 15, 17. [r] Herod. l. 8. [s] Idem l. 3.

" (C) *Suffetes* . . . . had its derivation from the *Hebrew* word *Sophetim*, i. e. Judges, which was the very name, whereby the " chief governors of *Iſrael* were called for ſeveral generations, before they had kings (1).

(1) Prideaux's *connect. vol. i. p.* 92.

being

being greatly favoured by the *Perſian* monarchs, in conſideration of the ſervices they rendered them in their naval expeditions.

ABOUT this time reigned STRATO, whoſe acceſſion to the throne is related by *Juſtin* thus. The ſlaves who were then very numerous at *Tyre*, having formed a conſpiracy againſt their maſters, murdered them all in one night (except *Strato*, whom his ſlave ſecretly ſaved), and, taking poſſeſſion of the city, married their miſtreſſes, and put all the others to the ſword, who were not of their own race. Having thus not only recovered their liberty, but made themſelves abſolute lords of the ſtate, they reſolve to create a king out of their own body, and unanimouſly agree, that he ſhould be raiſed to that dignity, as being the moſt acceptable to the gods, who the next morning ſhould firſt ſee the riſing ſun. In purſuance of this reſolution and agreement, they appointed to meet about midnight in an open field, lying on the eaſt ſide of the city, and there, with one accord, beſtow the crown upon the perſon to whom the ſun ſhould ſhew himſelf firſt. In the mean time *Strato*'s ſlave having imparted the whole matter to his maſter, whom he kept carefully concealed, was by him inſtructed to turn himſelf, not to the eaſt, as the others would probably do, but to the weſt; and there keep his eyes fixed on the top of the higheſt tower of the city. The ſlave obeyed his maſter's directions, and was therefore looked upon by the whole multitude as no better than a mad-man; it ſeeming to them very ſtrange, that a man ſhould look for the riſing ſun in the weſt. But they were ſoon made ſenſible of their error; for while the others ſtood gazing towards the eaſt, in expectation of ſeeing the ſun appear, *Strato*'s ſlave ſhewed them the high edifices of the city already illuminated with his rays: whereupon he was highly applauded by his companions, and eagerly preſſed to name the perſon to whom he was indebted for ſuch a wiſe thought; which they could not aſcribe to him, or any other ſlave. He refuſed at firſt to gratify their curioſity; but at laſt, upon promiſe of impunity for himſelf and the perſon he ſhould name, he owned that out of compaſſion and gratitude toward his maſter, who had always treated him with great humanity and kindneſs, he had ſaved both him and his ſon in the common maſſacre, and acted in the affair, they were ſo inquiſitive about, according to his directions. The multitude hearing this, not only pardoned the ſlave, but looked upon the maſter as one preſerved

Strato.

[n] JUSTIN. l. 18 c. 2.

by

by a particular providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed him their king. This is all we know of *Strato*.

Upon his death, his ſon was placed on the throne; and the kingdom of *Tyre* was enjoyed by his deſcendants [x], among whom, the only one we find mentioned in hiſtory is Azelmic, in whoſe reign happened the memorable ſiege and reduction of that city by *Alexander* the great [y]. We may judge of its flouriſhing condition at that time, from the ſtand it made againſt that victorious prince, ſince it ſtopped the courſe of his whole army full ſeven months. As the conqueror approached the territories of *Tyre*, the *Tyrians* ſent out ambaſſadors to meet him (amongſt whom was the king's own ſon), with preſents for himſelf, and proviſions for his army: but when he deſired to enter the city under pretence of offering ſacrifice to *Hercules*, they refuſed him admittance; which provoked *Alexander*, now fluſhed with ſo many victories, to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to ſtorm the city, and enter it by force. On the other hand, the *Tyrians* not at all terrified by *Alexander*'s threats, determined to ſtand it out to the laſt. What encouraged them to this reſolution was the ſtrength of the place, and the confidence they had in the *Carthaginians* their allies. The city then ſtood on an iſland, half a mile diſtant from the ſhore; was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall an hundred and fifty foot high, and was ſtored with great plenty of proviſions, and all ſorts of warlike machines: beſides the *Carthaginians*, who were a powerful ſtate, and then maſters of the ſeas, had promiſed to ſend them ſuccours during the war. What animated the *Tyrians* to ſtand a ſiege gave *Alexander* no ſmall uneaſineſs, in the undertaking and carrying it on. For he could no otherwiſe make his approaches to it, than by carrying a mole or cauſey from the continent to the iſland, on which the city ſtood. This grand work he undertook, and as he was reſolved at any rate to reduce the city, he accompliſhed it at laſt, maugre the innumerable, and almoſt inſurmountable difficulties he met with in ſo bold an attempt. He was aſſiſted in raiſing the mole (which was two hundred feet in breadth) by the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, who were all called in on this occaſion; and ſupplied with ſtones from the ruins of old *Tyre*, and with timber from mount *Libanus*. The *Tyrians* at firſt looked upon this undertaking as a raſh and deſperate attempt, which could never be attended with any ſucceſs: and therefore from their ſhips, laughing at the king, asked him, whether he believed himſelf to be greater than *Neptune*? But ſeeing the mole, contrary to their expectation, be-

Azelmic.

Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt 332.

[x] Idem. Ibid. [y] Arrianus l. 2.

ginning

ginning to appear above water, they reſolved for fear of the worſt, to ſend their wives and children and ſuch as were not fit for ſervice, to *Carthage*; but were prevented by the arrival of *Alexander*'s fleet from *Cyprus*. Neither could the *Carthaginians* aſſiſt them with the promiſed ſuccours, being detained at home by domeſtic troubles. However, the *Tyrians* fainted not in the reſolution of ſtanding to their defence; firſt from their ſhips, and afterwards, as the mole was brought nearer the city from the walls, with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, *&c.* wherewith they made a moſt dreadful havock of the *Macedonians*, who were employed in the work, and expoſed without any defence. But what moſt of all diſheartened the *Macedonians*, was a violent ſtorm, which ariſing all on a ſudden, carried away, in great part, the cauſey, after it had been, with unwearied labour and great loſs of men, brought near the walls of the city. This unlucky accident perplexed *Alexander* to ſuch a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the ſiege, and would have ſent ambaſſadors to the *Tyrians* with terms of peace, had he believed they would have hearkened to them. But as they had thrown headlong into the ſea the ambaſſadors, who before the ſiege had, in his name, ſummoned them to ſurrender; he was afraid, thoſe, he ſhould ſend now, might meet with ſuch like, or more ſevere treatment. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehenſion, from all thoughts of making up matters by way of treaty, and fully appriſed that his reputation, and the future progreſs of his arms, entirely depended on the ſucceſs of the preſent undertaking, he re-aſſumed, with ſeeming chearfulneſs, the work; repaired, with incredible expedition, the breach which the ſea had made in the mole; and having brought it again almoſt home to the city, began to batter it with all ſorts of warlike engines: while the archers and ſlingers haraſſed, without interruption, thoſe who defended it, in order to drive them from their poſts. But the *Tyrians* ſtood their ground, and by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many ſpokes, which, being whirled about with an engine, either ſhattered in pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, or broke their force, covered themſelves againſt the aggreſſors, and killed great numbers of them, without ſuffering any conſiderable loſs on their own ſide. But, in the mean time, the wall began to yield to the violence of the rams, that battered it night and day without interruption. Whereupon the beſieged, ſetting all hands to work, raiſed in a very ſhort time, a new wall, ten cubits broad, and five cubits diſtant from the former; and by filling up the empty ſpace between the two walls with earth and ſtones, kept the *Macedonians* a long while employed, ere they

they could make, with all their engines, the leaſt impreſſion on this new piece of fortification. However, *Alexander*, having joined many of his ſhips together, and mounted upon them a vaſt number of battering engines, beſides thoſe he had already placed on the mole, ſucceeded at laſt in the attempt, and made a breach an hundred feet wide. But when he came to the aſſault, in hopes of breaking into the city over the ruins, the *Macedonians*, though encouraged with the preſence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loſs to their ſhips. *Alexander* deſigned to renew the attack next morning; but the breach having been repaired by the *Tyrians* during the night, he perceived himſelf no farther advanced than when he firſt began to batter the walls. Hereupon the *Macedonian* reſolved to change his meaſures, and, having firſt of all brought the mole home to the wall, cauſed ſeveral towers to be built equal in height to the battlements. Theſe towers he filled with the moſt brave and reſolute men of his army; who purſuant to his directions, having formed a bridge, with large planks, reſting with one end on the towers, and with the other on the top of the ramparts, endeavoured, ſword in hand, to gain the wall, but could not prevail, being oppoſed by the *Tyrians* with unparalleled bravery, and weapons, which the *Macedonians* were altogether unacquainted with. Theſe were three-forked hooks, faſtened with a cord (one end whereof they held themſelves), which, being thrown at a little diſtance, ſtuck in the enemies targets, and gave the *Tyrians* an opportunity, either of plucking their targets out of their hands, and by that means expoſing them, without defence, to ſhowers of darts and arrows: or, if they were unwilling to part with their ſhields, of pulling them headlong out of the towers: ſome, by throwing a kind of fiſhing nets upon the *Macedonians* that were engaged on the bridges, entangled their hands; ſo that they could neither defend themſelves, or offend the enemy. Others, with long poles armed with iron hooks, drew them off of the bridges, and daſhed their brains out againſt the wall, or on the cauſey. In the mean time, a great many engines placed on the walls, played inceſſantly upon the aggreſſors, with maſſy pieces of red-hot iron, which ſwept away entire ranks at once. But what moſt of all diſheartened the *Macedonians* in the attack, and forced them at laſt to give it over, was the ſcorching ſand, which the *Tyrians*, by a new contrivance, ſhowered upon them. For this ſand (which was thrown in red-hot ſhields of iron, or braſs, getting within their breaſt-plates and coats of mail, tormented them to ſuch a degree, that many, finding no other relief, threw themſelves headlong into the ſea; and others,

dying in the anguiſh of inexpreſſible torments, ſtruck, with their deſperate cries, a terror into all thoſe who heard them. This occaſioned unſpeakable confuſion among the aggreſſors; which gave new courage to the *Tyrians*, who now leaving the walls, charged the enemy hand to hand, on his own bridges, with ſuch reſolution, that *Alexander*, ſeeing his men give ground, thought fit to ſound the retreat, and by that means ſave, in ſome degree, the reputation of his *Macedonians*. Such deſperate attacks were frequently renewed by the aggreſſors, and always ſuſtained with the ſame unbroken and undaunted courage by the beſieged. And now *Alexander* began to entertain ſome thoughts of abandoning the enterpriſe, and continuing his march into *Egypt*: but again, conſidering the dangerous conſequences that muſt unavoidably attend ſuch a reſolution, he determined to go on with the ſiege at all adventures; though of all his captains none was found, but *Amyntas*, who approved of that determination. Having therefore exhorted the diſheartened *Macedonians* to ſtand by him, and infuſed into them all the courage he could, he ſurrounded the city with his fleet, and began to batter it on all ſides. In the mean time, a fancy taking the *Tyrians*, upon a dream ſome of them had, that *Apollo* deſigned to forſake them, and go over to *Alexander*, they faſtened his ſtatue with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules* (D). This ſtatue, or coloſſus (for it was of an extraordinary ſize), belonged formerly to the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, and was ſent from thence by the *Carthaginians*, when they took *Gela*, to *Tyre* their mother city [z]. In this *Apollo* the *Tyrians* greatly confided; and therefore, upon the rumour that he was to abandon them, had recourſe even to chains, in order to prevent his departure. But, their utter ruin being already decreed by the true GOD, and foretold by his Prophets [a], the confidence they placed in their idols could not avert the impending judgment. They were deſtined to deſtruction; and deſtruction was their fate: for *Alexander*, having at laſt battered down the walls, and taken

[z] DIOD. SIC. l. 13. [a] Iſa. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.

(D) We have already (2) ſeen, that there were only altars erected to *Hercules*, and that the *Egyptian*, in his temple at *Gades*; but we read (3) that *Hiram* erected a ſtatue to *Hercules* at *Tyre*; whence we may infer, that he was either worſhipped with other rites at *Tyre*, than in the temple at *Gades*, or that the antient form of worſhip was corrupted. This we promiſed (4) to take notice of.

(2) *See before in the notes*, p. 312, (Q). (3) *See before*, p. 340. (4) *See before*, p. 316.

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the town by ſtorm after ſeven months ſiege, fully executed the ſentence, which the *Tyrians* had, by their pride and other vices, drawn down upon themſelves and their country. The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting thoſe whom the *Sidonians* ſecretly conveyed away in their ſhips) were either deſtroyed or enſlaved by the conqueror, who, upon his firſt entering the city, put eight thouſand to the ſword, cauſed two thouſand of thoſe he took priſoners to be crucified, and ſold the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, ſays *Arrian*, for ſlaves. His cruelty towards the two thouſand that were crucified was highly unbecoming a generous conqueror. *Alexander* treated them thus for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had fought with ſuch bravery and reſolution in defence of their country. But, to palliate the true cauſe of ſo baſe an action, gave out, that he did it to revenge upon the preſent *Tyrians* the crime which their forefathers committed, when they murdered their maſters, as we have related above; and that, being ſlaves by origin, crucifixion was the puniſhment due to them. To make this look the more plauſible, he ſaved all the deſcendants of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them king *Azelmic*, who in the beginning of the ſiege was out with his fleet upon a naval expedition, in conjunction with *Autophradates*, the *Perſian* admiral; but had haſtened home as ſoon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country. After the city was taken, he took ſanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*; and was not only ſpared by the conqueror, but reſtored to the throne after *Alexander* had re-peopled the place. For, having thus cleared it of its former inhabitants, he planted it a-new, with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and thenceforth ſtiled himſelf the founder of *Tyre*, a city which he had moſt ungenerouſly deſtroyed. Upon taking the city, he unchained *Apollo*, returning him thanks for his intention of coming over to the *Macedonians*; offered ſacrifice to *Hercules*; and, after performing many other ſuperſtitious follies, continued his march into *Egypt* [b].

Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt 332.

How Marron came to rule over *Tyre*, will be more regularly told hereafter.

The KINGS *of* ARAD.

Arad, or Aradus had its kings as well as *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and, perhaps, moſt other cities of *Phœnice*. We find mention of but three of its kings that we are ſure of.

[b] Diod. Sic. l. 17. Plutarch, in Alexandro. Q. Curtius l. 4. Arrian. l. 2. Justin. l. 11. Joseph. Antiquit. l. 11. c. 8.

A Map of Syria and Phœnice, according to this History.

M. Taurus
M. Taurus
THE PLAIN CILICIA
M. Amanus
Antioch ad Taurum
COMAGENE
Samosata
Germanicia
Cyrrhus or Cyrus
PART OF MESOPOTAMIA
Alexandria
Cyrrhestica
Sinus Issicus
PART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Pieria
Berrhœa or Berœa
Bambyce or Hierapolis
SELEUCIS
R. Orontes
Seleucia
Antioch
Chalcis
Chalcidene
ANTIOCHENE
Laodicea
Orontes R.
R. Marsyas
Cassiotis
Apamea
Apamene
supposed the ancient Hamath
Chalybonitis
Chalybon
Palmyra or Tadmor
PALMYRENE
I. Aradus
Orontes
SYRIA proper
Tripolis
Theoprosopon
Botrys
R. Adonis
Berytus
Canobine
Byblus
Palæ Byblus
Gyrus
Baliké
Damascus
M. Anti
COAST of PHŒNICE
CŒLESYRIA
PART OF ARABIA THE DESART
Sidon
Tyre
M. Carmel
PART OF PALESTINE

D Pomarede Sculp.

ARBAL, the father of *Narbal* [d], who accompanied *Xerxes* in his great expedition.

NARBAL, the ſon of *Arbal*, who ſerved under *Xerxes* [e], as we have ſaid.

MANY years after this, reigned one *Geroſtratus*, who, whether he deſcended from the two former kings or no, we have not to ſay. He ſerved *Darius* againſt *Alexander*, joining the *Perſian* fleet, as other *Phœnician* and *Cypriot* princes did, till hearing, his ſon *Strato* had put a crown of gold upon the head of *Alexander*, and given up to him the iſland city of *Aradus*, the city of *Marathus* on the main land over-againſt it, as alſo the city of *Mariammia*, or *Mariama*, and whatever elſe belonged to the *Aradian* dominion; he thought it moſt for his intereſt to approve, ſeemingly at leaſt, of what his ſon had done, and to make his ſubmiſſion to *Alexander* [f].

[d] HERODOT. l. 7. c. 98. [e] Idem. ibid. [f] ARRIAN. de Exped. ALEX. Magn. l. 2.

CHAP. VII.

The History of the Jews *to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity.*

SECT. I.

The Jewiſh *Hiſtory, from* Abraham *to* Moſes.

The Deſign of the Book of Geneſis.

IT was the *Jewiſh* Lawgiver's main ſcope to prepoſſeſs the *Iſraelites* with a firm perſuaſion of the certainty of GOD's promiſes made to their anceſtor, (which he obſerved they were not over forward to credit) that their poſterity ſhould in due time inherit the land of *Canaan*, and to prevent their natural impatience and deſpondency, during their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, or even after their entrance into the promiſed land, which they were not to conquer but by ſlow degrees. To this end he is very particular in reminding them how GOD had promiſed it, even with an oath, to *Abraham* and his ſeed, above four hundred years before they were to be put in actual poſſeſſion of it. He doth not ſtop here, but goes on, and ſets before them the manifold trials and difficulties, through which the divine providence had led them from *Chaldæa* into *Egypt*, during that long interval. That they could not but be ſenſible how wonderfully they were encreaſed, even in the midſt of their ſlavery and oppreſſion; ſo that they were now more than ſufficient to atchieve the promiſed conqueſt. That if therefore his promiſes were not ſo ſpeedily fulfilled, as their ſanguine temper might expect, they ſhould patiently wait his time, and not provoke him by their ungrateful miſtruſt, after ſo many wonders wrought in their favour, to put off the accompliſhment of them, till a more hopeful generation ſprang up[a]. But now, ſince it was his pleaſure to call them to the glorious work, they ſhould act like men fully aſſured of his aſſiſtance and protection. This was doubtleſs the reaſon, why *Moſes* gave them a fuller hiſtory of *Abraham* and his poſterity, than he had done of his progenitors. In con-

[a] Exod. xvii. 2, 7. Num. xiv. 22. Hebr. iii. 16. & ſeq.

formity

formity to which method, we shall begin ours with *Abraham*, the father and founder of the *Jewish* nation (A).

ABRAHAM was the son of *Terah*, and the tenth in a lineal descent from *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, to whom the right of *primo-geniture* belonged. [b] He was born in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* [c], and was about seventy four years of age when his father and he came from thence into *Haran* [d], where they had not been seated long, before *Terah* died in the two hundred and fifth year of his age (B). His funeral wes scarce over, when

Year of the Flood, 1077. Year before Christ, 1922.

[b] Gen. ix. 25 & seq. vid. Vol. 1. ch. 2 § 1 & 2. and p. 257 &seq.
[c] Gen. xi. 31. [d] Vid. Vol. I. 291, (Y), 294. [e] Gen. xii. 1 & seq.

(A) We have ventured to call them by that name in compliance with custom, though it was not given them till after the *Babylonish* captivity, when the tribe of *Judah* became the most considerable, if not almost the whole of what was left of *Israel*. The first name, that was given to *Abraham* and his children, was that of *Hebrews*, which some derive from *Heber*, the fifth in descent from *Noah* (1). But it is hardly probable, that *Abraham* would call himself by his name, rather than by that of any of his ten predecessors. We rather think, as has been hinted before, that it was given him by the *Canaanites*, because he came thither from the other side of the *Euphrates*; the word עבר, *Heber*, signifying, in the original, the other side, whether of a river, sea, or any other thing: in which sense some people are called *transmarine*, *transalpine*, and the like. What seems to confirm this etymology is, that we don't find, that he was called by that name, till word was brought him of his nephew *Lot*'s misfortune (2); so that it is likely the messenger, enquiring for *Abraham*, of the inhabitants, might describe him by the word עברי, *Hibri*, or one that came from the other side of the river. However, after *Jacob* had received the great name of *Israel*, they preferred that of *Israelites* to that of *Hebrews*, though the neighbouring nations did still call them by the latter (3).

(B) There seems to be an insurmountable difficulty in this account of *Terah*'s age: for if he was but seventy when he begot *Abraham*, and died in *Haran*, in the two hundred and fifth year of his age; and *Abraham* left *Haran* in the seventy fifth of his, it will follow, either that *Terah* must have lived sixty years in *Haran*, whereas it doth not appear by the text, that he lived there above one or two; or that *Abraham* must have lived sixty years longer than the text expresly says he did. We shall not trouble the reader with the ways which some antient fathers and *Jewish* rabbies have taken to solve this difficulty. Some moderns think with *Villet* and *Tremellius*, that though *Terah* was but seventy years old when he began to have children, yet he was near an hundred and thirty when he be-

(1) *Gen. x.* 24. D. Kimki. (2) *Gen. xiv.* 13. (3) *Vid. Vol. I.* 291

Abraham's *Call.*

when *Abraham*, who in all likelihood designed to settle there, was commanded by GOD to depart thence into a land which he should shew to him, and assured him, that he would bless, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner; and that in his seed, all the nations of the earth should be blessed[e]: He readily obeyed, being doubtless well acquainted with the call, and, taking *Sarah* his wife, and *Lot* his brother's son, with all his servants and cattle, went into the land of *Canaan*, and pitched his tents near the city of *Sichem*[f] (C), then inhabited

[e] Gen. xii. 1 & seq. [f] Ibid. See before, p. 75 & seq.

got *Abraham*, and that those that were born before him are purposedly omitted by *Moses*, that *Abraham* might have the honour of the *primo-geniture* for the excellency of his faith (4). Others with *Calmet* choose rather to give him *Adar*, or *Azar*, for his father, and *Terah* for his grandfather, according to the *Arabian* history of that patriarch; and, to fill up the chasm, suppose that *Adar* begot *Abraham* in the sixtieth year of his age (5); but besides the small reliance we can have on that history, the thing seems quite opposite to the text. Others therefore more reasonably suppose with *Norton Knatchbull* (6), that there is an error crept into the original; and that *Terah* was either a hundred and thirty years old when he begot *Abraham*, or that if he was then but seventy years old, he died in the hundred and fifty fifth, and not in the two hundred and fifth year of his age: for the text says, that *Abraham* was seventy five years old when he left *Haran*, and that his father died but a little while before it.

It may not be improper to take notice here, that though *Haran*, the land so called, and *Haran*, the son of *Terah*, be spelt with the same letters in ours, and other versions, from which some have concluded, that the latter gave his name to the country; yet in the original they are differently writ; *viz.* the former with a ח *Cheth*, equivalent to the *Greek* χ, and might be more properly spelt *Charan*; whereas *Terah*'s son's name begins only with a ה *He*, which answers to our H.

(C) If we may credit *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, *Abraham* came with an army from *Chaldæa*, slopt, and reigned some time in the country of *Damascus*, before he went to *Sichem* (7), and his name was still famous there. *Josephus* seems to have quoted his very words, which are to this effect; *Abraham*, though a stranger, reigned in *Damascus*, whither he came with a great number of followers from a country beyond *Babylon*, called *Chaldæa*. But the people after

(4) *Idem loc.* Villet. *ch. ii. quæst.* 19. (5) Calm. *hist. vi.* Herbelot. *Biblioth. orient. p.* 12, 13. (6) *Vid. Essay on a new vers.* (7) Ap. Joseph. *l.* 1. *c.* 8. Euseb. *præp. l.* 9 *c.* 16.

some

habited by the *Canaanites*, where he built an altar to the LORD. Here GOD was pleaſed to appear again unto him, to confirm all his former promiſes, and to aſſure him, that he would one day give that land to his poſterity. Soon after this, *Abraham* fearing, perhaps, an inundation in that low country, betook himſelf to a mountain, which had *Bethel* (D) on the weſt, and the town of *Hai* on the eaſt; where he reared a new altar to the LORD; but a great famine, which happened ſoon after in thoſe parts, forced him to remove into *Egypt*, which was then the only place where he might hope to find proviſion for his numerous family, and great multitude of cattle. However, the fear he was in upon the account of *Sarah* his wife, who, though ſhe was paſt the ſixty fifth year of her age, retained beauty enough to endanger the man's life who ſhould paſs for her husband, made him reſolve, after ſome heſitation, that ſhe ſhould paſs for his ſiſter, and not for his wife, in every place they came to. He propoſed it to her, and having gained her conſent, he committed her honour and chaſtity to the care of that providence which had hitherto protected him, and ſet out upon the journey. From this deſcent into *Egypt* the generality of chronologers compute the ſpace of four hundred and thirty years, mentioned by St. *Paul* [h] agreeably to what *Moſes* ſays in another place [i], that *Iſrael* dwelt in *Egypt* four hundred and thirty years; that is, as the ſeventy interpret it, that from the firſt coming of *Abraham* thither to the *Exodus*, ſhould be four hundred and thirty years (E). We ſhall have occaſion

Goes into Ægypt.

Year of the Flood, 1080. Year before Chriſt 1919.

[g] USHER's Ann. p. 5. VILLET. & al.
[h] Galat. iii. 17.
[i] Exod. xii. 40.

ſome time conſpired againſt him; whereupon he and his followers removed ſouthward into *Canaan*, ſince called *Judæa*; where he fixed his abode, and became the father of a numerous offspring. Thus far *Damaſcene*; to which *Joſephus* adds, that *Abraham*'s name was ſtill to that day in great veneration in that country, and that there was ſtill a village which bore the name of *Abraham*'s habitation. However, it is plain, that the ſcripture ſays nothing of this imaginary reign.

(D) *Bethel* is here called ſo proleptically, for it did not receive that name till ſome time after, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

(E) This account is contradicted by a learned *Romiſh* Chronologer (8), who pretends, that from *Abraham*'s going into *Egypt* to the *Exodus*, there elapſed ſix hundred years, and that the four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. *Paul* (9), have no relation to theſe epochs. We beg leave to ſhew his error, by comparing the

(8) Genebr. *chronol.* 1. *loc.*
(9) *Galat. iii.* 17.

occaſion to reſume this point in its proper place. *Abraham* had not been long in *Egypt* before *Sarah* charmed the *Egyptians*, and in the end captivated *Pharaoh* himſelf, who, upon the fame of her beauty, ſent for her, and became ſo ſmitten with it, that for her ſake he ſhewed extraordinary favours to her pretended brother. In a ſhort time *Abraham* ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of vaſt numbers of ſheep, oxen, camels, aſſes, men and maid-ſervants, beſides gold, ſilver, and other precious things; which *Pharaoh* heaped upon him, though all too mean to recompence him for the loſs of his wife: at length GOD was pleaſed to interpoſe on his behalf and to deliver *Sarah* from the imminent danger ſhe was in. *Pharaoh* and his houſe were infeſted with ſuch plagues, as plainly convinced them on whoſe account they ſuffered. The king then ſent for *Abraham*, and, having ſharply rebuked him, for deceiving him in a matter of ſuch conſequence, delivered up his wife to him as free from any ſtain of diſloyalty as he had received her, and without ſtaying for an anſwer, went out, and gave orders, that they might ſafely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had.

Return to Bethel.

PERHAPS it may not be unacceptable to obſerve here, that *Pharaoh* was not the name of this particular king, but an

number of years from the one to the other. *1ſt*, Then, that from *Abraham*'s arrival into *Canaan*, to *Jacob*'s deſcent into *Egypt*, are but two hundred and fifteen years, is thus proved. From the time of the promiſe made to him in *Haran*, to the birth of *Iſaac*, are about twenty five years; thence to the birth of *Jacob* are ſixty more; and he was an hundred and thirty years old when he ſtood before *Pharaoh*; all which make but two hundred and fifteen years. *2dly*, That the *Iſraelites* ſojourned but two hundred and fifteen more in *Egypt*, is not only generally agreed on, but ſhall be farther proved in its due place. Again, that by the promiſe mentioned by St. *Paul*, as made to *Abraham* and his ſeed, is not meant that which GOD made to him when he was going to offer up *Iſaac*, is plain, becauſe there are twenty five years between the firſt promiſe and the birth of *Iſaac*; and if we ſuppoſe him to have been twenty five years old, as *Joſephus* thinks (10), there will be fifty years wanting of the four hundred and thirty; and if he was thirty three, as ſome, or thirty ſeven, as others, have ſuppoſed (11), the difference will ſtill be greater, and lengthen the ſpace of their abode in *Egypt*, to fill up that of ſix hundred years; the contrary of which we have promiſed to prove hereafter.

(10) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 14. (11) Bereſh. *Rab.* 1. *loc. Rab. Sal. & al.*

appellation

appellation common to all the kings of *Egypt* (F). They had alſo other particular names, as *So*, *Necho*, *Shiſhak*, &c. but under which of the kings of *Egypt* this event happened is impoſſible to determine, not only becauſe his particular name is not mentioned by *Moſes*, but likewiſe by reaſon of the great confuſion we have obſerved in their chronology, and ſucceſſion of their kings [k]; however, A. B. *Uſher* ventures to call him *Apophis* [l].

ABRAHAM made no ſtay in *Egypt* after this; the famine being ceaſed in the place which he had left, he returned thither by the ſame way, and on the altar, he had built before, offered a ſacrifice of thanks for his happy eſcape and ſafe return [m]. In the mean time the herds of *Lot*, as well as his own, being grown too numerous for the land they lived in, ſuch contentions aroſe between their ſhepherds, that *Abraham* reſolved in a friendly manner to ſeparate from *Lot*, and having given him his choice of the whole country that lay before him, *Lot* choſe the fertile plains of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, which he ſaw watered by the river of *Jordan*, and parted from his uncle [n]. *Abraham* was no ſooner ſeparated from him, but GOD, who ſeems to have been the ſole conductor of this ſcene, that the promiſed bleſſings might fall on him alone, bid him caſt his eye round the horizon, and promiſed to give

Separates from Lot.

[k] Vid. Vol. I. p. 491 & ſeq. [l] Annal. p. 5. [m] Gen. xii. paſſ. & xiii. iv. [n] Ibid. v. 7, 8, & ſeq. Vid. ſupr. pag. 76, 170.

(F) It will not be needful, we hope, here to remind the reader of what has been ſaid before, concerning the name of *Pharaoh* (12) ſeeing all the etymologies of it are ſo very uncertain. The moſt probable ones are theſe that follow. *Bochart* thinks the word *Pharaoh* ſignifies properly a *Crocodile* (13); and that *Ezekiel* alludes to it in theſe words, —— *Behold I am againſt thee Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of the river* (14). — Another critic fancies, that the *Arabic* word *Pharaoh, to be raiſed on high*, or *be ſuperior to*, is the true root of the name (15). *Kircher* doth indeed derive the word from the ſame root, but will have it to ſignify, *to deliver*, or *be free*; and that *Pharaoh* ſignifies one who is free from, or above, the laws (16). Laſtly and to name no more, the learned *Renaudot* thinks that *Pharaoh* is the ſame as the *Egyptian Paurro*, or *Pooro*, which ſignifies a king (17).

(12) p. 72. (13) Hieroz. p. 2. l. 5. c. 17. (14) *Ezek. xxix.* 3. (15) Le Clerc. *in Gen. xii.* (16) Kircher *Oedyp. Egypt. l. c.* 76. (17) Renaudot. *Differt. de ling. Coptica*, p. 127. Ap. Calm. *ſub. voc.* Pharaoh.

all that land he beheld to him and his poſterity. *Abraham* ſoon after left *Bethel*, and went to dwell in the land of *Mamre* (G), which is in *Hebron*, and there built an altar unto God,

(G) It is ſurprizing that ſo many verſions, ſuch as the *Chaldee*, *Vulgate*, *Geneva*, *Munſter*, *Caſtalio*, and others, ſhould render the word אלון *Elon* a plain, ſince it always ſignifies an oak. The *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and St. *Jerom*'s among the old, beſides ſome of the modern ones, render it by that word; and our *Engliſh* doth the ſame in ſome other places (18). And were it to have any other ſignification, that of valley would ſuit it much better than that of plain, becauſe *Sichem* is ſaid to be ſituate in the valley of *Aulon* or *Elon* (19). As for the name of *Mamre*, which in the original ſignifies illuſtrious or conſpicuous, it ſeems to have been given to the oak, not from any place near it, but rather by reaſon of its largeneſs, or the eminence of the place on which it ſtood; or more probably, perhaps, becauſe it became famous on ſo many accounts; ſuch as *Abraham*'s dwelling under it, *Jacob*'s burying his wife, nurſe, and ſtrange gods under it. The reader may obſerve the ſame fault committed in theſe verſions, with reſpect to the oak of *Mamre*, mentioned *Gen.* xviii. 1. where the word *Elon* is tranſlated a plain inſtead of an oak. *Sozomen* tells us, that this oak in *Conſtantine*'s time, was famous for pilgrimages and annual feaſts: That it was but ſix miles diſtant from *Hebron*; and that ſome of the cottages, which *Abraham* built, were ſtill ſtanding near it; as likewiſe a well of his digging, where *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Heathens* reſorted, either out of devotion, or to trade. *Bronchard* doth further aſſure us, that he had ſeen it, and that he had brought away ſome of the fruit and wood. He obſerves, that its leaves are ſomewhat larger than thoſe of the maſtick tree, but its fruit is like an acorn (20).

As for *Hebron*, it is plain. that it was a very antient city. Some authors (21), after *Joſephus*, think, that it was built ninety years after the flood, and that it claimed the precedency even of *Memphis*. Some antient rabbies make it ſtill older, pretending, that *Ham* built it as ſoon as he was ſettled in that country (22): however, it is certain, that it was ſeven years older than *Zoan* in *Egypt* (23), which is not *Memphis*, but *Tanais*, the antient ſeat of the kings of *Egypt* (24). *Hebron* was afterwards called *Arbah* (25), or *Kirjath-arbah*, which ſignifies four cities, or rather the city of *Four*. The antient *Jews* will have it to be ſo called, becauſe *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jdeob*, were buried there, with *Eve*, *Sarah*, *Rebekah*, and

(18) *Gen.* xxxv. 4. *Joſhua* xxiv 26. & *alib.* (19) *Vid. Euſeb. Jerom. Onomaſt in* Αυλων. (20) *Eſſay on a New Tranſlat.* (21) *Villet. ch.* 13. *queſt.* 15. (22) *R. Sal.* & *al Num.* xiii. 23 (23) *Chald. Paraphr. LXX* & *al.* (24) *Gen.* xxiii. 2. *Joſh.* xiv 15. (25) *Ibid.*

Leah

GOD, and ſoon after contracted a friendſhip with three of the greateſt men of that place, *viz.* *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eſhcol*; the firſt of whom communicated his name to all the country. This alliance proved very ſerviceable to *Abraham* in proceſs of time, and was the cauſe of his living peaceably near ten years among them: but a misfortune, which befel *Lot* about this time, who was taken captive by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies o *, forced him to muſter up all his forces and his courage to reſcue him out of their hands. This diſaſter no ſooner reached *Abraham*'s ears, than he communicated the news of it to his three friends, *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eſhcol*. He readily obtained their aſſiſtance, and joining three hundred of his men to it, they marched in purſuit of the conquerors, and came upon them at *Dan*, in the night, routed, and purſued them as far as *Hobah*, on the left of *Damaſcus*, and happily reſcued *Lot* with all his family, ſervants, and cattle, and brought him back to his old habitation. The king of *Sodom*, who was probably the ſon of him who had periſhed in the ſlime-pits (H), hearing of *Abraham*'s ſucceſs, came out to congratulate him upon it, and would have offered him all the booty which he had retaken, the men and women excepted, but the patriarch nobly refuſed to accept of even the leaſt ſhare of it. Here *Melchizedec* met and bleſſed him, and he preſented that high-prieſt with the tythes of all the ſpoil P †.

Lot taken priſoner, and reſcued by Abraham.

AFTER this *Abraham* removed to *Mamre*, or *Hebron*, where GOD was pleaſed to appear to him a fifth time in a *Removes to* Hebron.

o Ibid. c. xiv. paſſ. * Vid. ſup, ibid. P Ib. v, 18.
† Sup. ib.

Leah; but it ſeems more probable, that it had its name from the great *Arbah*, the father of the *Anakims* (26) As to the city of *Hebron*, or rather *Chebron*, חברון, it is not likely, that it took its name from *Hebron*, the grandſon of *Caleb*, as ſome authors imagine (27), but rather from the verb חור *Chavar*, to *couple* or *join*; becauſe thoſe married couples, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, and *Jacob* and *Leah*, are buried here (28).

(H) As the text tells us, that the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* fell into ſome of the ſlime-pits, with which the valley of *Siddim* abounds (29), and takes no notice of their coming out of them; we think it more probable that they periſhed there, than that *Abraham* ſtayed to take them out, as the *Jews* vainly imagined (30), contrary to the ſenſe of the text (31).

(26) *Joſh. xiv.* 15. (27) *Jerom Muſcul. Ap. Villet. ubi ſupr. Orig. Ap. eund. & al.* (28) *Gen xlix.* 31.
(29) *Gen. xiv.* 10. (30) *Bereſh. Rab. Rambam & al.*
(31) *Gen. ubi ſupr.*

viſion,

vision, to give him fresh assurances of his special favour, adding, that he would be his exceeding great reward. *Abraham*, who had hitherto hearkened to GOD's promises without any expression of distrust, ventured now for the first time to expostulate with him, not knowing how they could possibly be fulfilled, whilst himself continued childless, and, to all apearance, must leavé all his substance to *Eliezer* of *Damascus*, overseer of his household. This was indeed a modest way to try whether GOD designed to bless him with a child, and GOD did not leave him long in suspence, but assured him, that not *Eliezer*, but a son of his own should be his heir; then, commanding him to lift up his eyes to heaven, promised to make his posterity more numerous than the stars thereof. *Abraham* was now eighty five years old, and *Sarah*, turned of seventy four, was thought barren. All these had been sufficient to stagger a faith less firm than his; but the scripture says that he believed in GOD, and that it was imputed unto him for righteousness[t]; GOD was pleased moreover to repeat his former promises, that he would infallibly give that land to his posterity, assuring him, that it was for that very end that he had brought him thither out of *Chaldæa*. Here *Abraham* could not forbear desiring of GOD to give him some certain token, whereby he might be assured, that his seed should possess that land, and GOD was pleased to comply with his request. He bid him to take a heifer of three years, a goat of three years, and a ram of three years (I), with a pigeon, and a turtle-dove, and offer them up. *Abraham* immediately took them, killed the four-footed beasts, clove them in the midst, and joined the pieces one to the other, laid the birds on the top of them, whilst himself stayed to drive away the fowls from the sacrifice. As soon as the sun began to set, a deep sleep fell upon him, followed by a

[r] Gen. xv. 1.—6.

(I) The word, which we translate three years old, in the original is משלשת *Meshulesheth*, which doth rather signify triplicated, or thrice told, being the *Pahul* in the conjugation *Pibel*, as the grammarians speak. Accordingly *Onkelos* (32) translates it three heifers, three goats, and three rams; wherein he is followed by other *Jewish* commentators. One of them tells us (33), that *Abraham* was then representing the three future sacrifices; namely, burnt-offerings, sacrifice for sin, and peace-offering, but doth not allow, that there were three of each kind.

(32) *Vid. Mercer. Villet. Rab. Sal. & al. in loc.* (33) *Mos. Gerund. ap. Munst. in Gen. xix. sub. not.* d

horror

horror of great darkneſs; during which, it was revealed to him from GOD, that his poſterity ſhould ſojourn, and be afflicted in a ſtrange land four hundred years [r] (K): at the expiration of which, GOD would puniſh their oppreſſors, and bring his children out of the land which he had promiſed him, whilſt himſelf ſhould be gathered to his fathers in a good old age. After this, *Abraham* ſaw a ſmoaking furnace, and a burning lamp paſs between the victims, which in all probability conſumed them. Thus was this new and glorious covenant ratified between GOD and *Abraham*, who, highly pleaſed with all theſe promiſes, went to impart his joy to his beloved wife [t].

SARAH

[r] Ibid. v. 6. Rom. iv. 3. & alib. [t] Ibid. v. 9 ad fin.

(K) Expoſitors have given into various opinions, in order to make out theſe four hundred years: *Genebrard*, mentioned in a former note †, has affirmed that the *Iſraelites* dwelt in *Egypt* the full number of four hundred years (34), whoſe error may be eaſily confuted by the lives of *Kohath*, the ſon of *Levi*, who went down with *Jacob* (35), and died in *Egypt* in the hundred and thirty third year of his age (36): of his ſon *Amram*, the father of *Moſes*, who lived one hundred and thirty ſeven years (37); and of *Moſes*, who was eighty years old when he brought *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; all which ſeveral numbers make but three hundred and fifty years, out of which we muſt ſubſtract thoſe which *Kohath* had attained when he went down into *Egypt*, and likewiſe the time the fathers lived with their children. This has made ſome reduce the number to leſs than two hundred and ten years (38), and others to two hundred; whereas we ſhall endeavour to prove, that they remained there two hundred and fifteen years. St. *Paul* reckons from the firſt promiſe made to *Abraham* to the promulgation of the law in the firſt year after the *Exodus*, four hundred and thirty years (39): Of which two hundred and fifteen were already expired, when *Iſrael* came into *Egypt*, as we have already proved ‡. The laſt remaining two hundred and fifteen may be thus reckoned; *Kohath* came down with *Jacob*, and, according to *Euſebius*, begot *Amram* in his ſeventieth year, and *Amram* begot *Moſes* much about the ſame age; to which if we add the eighty years of *Moſes*'s age when he let them out, the whole will make two hundred and twenty, from which may be ſubſtracted five years, the ſuppoſed age of *Kohath*, when *Jacob* left *Canaan*, and the remainder will be the

† *Vid. ſup. pag.* 357. *ſub not.* E. (34) *Id. ibid.* (35) *Gen. xlvi.* 11. (36) *Exod. vi.* 18. (37) *Ibid. v.* 20. (38) *Chryſoſt. homil. l.* 1. *Nic. de Lyr. in loc.* (39) *Galat. iii.* 17. ‡ *Vid. ſup.* 357. *not.* E.

time

Sarah, not dreaming that ſhe was to be the happy mother of the promiſed child, and having moreover all the convincing proofs that a woman can have, of her being paſt all poſſibility of having any of her own, reſolved to be at leaſt a mother by proxy, according to the cuſtom of that age and country. To this end ſhe perſuaded her huſband to take her hand-maid *Hagar* to him, that if he had a child by her, ſhe might bring it forth upon her knees, which was all the happineſs ſhe could expect from the promiſe. *Abraham* did

time of their abode in *Egypt*, namely two hundred and fifteen years (40).

Hence it is plain, that the four hundred years of *Abraham*'s ſeed ſojourning in a ſtrange land, muſt be reckoned, not from their coming into *Egypt*, but from the birth of *Iſaac*. For all the time of their ſojourning in the land of *Canaan*, *Gerar*, or any other, was ſtill in a ſtrange land, in which they had not a foot of ground, if we except the cave of *Machpelah* As to what is added, that they ſhall likewiſe ſerve, and be ill treated, it is commonly underſtood to be ſpoken circumſtantially, and might be put in a parentheſis, thus, they ſhall ſojourn and be ſtrangers (and likewiſe ſerve and be oppreſſed) during the ſpace of four hundred years, as St. *Auſtin* and others have fully proved (41). Accordingly we find *Iſaac* oppreſſed in *Gerar*, his wells filled up by its inhabitants, and himſelf forced ſtill farther from them *; and *Jacob* ſerved, and was oppreſſed by *Laban* near twenty years, yet neither of them laboured under a continual oppreſſion. The *Egyptian* ſervitude did not commence till after *Joſeph* and all his brethren were dead (42), before that the *Iſraelites* lived in peace and plenty. Allowing therefore, that *Levi* was forty four years of age at his firſt coming into *Egypt*, which is the moſt that can be ſuppoſed, he muſt have lived ninety three years in *Egypt*, becauſe the text tells us, that he died in the hundred and thirty ſeventh year of his age (43). And theſe ninety three years being ſubſtracted from two hundred and fifteen, the time of their abode there, there will remain but an hundred and twenty two years of thraldom, even ſuppoſing it to have began immediately after his death. The natural ſenſe therefore of this prophecy to *Abraham* can be only this, that his ſeed, from *Iſaac* on ſhould be ſtrangers in a land that was not theirs, during the ſpace of four hundred years, during ſome part of which they ſhould be oppreſſed, afflicted, and at length brought under bondage; which term being expired, they ſhould find a happy deliverance.

(40) *Vid. Merc. Villet. Munſt. & al.* (41) *Aug. quæſt. in Exod vi.* 47. *Merc. Jun: Munſt. Villet. c.* 159. 15. *Le Clerc. in l. & al.* * *Vid. ſup. pag.* 207. (42) *Vid. the authors in reference* (41) *before.* (43) *Exod. i.* 6. *vi* 16.

eaſily

eaſily acquieſce, and *Hagar* no ſooner found herſelf pregnant, than ſhe became haughty and inſolent towards her miſtreſs. *Sarah*, impatient to ſee herſelf inſulted by a ſlave, whom her kindneſs had raiſed to that height of happineſs, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints againſt them both; and *Abraham* willing to ſhew his reſentment againſt her maid, and to convince his wife that he loved her as much as ever, left it to her, to do herſelf juſtice in what way ſhe ſhould think fit; which ſhe accordingly did, but with ſuch ſeverity, that *Hagar*, not able to bear it, ſtole away from her, and went, and ſat down by a fountain on the road to *Shur*, leading to *Egypt*. Here the angel of the LORD met her, and perſuaded her to return, and ſubmit herſelf to her miſtreſs; aſſuring her that ſhe would be ſoon delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe ſhould call *Iſhmael*(L); that his poſterity would multiply exceedingly, and that both he and they ſhould prove fierce and warlike, that their hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's againſt them (M); and that they ſhould dwell in the face of all their brethren [u]. *Hagar* hearing this comfortable news, was ſoon perſuaded to take the angel's advice, and in memory of this ſurpriſing viſion, ſhe called the well *Beer-lahai-roi*, which ſignifies, *the well of him that lives and ſees me* (N). This well was between *Kadeſh* and *Bezed* [w]. Soon after her return ſhe brought forth the promiſed ſon, and called him *Iſhmael*, according to the angel's word. *Abraham* was now eighty ſix years of age, and did not expect another ſon, but brought this up as the heir of all his ſubſtance, and of all GOD's promiſes. *Hagar* indeed could eaſily have undeceived him, but thought it more prudent to conceal what the angel had revealed to her; and it was not till almoſt thirteen years after that GOD plainly promiſed him a ſon by *Sarah* his wife.

Hagar *is forced to fly from her miſtreſs*

Is perſuaded by an angel to return and ſubmit.

[u] Gen. xvi. 12. [w] Ibid. ver. 14.

(L) *Iſhmael* is compounded of the words ישמע and אל *jiſhmagh*, and *El*, *the* LORD *hath*, or *will hear*. The reaſon of which name is immediately ſubjoined by the angel, namely, becauſe the LORD had heard her complaint.

(M) This prediction has been exactly verified in the ſeveral tribes of the *Arabs*, *Iſhmael*'s deſcendants, who are generally cruel, warlike, and given to rapine; and whoſe habitation is in tents within the neighbourhood of *Judæa* and *Idumæa*.

(N) Theſe words are no leſs obſcure than the reaſon *Hagar* gives for calling the well by that name. They are both variouſly interpreted; but we chooſe to adhere to our *Engliſh* verſion, becauſe it ſeems to us the moſt literal and neareſt to the ſenſe of the original.

By

Abram's *name changed into* Abraham.

By this time *Abraham* had attained to the ninety ninth year of his age, when God was pleaſed to ratify his former covenant with him, by changing his name from *Abram* to *Abraham* (O); and by aſſuring him, that he would make him, the father of many nations; that kings ſhould come out of him, and that his poſterity ſhould ſurely poſſeſs the land wherein he was a ſtranger. And, as a token, or rather trial of his faith and obedience, God commands him to circumciſe all the males in his family, with a further injunction, that for the future all the males that ſhould be born of him, or in his family, whether bond or free, none excepted, ſhould be circumciſed on the eight day after they were born; and that if any male remained uncircumciſed, that ſoul ſhould be cut off, as a deſpiſer of God's covenant, from having any ſhare in the promiſed bleſſings deſigned for him and his poſterity. Laſtly, and to compleat his happineſs, God was pleaſed to aſſure him, that *Sarah*, his wife, ſhould bear him a ſon, on whom all theſe bleſſings were to be conferred; and therefore, that her name ſhould be no longer *Sarai*, but *Sarah* (P). Here *Abraham* falling on his face, probably to conceal

(O) We have already taken notice †, that *Abram* is compounded of two *Hebrew* words אב and רום *Ab* and *Rom*, which ſignify *high father*, and that *Abraham* is commonly derived from three, namely, אב רב המון *Ab Rab Hamon*, the *father of a great multitude*: but this laſt is ſomewhat forced and ungrammatical, having nothing to ſupport it, but the reaſon which God gives in the text, for changing *Abram* into *Abraham*, namely, becauſe he was to make him the father of many nations.

(P) *Sarai* שרי in *Hebrew* ſignifies *my princeſs*, and שרה *Sarah*, the name now given her, *princeſs*.

It is farther obſervable, that God, in the beginning of this 17th chapter (44), calls himſelf the firſt time, אל שדי *El ſhaddai*, which our verſion rightly tranſlates *Almighty* God. Others have underſtood it otherwiſe, by deriving the word *Shaddai*, from *Shad*, which ſignifies *the breaſt of a woman*, to expreſs God's tenderneſs towards his ſervants, others deriving it from the verb שדד *Shaddad*, which ſignifies *to ſpoil, lay waſte, overcome*, by *Shaddai*, the irreſiſtibility of God's power, who, they think, doth here aſſume that name, becauſe he is going to invert the order of nature, and cauſe the old and barren to become fruitful; but the moſt genuine etymology is from ש uſed inſtead of אשר, for the pronoun *qui, who*, an די *Dai, ſufficient*, or *ſelf-ſufficient*, an expreſſion very fit

† *Vid. ſup. p.* 389, *ſub not.* K. (44) *Ver.* 1.

and

conceal his laughing, which either the ſtrangeneſs or improbability of what he heard had forced from him, began to intercede for the life and preſervation of *Iſhmael*, beyond which he thought it unreaſonable to aſk or wiſh for any thing; but the Almighty ſoon aſſured him, that theſe great bleſſings were not deſigned for *Iſhmael*, but for a ſon to be born of the hitherto barren *Sarah*, whom he ſhould therefore name *Iſaac* (Q). That as to the ſon of *Hagar*, he would indeed bleſs him with a numerous poſterity; but that *Iſaac* alone, whom *Sarah* ſhould bear in a year from that very day, was alone to be entitled to the covenant and promiſe, that in his ſeed all nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed [x].

GOD was no ſooner departed than *Abraham* took his ſon *Iſhmael*, and all the males of his family, and circumciſed them, as well as himſelf, without any regard either to his own age, which was almoſt one hundred years, or to the tenderneſs of his ſon, who was not above thirteen. All ſubmitted alike to the operation, and to GOD's command, on the ſame day (R); and it was not long before his obedience was

Year of the Flood, 1102. Year before Chriſt 1897.

[x] Gen. xvii.

and proper to aſſure *Abraham* and *Sarah* of the certainty of his promiſe to them, which none but an all-ſufficient power could fulfil (45).

(Q) *Iſaac*, or according to the *Hebrew* יִצְחָק *Iſchack*, ſignifies *he has*, or *ſhall laugh*.

(R) Whether this ceremony of circumciſion was firſt introduced into the world by the *Hebrews* or *Egyptians*, had been much conteſted by antient and modern hiſtorians, critics, and others. *Herodotus*, who declares he had received all his knowledge of the affairs of *Egypt* from their prieſts, gives it indeed for the *Egyptians*; but he ſeems in ſome meaſure to retract, if not to contradict himſelf, in this very point, when he affirms, that no nation practiſed it, but what received it firſt from the *Egyptians*, and a little after owns, that he did not know whether of the two had it firſt, the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians*, though he is inclined to believe the former (46). As for the reſt of the antients, who are on that ſide the queſtion, as they have blindly followed *Herodotus*, all their authority centers in him. However, it is certain, that neither they, nor any other nation we know of, the *Jewiſh* excepted, did practiſe it univerſally. The prieſts were indeed obliged to be circumciſed, but the reſt of the people were left wholly at their liberty. Neither doth it ap-

(45) *Olcaſt. & al. diſſert. de circumciſ.*

(46) *Herodot. l. 1. c. xlvi. vid. Calm.*

pear,

was rewarded with a ſeventh and more remarkable viſit from GOD *. *Abraham*, who dwelt ſtill at *Mamre*, was ſitting one day at the door of his tent under a tree, when he beheld afar off three men, whom he took to be ſtrangers; he went to

* Gen. xvii.

pear, that they practiſed it upon a religious account, as the *Jews* did: *Philo* (47) has given us the reaſons why thoſe nations uſed circumciſion; namely, firſt, in order to avoid a diſtemper called a carbuncle, to which they who were not circumciſed were often ſubject. Secondly, for the ſake of cleanlineſs, by cutting off whatever was apt to harbour any filth; and for this reaſon it was that they ſhaved their bodies all over. The third is ſymbolical, and foreign to our ſubject. The laſt is, that circumciſion is a help to fertility, and that thoſe who are circumciſed are apter for procreation, than thoſe who are not. Now for the modern, we mean the *Chriſtian* writers. Theſe do not indeed affirm abſolutely, that *Abraham* learned it from the *Egyptians*, but that it is poſſible he might have ſeen it in *Egypt*, and be ſo much taken with it, that GOD, in compaſſion to his infirmity, whoſe faith could not ſuſtain itſelf without ſome outward and viſible ſymbol, might ſanctify this *Egyptian* ceremony, by retrenching all that was ſuperſtitious in it, and give it to him and his poſterity, as a ſenſible token of his alliance with them (48).

Only *le Clerc* (49) ſubjoins an argument, which, in his opinion, turns the ſcale very much on the *Egyptian* ſide; for, ſays he, *Abraham*'s family, at his firſt coming into *Egypt*, was ſo inconſiderable, and his poſterity afterwards ſo hated and deſpiſed by the *Egyptians*, that it is by no means probable that proud nation ſhould have received ſuch a ceremony from them. But might not this be the very motive that determined them in favour of it? was it not natural for the *Egyptians*, no leſs ſuperſtitious than haughty, to infer, that ſince it procured ſuch great and valuable bleſſings to that deſpiſed people, it could not fail of proving more ſucceſsful to them, if once they admitted it amongſt them? might not *Joſeph*'s time have been a proper criſis to recommend it to them? and were not thoſe motives we have mentioned out of *Philo*, of its being reputed a promoter of fertility, cleanlineſs, and health, ſufficient to recommend it, eſpecially to a people who were governed by their wives? and laſtly might not this be the very reaſon which made the *Egyptian* women uſe it as well as the men? however that be, the notion of the *Hebrews* having received it from them ſeems ſo contrary to the care and conduct of GOD, to preſerve them from the ſuperſtitions of other nations, that it meets with but few advocates; and indeed it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that the *Egyptians* had it

(47) *Phil. de circumciſ. pag.* 810. *ap. eund.* (48) *Spenc. de leg. ritual. Jud. Le Clerc in loc.* (49) *Id. Bibl. A. M. p.* 2. *p.* 250. *& al.*

from

to meet them, and in the moſt civil and reſpectful manner invited them to come and take a ſmall refreſhment with him, and,

from ſome other nation, whether the *Arabs*, (as *Bochart* thinks, by reaſon of the difference there was between the *Jewiſh* and *Egyptian* circumciſion) or from any other of their neighbours, or even that they might ſtumble upon that ceremony, without knowing, or having it from any, than to ſuppoſe, that one muſt have it from the other, and that therefore the *Jews* might as well have it from the *Egyptians*. As for the reaſon of its being enjoined on the eighth day after the child's birth, the beſt we have met with is that of *Cunæus* (50), that children were not thought ſufficiently clean or perfect during the firſt ſeven days, being ſtill full of the corruption they brought from the womb. And this ſeems to be the reaſon of GOD's ordaining, that no beaſt that was offered to him ſhould be leſs than eight days old (51). Circumciſion therefore being a kind of ſolemn offering of a child to GOD, it ſeems highly reaſonable, that the ſame law ſhould be obſerved in it, as was enjoined concerning victims. But as to the eighth day being choſen rather than any other afterwards, without ſeeking for myſteries in that number, as ſome are fond of doing, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the child being reckoned perfect and fit at that age, and there being a neceſſity of fixing a day for it, and not to leave it to the choice of the parents, no time could be fitter than that, becauſe the child is then leaſt ſenſible of the ſmart of, and leaſt in danger of being hurt by, it.

The laſt enquiry we need make upon this ſubject of circumciſion is, the reaſons of its inſtitution: and here we ſhall only mention one or two of thoſe that are thought moſt conſiderable. The firſt is topical; becauſe the heat of the climate required it, for the reaſons mentioned above. Secondly, political; in order to diſtinguiſh thoſe who were in the covenant of GOD, from other nations. Thirdly, moral; to imply the circumciſion of the heart, and the mortification of carnal appetites. Fourthly, religious; in that it was, firſt, the ſymbol and ſeal of the covenant made between GOD and *Abraham*, and his ſeed, and figurative of the faith which was to be in CHRIST (52). To theſe reaſons we ſhall ſubjoin one more out of a modern author (53), which the reader will hardly meet with elſewhere. He writes thus: We reckon circumciſion among the trials of *Abraham*'s faith. It is eaſy to obſerve, by very many circumſtances of that patriarch's life, that he was deſigned as a pattern to all the faithful. The more his faith was tried, the more conſpicuous it became; the more difficulties he obſerved in the accompliſhment of GOD's promiſes, the more he ſhewed the great idea he had of him that had made them, by overcoming thoſe

(50) *Cun. apud Baſnag. Rep. Hebr. p.* 351. (51) *Levit. xxii.* 27. (52) *Targ. Onkel. Hieron. Pugnin. Munſt. Mercer. Villet. & al.* (53) *Saurin Diſc. Hiſt. du V. Teſt.*

Abraham *entertains three angels.*

and, having obtained their conſent, ordered a feaſt to be got ready for them (S). As ſoon as it was over, one of his gueſts enquiring

obſtacles. ----- Why did not God give him *Iſaac* till the laws of nature ſeemed to exclude all hopes of his ever being a father? it was to try his faith. ---- Why did God command him to ſacrifice that very ſon to whom ſo many bleſſings belonged, but to the ſame purpoſe? ---- Why did God ſet ſo long an interval between the promiſe of a ſon, and the accompliſhment of that promiſe, that *Sarah*, thinking it impoſſible ſhe ſhould be the mother of him, did give him her maid *Hagar?* ----- Why was *Iſhmael* born ſo many years before *Iſaac*, &c. but to make ſtill freſh trials of his faith?--- Why might not then God have the ſame views in enjoining him to be circumciſed? he not only makes him wait for this ſon near twenty years, though promiſed in ſo ſolemn a manner, but when that time is elapſed, and *Abraham* thinks himſelf on the eve of receiving the reward of his faith, he croſſes his hopes a-freſh, and commands him to undergo an operation that ſeemed wholly to put an end to them. *Abraham* could not but look upon circumciſion as dangerous in that hot country, even to young men, much more to one of his years; and conſequently, that it muſt put him quite out of condition of ever being a father. The command of *his having the covenant in his fleſh* ſeemed as oppoſite to the promiſe of his having a ſon, as that of *his ſacrificing that ſon* was to the promiſe of his being the father of many nations. Notwithſtanding which, *Abraham*'s faith triumphed over this obſtacle alſo --- being fully perſuaded, that God could not only renew the ſtrength of an old man, but likewiſe make him fruitful, after his having undergone an operation which ſeemed ſo contrary to it. It is to extol this triumph that the ſcripture obſerves, he was ninety-nine years old, when he was circumciſed; and it was to preſerve the memory of it, that God enjoined that ceremony to all his poſterity, &c. (54).

All that needs be added under the head of circumciſion is, that the *Iſraelites* did not afterwards underſtand the curſe pronounced againſt thoſe who had it not, ſo ſtrictly as to cut them off, or drive them out from among them, provided they kept the law of nature, worſhipped the only true God, and abſtained from blood; but if they became circumciſed, they were looked upon as children of *Abraham*, and were bound to keep the law of *Moſes*. Theſe were called by the *Jews*, proſelytes of righteouſneſs, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of habitation, who were uncircumciſed, and only obſerved the laws of *Noah*, and were therefore called *Noachidæ*. Theſe two ſorts of proſelytes became ſo numerous, that in *Solomon*'s time there were an hundred and fifty three thouſand and ſix hundred of them in his kingdom (55).

(S) This feaſt was a whole fatted calf, three meaſures, or pecks, of fine flour, beſides cream and milk; by which, and that of two

(54) *Gen. xvii.* 24. (55) 2 *Chron. ii.* 17.

kids,

enquiring after *Sarah*, and being told that ſhe was in the tent, he then addreſſed himſelf to *Abraham*, and aſſured him, that he would viſit him again at the end of a year, by which time *Sarah* would have a ſon. *Sarah*, who was liſtening at the tent door, and thought herſelf paſt child-bearing, burſt out into a laughter, and the ſtranger aſked the reaſon of it in ſuch a ſerious tone, as ſtruck her with a terrible fright. She would fain have denied it; but it was to no purpoſe, that ſhe endeavoured to hide any thing from the perſon that ſpoke to her, who diſmiſſed her with this gentle reproof, that ſhe was highly in the wrong to miſtruſt what he had ſaid to her, ſince nothing was impoſſible with GOD. The three heavenly gueſts, for ſuch they were, roſe up in order to proceed on their journey, and *Abraham* courteouſly accompanied them ſome part of the way. At length one of them, whom the original calls the LORD (T), as a further mark of his favour, began to reveal a moſt dreadful ſecret to him, which was, that the cry of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* was gone up to heaven; and that he was going down fully reſolved to deſtroy them utterly, if, upon enquiry, he found their wickedneſs equal to the cry of it; whether the remembrance that *Lot* was in one

A ſon promiſed to Sarah.

kids, which *Rebekah* prepared for her husband (56), when ſhe was already grown dim with age, if we may gueſs at their ſtomachs, we ſhall be apt to conclude, that they were not of the ſmalleſt. Neither do the patriarchs differ much in this reſpect from *Homer*'s heroes, ſince he tells us, that when *Cumæus* entertained *Ulyſſes*, he dreſſed a whole hog, that was five years old, for him and four more (57). However, if we conſider their laborious life, and their enjoying a perfect ſtate of health, we need not wonder at their extraordinary appetite and good digeſtion.

(T) The name *Jehovah* יהוה, by which *Moſes* calls the ſtranger that talked to *Abraham*, being looked upon, by the generality of *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, to be the incommunicable name of GOD, it is believed by the far greater part of the latter, that it was the Son of GOD who appeared in that form: however others, particularly ſome modern ones (58), maintain, that it was but an angel who ſpoke to him in the perſon of GOD. But it is not probable, either that *Moſes* ſhould call an angel by that name, or that *Abraham* ſhould intercede with him as he doth, when he ſays, *that be far from thee to deſtroy the good with the wicked: ſhall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* or laſtly, that an angel ſhould peremptorily ſay, If I find forty, thirty, or twenty righteous men in the place, I will ſpare it for their ſakes. It is therefore more probable, that it was CHRIST himſelf, who is emphatically called the judge of all the world

(56) *Gen. xxvii.* 9, 10. (57) *Odyſſ.* 14. (58) *Le Clerc com. in loc. & al.*

of thoſe cities, or rather his natural compaſſion, gave *Abraham* freſh courage to intercede for thoſe righteous men that might be found among the wicked, *Abraham* did not ceaſe expoſtulating with him, till he had obtained a promiſe, that if there were but ten righteous men found in the place, he would ſpare it for their ſakes: Upon which, the Lord departed from him. The fate of thoſe cities, and *Lot*'s deliverance, have been already related †: as for *Abraham*, he ſaw the next morning the thick ſmoak of thoſe unfortunate cities, aſcending like that of a furnace [y].

Abraham *pleads for* Sodom.

Not long after, *Abraham*, leaving the plains of *Mamre*, probably to be out of the ſtench of the vale of *Siddim*, went and dwelt in the country of the *Philiſtines* ‡ between *Kadeſh* and *Shur* (U); where the ſame adventure happened to him which he had met with in *Egypt*. *Sarah*, whom neither her pregnancy nor advanced age (ſhe being now ninety years old) had deprived of her beauty, was again deſired by *Abraham* to paſs for his ſiſter; *Abimelech*, king of that country, ſtill ſaw charms enough in her to invite her to his bed; but the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and threatened him with immediate death, if he did not reſtore her untouched to her huſband, who was a prophet very dear to him; in conſequence of which, *Abraham* had his wife returned to him, with conſiderable preſents (W) [z].

Abimelech *takes* Sarah. *Is threatened by* God, *and reſtores her.*

The

† Supr. p. 76. [y] Geneſ. xix. ‡ Vid. ſupr. 202.
[z] Geneſ. xx.

(U) *Kadeſh* and *Shur* were the names of two deſerts, the laſt of which the *Iſraelites* entered after the paſſing of the *Red-ſea* (59) and is the ſame which is afterwards, called *Etham* (60). *Abraham* dwelling ſome conſiderable time here, called the place *Beerſheba* (61). Here it was that *Iſaac* was born, and *Abraham* liked the ſituation and people ſo well, that he continued in it upwards of twenty five years: from this place likewiſe he went to offer up his ſon in the land of *Moriah* (62).

(W) There ſeems to be a double miſtake in our tranſlatior in *Abimelech*'s ſpeech to *Sarah*, which runs thus: *Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand* pieces *of ſilver: behold he is to thee a covering of the eyes.——— and thus ſhe was reproved.* For it is plain, the king was purchaſing *Abraham*'s friendſhip, and not quarrelling with him or his wife, and *Abraham* had already ſo far juſtified both himſelf

(59) *Exod xv.* 22. *contra* Nic. de Lyr.
(60) *Numb. xxxiii.* 8. *Vid.* Toſtat.
(61) *Gen. xxi.* 31. *Vid.* Jun. *in loc.*
(62) *Gen. xxii.* 1.

THE time appointed being come, ſoon after their leaving the court, *Sarah* brought forth the long expected ſon, and called his name *Iſaac*. And *Abraham* failed not to circumciſe him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happineſs. *Sarah* ſuckled the child herſelf, and weaned him at the uſual time (X); and *Abraham* made a feaſt to all his houſhold that day: but their joy could not laſt long without ſome mixture of grief, by the jealouſy which *Iſaac* cauſed to *Hagar* and her ſon. *Iſaac* was ſcarce ſeven years old, when *Sarah* obſerved *Iſhmael* ſhew ſome contempt to him (Y), which made her reſolve to part them for ever, that

Iſaac *born.* Year of the Flood, 1102. Year before Chriſt 1897.

Iſhmael *mocks* Iſaac.

ſelf and her to the king's ſatisfaction: and therefore the word נכחת ſhould not have been rendered rebuked, as *Kimki* and others do, that think ſhe was blamed by all for the lie ſhe had told. *Pagninus* renders it *erudivit ſe*, i. e. ſhe learned more wit, whereas it is the participle of the verb יכח, which though it is generally rendered to reprove, or rebuke, yet it as often ſignifies ſearch, or enquire thoroughly into a thing till the truth be found. *Abimelech* therefore means no more, than that ſhe is acquitted after a full hearing, and the *Chaldee* paraphraſe hath tranſlated it accordingly. The other miſtake is, *Abraham*'s being ſaid to be a covering to her eyes, whereas the king ſeems to ſpeak of the thouſand pieces of ſilver which he gave them as a token of their juſtification, the veil being always the ſymbol of womens modeſty (63).

(X) It is not eaſy to gueſs how long they gave ſuck in thoſe days, the antient *Hebrews* are divided about it (64); ſome holding, that *Iſaac* was weaned at the end of five, and others not till the end of twelve years, and others, at the end of twenty four months (65); if we may judge by what the young *Maccabee*'s mother ſaid to him (66); *my ſon, remember I have ſuckled thee three years*, that time will appear the moſt probable. However, we may ſafely believe, that *Iſaac* was not weaned before the uſual time for want of care or affection in his mother (67)

(Y) The *Jewiſh* interpreters expound the word מצחק in the text, which ſignifies laughing, or, playing, by מלעיג, which ſignifies to deride and deſpiſe, and not without good grounds, ſince *Sarah* did ſo highly reſent it. They think that it happened on the day in which *Abraham* made the feaſt for the weaning of *Iſaac*, and that whilſt the gueſts were congratulating him for having a ſon and heir in his old age, *Iſhmael* ſhewed ſome tokens of deriſion, which *Sarah* obſerving, went and complained of it to her husband (68). However it is plain it muſt have been ſomething worſe than childrens play, as the Septuagint has rendered it, ſince St

(63) Pfeiter Flaccius *in loc.* Leſcene's *Eſſay.* (64) *Apud* Hieron. *quæſt Heber. in Geneſ.* (65) 2 *Maccab.* vii. 27. (66) Ap. Calvin. & Mercer. (67) Calv. Villet.. (68) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.*

that ſhe might be rid at once of all her fears. You know, ſaid ſhe to her huſband, That *Iſhmael* has no ſhare in the inheritance with my ſon; for which reaſon, it is not fit, that they ſhould continue longer together; ſend him, therefore, and his mother away, that we may once more be at peace. Though *Abraham* loved her to ſuch a degree that he could deny her nothing, yet he could not but look on her requeſt as too cruel and unreaſonable, ſeeing ſhe knew, that he had ſtill a great fondneſs for the boy; but, God confirming what *Sarah* had ſaid, and promiſing moreover to protect *Iſhmael*, and to make him a great nation out of regard to him, *Abraham* was at laſt prevailed upon to ſend him and his mother away the very next morning (*Z*). What befel them afterwards is foreign to our preſent ſubject.

Is ſent away with his mother.

Abimelech *makes a covenant with* Abraham.

Abraham, in the mean time, entered into a ſolemn league of friendſhip with *Abimelech*, king of the *Philiſtines* [a]. To ſecure his property in a well he had dug, to guard himſelf againſt the outrage of the *Philiſtines*, who had taken ſeveral wells from him before, and to ratify the aforeſaid alliance, *Abraham* preſented the king with oxen, ſheep, and the like; then taking ſeven young ſheep, he deſired him to accept of them, as a token that he had dug ſuch a well, and that he ſhould from thenceforth peacefully enjoy it. Upon this occaſion that place was called *Beerſhebah*, or the *well of the oath*, becauſe of the covenant which they had ſworn there (A). The pleaſantneſs of the place, and the friendſhip of

[a] Vid. ſupr. p. 204, & ſeq.

Paul calls it a perſecution (69). Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that *Iſhmael* is deſcribed by the angel (70) as a fierce and cruel man, and conſequently, could not but begin to ſhew ſome tokens of it, being then upwards of twenty one years of age.

(*Z*) The text tells us, that *Abraham* gave them only ſome bread and a pitcher of water; a ſmall proviſion if that had been all; but we muſt remember, that bread and water are commonly taken, in *Hebrew*, for all other neceſſary proviſions *Abraham* therefore may be ſuppoſed to have given them all things neceſſary for their journey.

(A) באר שבע *Beerſhebah* is compounded of two *Hebrew* words, the firſt of which ſignifies a well, and the other an oath, or likewiſe ſeven. Here *Moſes* applies the name to the oath, though it is more than probable, that *Abraham* had an eye to the double

(69) *Galat. iv.* 29. (70) *Gen. xvi.* 12.

meaning

of the king, invited *Abraham* to ſojourn there many years. He planted here a wood, and built an altar to the LORD, reſolving to end his days in this part, unleſs GOD ſhould otherwiſe determine [b].

BUT GOD had yet a further tryal to make of *Abraham's* faith and obedience, but ſo ſenſible a one as would put it to the utmoſt proof. *Iſaac*, the ſon of his old age, the promiſed head of a new and numerous race, the fountain of ſo many promiſed bleſſings, and the dear and only object of ſo much affection; this very *Iſaac* is now at length commanded to be brought unto a mountain, which GOD was to point out to him, and there to be offered up a burnt-ſacrifice, and that by the hands of his own father (B). *Abraham* never ſtayed to expoſtulate about the cruelty, illegality, and ſeverity of the command; but on the very next morning he gets all things ready, and, leaving it to GOD to make good his own promiſes, reſolves to obey. He ſets out the next morning for the place, and takes with him his ſon *Iſaac*, ſome ſervants, and all other things neceſſary for the

Abraham commanded *to ſacrifice his ſon* Iſaac.

[b] Gen. xxi.

meaning of the word *Shebah*, when he made choice of ſeven, rather than any other number of ewes. From this well the adjoining city was called alſo *Beerſheba*, which was the utmoſt bound of the land of promiſe on the ſouth, as *Dan* was towards the north; whence came the proverb, *From Dan to Beerſheba*. This city was one of thoſe which fell to the lot of the tribe of *Simeon* (71); but becauſe *Simeon* had his inheritance in the midſt of the tribe of *Judah* (72), therefore *Beerſheba* is alſo numbered amongſt the cities of *Judah* (73).

(B) As the age of *Iſaac* is not ſet down in the text, it is uncertain how old he was, when *Abraham* was ordered to offer him up. The opinion of ſome learned *Jews* (74), that he was but twelve years old, is ridiculous, ſince it would have been impoſſible for him to have carried ſuch a load of wood as he did. Others (75) ſay, that he was thirty ſeven years old, but that was the year of *Sarah's* death, whereas ſhe was alive when this happened. *Joſephus* makes him twenty five years old (76): and ſome chriſtians, antient and modern, conjecture, that he was paſt thirty, becauſe that was about the age in which CHRIST ſuffered, whoſe type *Iſaac* was at leaſt in this tranſaction, in which there were ſeveral circumſtances which bore a great conformity with thoſe that attended CHRIST's paſſion.

(71) *Joſh. xix.* 2. (72) *Ibid. v.* 9. (73) *Ibid xv* 28. (74) Abenezra *ap.* Poſtat. (75) *Ap.* Villet. (76) Joſ. *Antiq. l.* 14. Villet.

dreadful work. And, on the third day after his ſetting out diſcovers mount *Moriah* afar off (C), the place appointed by GOD. There, leaving his ſervants behind, he goes up to the mount without betraying any ſign of grief or concern, which might raiſe a ſuſpicion in his ſon. *Iſaac*, on the other hand, being laden with the wood and other materials for a burnt-offering, and obſerving nothing of a victim, could not forbear aſking his father where it was; ſuch a queſtion at ſuch a time was ſufficient to have ſtaggered a heart leſs firm than *Abraham*'s, who only anſwered calmly, that GOD would provide himſelf with one. He little thought how prophetically he ſpoke, for he had no ſooner bound his ſon upon the wood, and ſtretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, but GOD was pleaſed to ſtop him ſhort, being fully ſatisfied with this laſt trial of his obedience. He renewed all his promiſes and covenant afreſh, and bound them with an oath. Then *Abraham* looking about found a ram, the victim GOD was to provide, caught by the horns in a thick buſh, and with the help of his ſon offered it up inſtead of him; in memory of which he called that place *Jehovah-Jireh*, the LORD will *look to* or *provide*, alluding to the anſwer he had given to *Iſaac*'s queſtion. He went, and rejoined his ſervants, and returned home to *Beerſheba*, where *Sarah*, who in all probability was kept ignorant of the important ſecret, was ready to receive them with her uſual tenderneſs and affection [c]. Not long after this he heard the joyful news, that *Milcah*, his brother *Nahor's* wife, had bore him a numerous iſſue (D), which determined him to ſend thither for a wife for his ſon *Iſaac* [d].

But countermanded by an angel from him.

ABRAHAM

[c] Gen. xxii. [d] Gen. xxiv. 3, 4, &c.

(C) This mountain is certainly the ſame on which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon* (77); and therefore thoſe who affirm that CHRIST was crucified upon it, don't fix the name to that particular hill; but to the whole ridge of them. *Moriah* takes its name from the *Hebrew* רְאֹה *Raah*, *to ſee*: whence the LXX and *Aquila* tranſlate it γῆν ὑψηλὴν, *a high or conſpicuous land*. *Fuller* derives it from two *Hebrew* words, מַרְאֶה, *viſion*, and יְהֹ, GOD; and by contraction *Moriah*, becauſe GOD was ſeen upon it (78).

(D) The children of *Nahor* by *Milcah* were 1. *Huz*; 2. *Buz*; 3. *Kemuel*; 4. *Cheſed*; 5. *Hazo*; 6. *Pildaſh*; 7. *Jidlaph*; and, 8. *Bethuel*, who begat *Rebekah* the wife of *Iſaac*. He had ſome o-

(77) 2 *Chron. iii.* 1, 2. (78) *Miſcel. Sacr. l.* 2. *c. xiv.*

thers

ABRAHAM, well pleaſed with the conſtancy and reſignation which he had beheld in his ſon, lived in great peace and tranquillity for ſome time; but it was at length diſturbed by the death of *Sarah*, which happened in the hundred and twenty ſeventh year of her age, in the city of *Arbah*, *alias Hebron* (E) [c]. *Abraham* came thither to mourn for her, and to Sarah's *death*.

[c] Vid. ſupr. p. 360, (G).

thers beſides from a concubine named *Reumah* (79). *Huz*, the firſt-born, is ſuppoſed by ſome to have peopled, and given name to, the land of *Huz* (80), where *Job* dwelt (81); but it is not improbable, that it was already ſo called from *Huz* the ſon of *Aram* (82). From *Buz* came the *Buſites*; of which family *Elihu*, one of *Job*'s friends, probably was (83). *Kemuel*, called in the text the father of *Aram*, is therefore thought the father of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, perhaps the ſame with the *Camuelite* of *St abo* (84), in the land of *Haram* (85): but we are inclined to believe, that by this *Aram* is only meant a ſon of *Kemuel*, and not a race of deſcendants, much leſs of the *Syrians*, as the LXX and *Vulgate* read it; or of *Aram Naharaim*, as ſome; or *Aram Zoba*, as others think (86); for the city of *Nahor* was in *Aram*. This city and nation therefore ſeems to have been more antient than *Kemuel*, and to have been ſo called from *Aram* the ſon of *Shem* (87). As for *Cheſed*, if he was the father of the *Chaſims*, or *Chaldees*, at leaſt of that part which was on this ſide *Babylon*, as is ſuppoſed by the ſame author (88), 'tis certain there were others more antient on the other ſide, for *Abraham* came from *Chaldæa*. However, theſe ſons of *Nahor* gave names to ſome cities and families of *Syria*, ſuch as *Buzan*, *&c* remembered by a *Latin* author (89). The children of his concubine were *Tebah*, *Gaham*, *Thahaſh*, and *Maachah*. From this laſt the city of *Maachah*, or *Abel-Beth-Maachah* (90), whoſe territories are ſuppoſed to have been ſituate between the two *Lebanons*, might probably receive its name (91).

(E) The text is ſomewhat obſcure in this place. *Sarah* is ſaid to die at *Arbah*, and yet no mention is made of *Abraham*'s removing from *Beerſheba* thither, only he is ſaid to come thither to mourn for her and bury her. Some therefore are of opinion, that they might be parted upon ſome occaſion or other, and that *Sarah* went to *Arbah*, whilſt her huſband kept his old dwelling. Others, not brooking ſuch a ſeparation, think, that he came only from his

(79) *Gen. xxii.* 21 *& ſeq.* (80) *Calmet. Hiſt. Vet. Teſt. p.* 148. (81) *Job i.* 1. (82) *Gen. x.* 22. *vid. Hieron.* (83) *Job xxxii.* 6. (84) *Strabo l.* 16. (85) *Calm. ubi ſupr.* (86) *Toſtat. Cajet. in loc.* (87) *Gen. x.* 22. (88) *Calmet. l.* 1. *vid. Jun. & Villet.* (89) *Ammian. Marc l.* 18. (90) 1 *Chron. xix.* 6, 7. (91) *Calmet. ibid. p.* 148.

own

to pay the laſt devoirs to the faithful partner of and conſtant companion of his travels, till, having given a ſufficient vent to his grief, another care called upon him; *viz.* to procure her an honourable burial. He therefore aroſe, and went to the gates of *Hebron* (F), in order to purchaſe a burying-place from the ſons of *Heth*, who dwelt in that city, and were probably the moſt conſiderable in that place. He had no own tent into that of *Sarah*, for they had their ſeparate tents, to weep over her. But this ſeems to wreſt the text a little too much; however, we will not venture to affirm any thing on either ſide.

(F) The gates of cities in thoſe days, and for many centuries after, were the places of judicature and common reſort. Here the governors or elders of the city met to hear complaints, adminiſter juſtice, make conveyances of titles and eſtates, and to tranſact all the affairs of the place (92). Whence that verſe in the *Pſalms* (93), *they ſhall not be aſhamed when they ſpeak with their enemies in the gate*, i. e. when they are accuſed by them before the court of magiſtrates.

It is probable, that the room or hall where the magiſtrates ſat was over the gates, becauſe *Boaz* is ſaid to go up to the gate. The like did *David* when he went to weep for the death of *Abſalom* (94). How conſiderable they became in time for largeneſs and ſumptuouſneſs appears, by the two kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* being preſent at one of them in all their royal ſplendor, and convening thither four hundred prieſts of *Baal*, beſides their own guards and officers (95). It ſeems, as if theſe places had been at firſt choſen for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who, being all huſbandmen, and forced to paſs and repaſs, morning and night, as they went and came from their labour, might be more eaſily called as they went by, whenever they were wanted to appear in any buſineſs. Theſe gates were likewiſe markets for proviſions, like thoſe of the *Romans*, as appears by the prophet *Eliſha*'s fortelling an incredible plenty to happen the next day, in the midſt of famine, at the gates of *Samaria* (96). What the number of theſe magiſtrates were, how far their power extended, and how many orders of them there were, is not to be gathered from ſcripture; only it is plain there could be but few of the latter, ſince in the time of *Joſhua* we can find but four ſorts of them; *viz.* the *Zekenim* or elders, the *Raſhim* or heads of the people, the *Sophetim* or judges, and the *Soterim* or officers. *Abraham* therefore could not make his purchaſe from *Ephron* the *Hittite* †, without having recourſe to the city gates.

(92) *Gen. xxxiv.* 20. *Ruth iv.* 1 & *ſeq.* (93) *Pſal. cxxvii. ver. ult.* (94) 2 *Sam. xviii.* 33. (95) 1 *Kings xxii.* 10. 2 *Chron. xviii.* (96) 2 *Kings vii.* 1, 31. *Joſh. xxiv.* 1.

† *See before p.* 171.

ſooner

ſooner declared the occaſion of his coming, but they one and all told him with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, that he might make choice of the beſt ſepulchre in the whole land, aſſuring him, that none of them ſhould withhold his own from him. But *Abraham* came to purchaſe, and not to borrow one; and therefore having returned their civilities, he begged, that he might be permitted to buy the cave of *Machpelah* (G) from *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was then one of the aſſembly, and did immediately make him a free offer of it [f]. But *Abraham* ſtill inſiſting upon paying the full worth thereof, before he would make any uſe of it, they agreed for four hundred pieces of ſilver (H), which he payed down in full weight before them, and became poſſeſſor of the cave, field, and trees belonging to it, and ſoon after depoſited the dear remains of his beloved wife in the cave (I) [g].

Abraham buys the cave of Machpelah.

BY this time *Abraham* was well advanced in years, and *Iſaac* was come to the fortieth year of his age. He thought

Year of the Flood, 1142.

Year before Chriſt, 1857.

[f] Vid. ſup. p. 171. c. [g] Gen. xxiii.

(G) *Machpelah* in *Hebrew* ſignifies doub'e: whence it is ſuppoſed by ſome, that there was a cave within another, or two, or more, contiguous to each other, in one of which *Sarah* was buried, and *Abraham* afterwards in the other (97). Others think that is the name of the field, and that it ſhould be rendered the cave that is in *Machpelah*. *Calmet* * tells us of a perſon, whom he doth not name, well verſed in the *Arabic*, who ſays, that the word *Machphelah* in that language ſignifies *ſhut up*, or *walled up*, it being the cuſtom to wall up theſe tombs to prevent robbers from ſheltering themſelves therein. There are ſtill multitudes of ſuch ſepulchres thus ſhut up, which ſeem to confirm this conjecture, which if it be true, the words ought rather to have been rendered *the incloſed cave*.

(H) The learned *Prideaux*, who has given us the laſt and beſt eſtimation of *Hebrew* and *Attic* coins, reckons a ſhekel to be equivalent to three ſhillings of our *Engliſh* money; ſo that the ſum which *Abraham* paid for his new purchaſe will amount to ſixty pounds ſterling (†).

(I) The art of embalming being known already in thoſe days, it is more than probable that *Abraham* embalmed his wife before he buried her. The days of mourning, which he had fulfilled before he went to buy her ſepulchre, being three days for any ordinary relation, but at leaſt ſeven or eight for ſo near a one as a wife, he could never have kept her ſweet till the cave had been purchaſed and fitted for her.

(97) *Jun. Munſt. Villet. & al. in loc.* * *Calm. Diction. ſub voc. Machpelah.* † *Prid. Connect. Pref. p.* 22.

it

it therefore high time to marry him to ſome of his own family during his life, which, in all probability could not laſt much longer. To this end he called one of his chief and moſt faithful ſervants, and having made him take an oath to get his ſon a wife out of his own kindred (K), gave him all neceſſary inſtructions, and authority to conclude the marriage, and ſent him away with a train ſuitable to the embaſſy he was ſent upon. That is, with ten camels laden with the richeſt preſents for the damſel's dowry; it being the cuſtom in thoſe days for the huſband not to receive, but to pay, a dowry for the wife. The ſervant made the beſt of his way to *Haran* where *Nahor* dwelt; and being ſat down by a well, a little before the damſels of the country came to fetch water, penſive and ſolicitous how to perform his meſſage to his maſter's ſatisfaction, he made a mental prayer to God, that he would give him a token of his having proſpered his journey, which was, that the damſel, of whom he ſhould aſk for ſome water to drink, and ſhe anſwer, that ſhe would water his camels alſo, might be ſhe who was deſigned for *Iſaac*. He had not waited long, e're *Rebekah*'s officious courteſy gave him to underſtand, that his prayer was heard; and being informed by her whoſe daughter ſhe was, with ſome other circumſtances relating to her family, he immediately took out ſome gold ear-rings to the weight of two ſhekels, and a bracelet that weighed about ten (L), which

Abraham ſends his ſervant to get a wife for Iſaac.

(K) The text tells us, that the ſervant took the oath by putting his hand under his maſter's thigh, or upon his privities. This is the firſt time we read of the ceremony, but it was afterwards uſed by *Jacob* (98) and *Joſeph* (99) in *Egypt*, when they were dying. The oddneſs of it has inclined ſome judicious writers to think, that it implied a more ſolemn myſtery than men are aware of; *viz.* a ſwearing by the great Messiah that was to come, and the like (100) Some *Jews* think it was a ſwearing by the covenant of circumciſion, and that whoſoever violated the oath, loſt all the privileges and benefits of that covenant. *Kimki* tells us, that was ſtill obſerved all over the eaſt by thoſe of his nation (101).

(L) In order to know the value of theſe preſents, we ſhould know what proportion gold bore to ſilver in thoſe days, which is impoſſible. The author above quoted (102) tells us, that in proceſs of time it came to be as ten, eleven, and twelve to one, according as it changed. But if we compute them according to the preſent value, which is as ſixteen to one, they will be worth 27*l.* 6*s.*

(98) *Gen. xlvii.* 29 (99) *Ibid. l.* 25. (100) *Rab. Sal. in loc. Vid. Alix. in Pentat.* (101) *Kimki apud Munſt. in loc.* (102) *Prid. Pref. p.* 25.

he

he preſented to her, deſiring, that if they had any room at her houſe, he might be permitted to lodge there that night. *Rebekah* anſwered in the affirmative, and, taking the preſents with her, ran home to acquaint her family with the adventure. *Laban* had no ſooner heard the news, than he came and invited the ſtranger to his houſe, who gave them a full account of all his maſter's wealth and great proſperity. Whilſt care was taking of him and his camels, he told them the occaſion of his journey; and when he related to them the ſucceſs which his prayer had had, and that he would neither eat or drink till they had given him a poſitive anſwer, *Laban* and *Bethuel* (M) concluded that the hand of GOD was viſible throughout all this affair; and that it would be an unpardonable thing to refuſe *Rebekah* to his maſter. They thought her extremely well diſpoſed of, and conſented, that he ſhould convey her to her huſband as ſoon as he pleaſed. He then immediately began to take out all the jewels of ſilver and gold, and fine raiment which he had brought, and preſented them to her, and made ſome conſiderable preſents beſides to her mother and brother; after which the reſt of the day was ſpent in feaſting and mirth. The next morning *Abraham*'s ſervant, who thought now the time long till his maſter was acquainted with the good ſucceſs of his negotiation, deſired to be diſmiſſed. This requeſt did ſomewhat ſurprize them. They deſired him to ſtay at leaſt ten days longer; but he ſtanding firm to his reſolution, the thing was referred to *Rebekah*, who conſenting to go with him as ſoon as he pleaſed, they got all things ready for her departure; and after they had wiſhed her all the uſual bleſſings, and given her her nurſe to accompany her, they took their leave. The ſervant ſoon brought her in ſight of his young maſter, who chanced that night to be taking a ſolitary walk in the neighbouring fields, and as ſoon as *Rebekah* was informed who he was, ſhe alighted, and throwing a veil over her face, as the manner of young damſels then was, ſhe waited to receive his firſt com-

Rebecca *is given to* Iſaac.

(M) This *Bethuel* could not be her father, who had probably been dead ſome time before, but another brother (103); who therefore is here named after *Laban*, and is never more taken notice of during the whole tranſaction (104). *Joſephus* makes the damſel tell the man, that her father had been dead long ago, and that ſhe was left to the care of her brother *Laban* (105).

(103) *Gen. xxiv.* 50 & *ſeq.*
(104) *Vid. Nic. de Lyra.*
(105) *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 16.

pliments

Isaac *takes her home.*

pliments [h]. He then conducted her to his mother's tent, highly pleased with her extreme beauty and modest carriage, as well as the kindred she came from; all which he looked upon as ample amends for the loss of his mother. He had now nothing to wish for but that she might prove fruitful; but he was forced to wait nineteen years before he could obtain that blessing; during which he comforted himself and her with the assurance of God's promises, and the example of *Sarah*, who remained childless till the ninetieth year of her age.

Abraham *being* 141 *years old, marries* Keturah, *and has six sons by her.*

Abraham could not but be pleased to see his son in the possession of so agreeable a wife; but that not proving sufficient to comfort him for the loss of his own, and finding himself still strong enough to make a new addition to his family, though he was then an hundred and forty one years old (N), and had continued a widower several years; he took another wife, named *Keturah* (O), by whom he had six sons whom he

[h] Gen. xxiv.

(N) We need not wonder, that *Abraham*, or any of the patriarchs should allow themselves to have concubines, and sometimes more wives than one, if we consider, that a numerous posterity was looked upon as one of the greatest blessings, and as a mark of grandeur and esteem. Accordingly we meet with several places of scripture, in which men of rank are particularly recorded for having a great number of sons (107).

(O) The *Jews* pretend, that this *Keturah* was the same with *Hagar*, whom *Abraham* sent for again after his wife's death, and by whom he had all these children. The reasons they give for it are, 1. Because the *Psalmist* calls the *Midianites*, which came of *Keturah*, *Hagarens* (108). 2. It is said elsewhere they made war with the *Hagarens*, with *Jethur*, *Naphish*, and *Nadab* (109), which were the sons of *Ishmael* (110). And 3. because *Ishmael*, *Hagar*'s son, is said to have assisted *Isaac* at the funeral obsequies of their father *Abraham* 111). To which they add, that *Hagar* being *Abraham*'s lawful wife, it was juster for him to marry her than another. But these reasons, and her name's being changed from *Hagar* into *Keturah*, which signifies incense, and is the emblem of continency, in which she had lived ever since she had been dismissed from *Abraham*, are rabbinical dreams, for she is still called *Hagar* in the same chapter (112) Besides, the text is plain against them, it being said, that *Abraham* added, or proceeded to take, another wife, which is inconsistent with his recalling the old one. Add to this,

(107) *Judg. viii.* 30. *Ibid. x.* 4. *Esther. ix.* 10. (108) *Psal. lxxxiii.* 6. (109) 1 *Chron. v.* 9. (110) Hieron. *tradit. Heber. in Gen. xxv.* 20. (111) *Gen. xxv.* 9. (112) *v.* 12.

that

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he afterwards portioned, that they might not interfere with *Iſaac*'s inheritance, and ſent them to dwell towards the eaſt (P). Theſe ſix ſons went away eaſtward of *Beerſheba* and the land of *Canaan*, and ſettled in both *Arabias*, the *Petræa* and the *Deſerta*, ſome footſteps of whoſe names are ſtill to be met with, of which we have in part given an account already [i].

CONCERNING *Abraham* we have nothing more recorded, except that he lived to the hundred and ſeventy fifth year of his age, and was gathered unto his fathers, and that his two ſons paid him their laſt devoirs, *Iſaac* having probably ſent for his brother *Iſhmael*, and buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*, near *Sarah* his wife. By which it is plain, that *Moſes* has here anticipated his death, by mentioning it before the birth of his two grandſons, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, though he muſt have lived to the fifteenth year of their age (Q). Abraham's death.

As

[i] Vid. Sup. p. 110 & ſeq.

that *Hagar* was only a concubine, and is no where called a wife, as *Keturah* is. As to the two paſſages of ſcripture above quoted, we need only anſwer, that they prove not the *Midianites*, or any of *Keturah*'s ſons, to be called *Hagarens*; but that this laſt name was common to all the poſterity of *Iſhmael*, ſome of which were called *Iſhmaelites*, ſome *Itureans*, ſome *Nebeans*, &c. (113).

(P) From theſe words ſome authors have concluded, that *Abraham* had married *Keturah* long before *Sarah*'s death (114), or even immediately after he parted with *Hagar*; and that the words ſhould be rendered *he had married*, inſtead of *he married* another wife; ſince *Abraham* doth not ſeem to have lived long enough to have diſpoſed of all theſe ſons in his life-time, as the text ſays he did, if he did not take *Keturah* till after his ſon's marriage. In anſwer to which, beſides what has been ſaid in the laſt note, that ſuch a notion is contrary to the ſenſe of the original, we may obſerve that *Abraham* lived at leaſt thirty-four years after it; by which time they might be all big enough to go from him. Beſides, *Hagar* muſt by this time have been about eighty years of age, and ſo too old to bear ſo many ſons.

(Q) *Abraham*'s hiſtory has been embelliſhed with a great many notorious fictions by the *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*. We have already touched on ſome of them *; and we ſhall now ſubjoin ſome few more that are remarkable, ſuch as his making a long abode in *Egypt*, and teaching aſtronomy, and other ſciences there (115); his inventing the *Hebrew* characters and tongue (116), the

(113) Jun. *in loc.* Villet. *c.* 25. *Quæſt.* 3. & *al.* (114) *Vid.* Calvin. *in loc.* * *See before, p.* 356. *not.* C. (115) Artapan. & Eupolem. *ap.* Euſeb. *præp. l.* 9. *c.* 17, 18. Juſtin *ex Trog l.* 36. Joſeph. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 8. (116) *Id. ibid.* Suid. *in* Abraham. Iſodor. *Hiſpal. l.* 1. *c.* 3. Origen, &c.

ſame

Rebekah's *pregnancy.* As for *Rebekah*, ſhe continued barren above nineteen years; during which time *Iſaac* ceaſed not entreating the LORD

ſame we now uſe. His being the author of ſeveral books, and in particular the famous one, mentioned in the *Talmud*, and highly valued by ſeveral learned rabbies, called *Jetzirah*, or the creation; of which it gives an account. There is alſo an apocalypſe attributed to him by the *Sethians*, a ſort of heretics that ſprang up in the earlieſt times of chriſtianity (117). His aſſumption is mentioned by St. *Athanaſius*, and *Origen* tells us of an apocryphal book pretended to be written by him, wherein two angels, a good one and a bad one, are introduced diſputing about his ſalvation or damnation (118). The *Jews* make him alſo the compoſer of ſome prayers, and of the nineteenth Pſalm, and of a treatiſe againſt idolatry (119). The *Indian* fire-worſhippers, who think him to have been the ſame with their great prophet *Zoroaſter*, do attribute his books to him, which they call the *Zend*, *Pazend*, and *Voſtah*, containing all the principles of their religion (120). Dr. *Prideaux* mentions them as one book, or perhaps three books in one volume, which he calls *Zendeveſti*; or as the vulgar people pronounce it, *Zundeveſtow* or plain *Zund*. Which name he tells us ſignifies a *fire-kindler*, ſuch as a tinder-box is here with us, and was given it by the author to inſinuate, that it would kindle a brighter fire in thoſe who ſhould attentively and devoutly read it †.

The *Arabians* do likewiſe give us a hiſtory of this patriarch, though ſo altered and blended, that one would hardly think they were deſcended, as they are, from him by *Iſhmael*.

Abraham, according to them (121), was the ſon of *Azar* and grandſon of *Terah*; which account, could it be relied upon, would eaſily reſolve that difficulty about his age when he died, which we have ſpoken of before, note (B) pag. 335. Since *Terah* might have begot *Azar* in the ſeventeenth year of his age, and *Azar* have begot *Abraham* in the ſixtieth of his; ſo that this laſt number, which is wanting in *Moſes*'s account of his life, would be here found complete; but we dare not affirm any thing about it. *Calmet* indeed thinks we might eaſily ſuppoſe two *Terahs*, one ſur-named *Azar*, *Abraham*'s father, and the other his grandfather; but how he can ſay, that there is nothing in ſuch a ſuppoſition that contradicts the ſacred text, we can't ſo well comprehend. The eaſtern heathen have alſo a long tradition of *Abraham*'s life, though vaſtly different from that of *Moſes*, and fraught with a great many wonderful additions of their own invention. The reader however may be glad to have a ſhort account of it out of the laſt quoted author (122).

(117) Epiphan. *Hæreſ. l.* 39. *c.* 5. (118) Orig. *Homil.* 35. *in* Luc. (119) R. Salom. *in* Bava Bathrah, *c.* 1. Gemar. *Cod. Talm. Tract.* Abodah Zarah, *c.* 1. (120) Herbelot. *Biblioth. Orient. p.* 16. † *Coun. p.* 317. (121) Tarikmounteckeb *apud eund p.* 12. (122) *Id. jbid. p.* 13. *ex lib. Mallem.*

LORD for her, who was pleaſed at length to hear his prayers, and ſend him the long deſired bleſſing. They now thought them-

Nimrod, the ſon of *Canaan*, did reign in *Babylon*, which he is thought to have built, and ſaw in a dream a ſtar ariſing, whoſe light did outſhine that of the ſun. The ſoothſayers, whom he conſulted, told him, that a child, not yet begotten, would be born in *Babylon*, who would prove very dangerous to him; whereupon *Nimrod* forbad, by an expreſs order, all the *Babylonians* to lie with their wives; but *Azar*, one of his chief officers, found means to get at his own, and one night got her with child. The magicians came next morning, and acquainted him that his precautions had proved vain, and that the child was got that night, and adviſed him to get all the pregnant women to be well guarded, and their children put to death as ſoon as they were born; but *Adnah*, *Azar*'s wife, not ſhewing any marks of her pregnancy, went on with it, and was brought to bed of a ſon in a cave or grotto, the entrance of which ſhe had carefully ſtopp'd, and then came and told her husband, that the child died as ſoon as it came into the world. She failed not however to go and ſuckle it as often as ſhe could, and was ſurpriſed to find him ſtill ſucking two of his fingers, one of which gave him milk, and the other honey. Being thus ſatisfied that providence took care of him, ſhe viſited him more ſeldom; but obſerving, that he grew as faſt in one day as other children do in a month, inſomuch that at the age of fifteen moons he was as forward as a boy of fifteen years, ſhe acquainted her huſband with the whole ſtory.

Azar went immediately to the cave, and ordered his wife to bring him into the city, where he deſigned to ſettle him in *Nimrod*'s court. *Adnah* took the boy through ſome meadows where there were abundance of cattle, which made *Abraham*, who never had ſeen any before, very inquiſitive what they were, and his mother took a great deal of pleaſure in inſtructing him in their names, natures, uſes, and the like; which made him deſirous to know who had made them all; and being anſwered that all creatures owed their being to GOD, *Abraham* asked how himſelf came into the world, and *Adnah* told him ſhe brought him forth: he then enquired farther who was her lord, and ſhe anſwered that it was *Azar*; and who is *Azar*'s lord, continued he? *Nimrod*, ſaid his mother. But here ſhe thought fit to ſtop all further enquiry, telling him, it was dangerous for him to be too inquiſitive. By this time they were got to the city, which he ſaw ſwarming with all ſorts of idolaters; he returned to his grotto more deſirous than ever of knowing his Creator; and obſerving one night the ſtar of *Venus* to ſhine brighter than all the reſt, he began to fancy that to be the creator of the world, till he ſaw her ſet, which convinced him of the contrary, ſince he thought GOD incapable of any change. He made the ſame judgment of the moon; and at length ſeeing great multitudes worſhip the ſun, he was tempted to do the ſame; but having likewiſe

themſelves happy indeed; but *Rebekah* did not long continue ſo. The ſtruggles of the twins, which ſhe bore, cauſed her a great

obſerved its declination towards the weſt, he concluded that it could not be GOD.

Azar preſented him to *Nimrod*, who was ſeated on a lofty throne, and attended by a great number of the moſt beautiful ſlaves of both ſexes. *Abraham* asked his father who he was that was thus ſeated above all the reſt, and he told him that it was *Nimrod*, whom all that croud about him looked upon as their god; but *Abraham* anſwered that he could not be their god, ſeeing he was not ſo handſome, and conſequently not ſo perfect as they. He afterwards took occaſion to preach to his father the unity of GOD, which made him ſo many enemies among the courtiers, who would not admit of his doctrine, that *Nimrod*, being acquainted with it, cauſed him to be thrown into a fiery furnace, out of which he came nevertheleſs ſafe and unhurt.

A famine, that raged ſoon after this, having made him diſtribute all his ſtore to the poor, he ſent to a friend of his in *Egypt* for a freſh ſupply, but was refuſed, under pretence that he did not want it for himſelf; but to give it away to the poor. The meſſengers, being afraid that the *Babylonians* would laugh at them, if they came home empty, filled their ſacks with a white ſort of ſand; and being got home to their maſter, acquainted him with their ill ſucceſs. *Abraham*, without being alarmed at it, went into his little oratory to comfort himſelf with his GOD, and in the mean time *Sarah* his wife, who knew nothing of this myſtery, ſeeing the camels laden with full ſacks, went and emptied one of them, which ſhe found full of fine flour, and made ſome bread of it for the poor. *Abraham* having concluded his prayers came out, and was ſurprized at the ſmell of the new bread, and aſked his wife where ſhe had got the flour, and ſhe told him that it was that which had been brought to him from his friend in *Egypt*; rather, replied he, from GOD, our only true friend, who has not forſaken us in time of need. And from that time *Abraham* was ſtiled *the friend of* GOD; a name given him by the prophets (123), and by all the *Moſlams*, who call *Hebron* the place where he lies buried, *the city of the friend of* GOD; though they make him vaſtly inferior to their *Mohammed*; to whom, one of them ſays, *Abraham* was but an officer, and the MESSIAH maſter of the ceremonies.

They are not agreed about the number of angels who dined in his tent. One of them (124) reckons there were three; *viz. Gabriel*, *Arraphel*, and *Michael*. The firſt of whom was ſent to deſtroy *Sodom*, the ſecond to foretel the birth of *Iſaac*, and the third to deliver *Lot* and his family. The *Kôran* tells us, that *Abraham*

(123) *Iſa. xli.* 8. *Dan. iii.* 35. (124) *Damiati.*

treated

a great deal of pain and uneaſineſs, till having conſulted GOD about it, ſhe was anſwered, that *two nations were ſtriving in her womb, and that two ſorts of people ſhould be ſeparated from her bowels, one of which ſhould prove ſtronger than the other, and*

treated them with a roaſted calf; but obſerving that they did not eat, he was frighted with the thoughts of their being enemies, there being no greater token of enmity in thoſe countries, than to refuſe to eat and drink with the perſon that invites. The angels however ſoon eaſed him of that fear, by telling him that they were ſent from GOD to *Lot*'s people, which made *Sarah*, who was then preſent burſt out into a laughter. Thus far *Mohammed*, who, being perhaps ignorant of the true hiſtory of *Abraham*, tells it after his ridiculous manner. His interpreters pretend, that the cauſe of her laughing was either her joy to ſee her huſband rid of his fears, or the pleaſure ſhe ſhould have to ſee *Sodom* in flames, or her admiration to ſee angels in human ſhapes. However, her laughter made the angel tell her, that ſhe ſhould have a ſon named *Iſaac*, who ſhould be the father of *Jacob*. To which ſhe anſwered, that it would be a marvellous thing indeed, if, old as ſhe was, and her lord ſtill much older, ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon; but they having aſſured her, that the divine power would not be wanting, ſeeing the bleſſing was upon *Abraham* and her, who were choſen to be the heads of a numerous family, they departed towards *Sodom*, whilſt *Abraham* pleaded hard with GOD not to deſtroy the city, if ſo many righteous men were found in it; and ſo on.

The *Mohammedans* have likewiſe altered the ſtory of *Hagar* and *Iſhmael*, in which there is this prayer of *Abraham*, *Lord, I have placed one of my ſons in a barren valley, near thy holy temple.* Of which the commentators on the *Kôran* tell us the occaſion was, that *Sarah*, who could not endure the ſight of *Hagar* or her ſon, deſired *Abraham* to ſend them into ſome dry and barren land: that *Abraham*, being troubled at her cruel requeſt, was told by the angel *Gabriel*, to do as his wife bid him; whereupon he conveyed both the mother and the child into the territory of *Mecca*, which was then barren, and without water; but that the angel made a fountain to ſpring up from under *Iſhmael*'s feet, which is now the well of *Zemzem*, ſo famed among the *Turks*, and the only one in all that country. At the ſame time GOD bleſſed the land, and made it ſo fruitful, that it abounds with each kind of fruit of the four ſeaſons of the year, which grow plentifully there all the year round.

There was then no temple built at *Mecca*, but only a great edifice called *Sorah*, reared up by *Seth* in *Adam*'s life-time, in the form of a temple, which was reſorted to with great devotion. But the deluge having deſtroyed it, it was afterwards rebuilt by *Abraham* and *Iſhmael*. The *Turks* call it *Caabah*, or the ſquare-houſe, and think themſelves bound to viſit it at leaſt once in their life, and always turn their faces towards it when they pray, in what part of

Year of the Flood, 1163. Year before Christ 1837. Esau *and* Jacob *born.*

and that the elder should serve the younger. Accordingly she was soon after brought to bed of two sons, the first of which, *viz.*

the world soever they be. A modern author (125) thinks, that both the *Arabs* and *Ishmaelites* did formerly worship *Bacchus* and *Urania*, or *Venus*, in that temple; for *Herodotus* assures us, that they worshipped none but those two deities, the first of whom they called *Urotalt*, and the latter *Alilat* (126). Though other authors have since told us, that they worshipped also *Jupiter*, the sun, moon and dæmons (127). However that be, it is most likely, that the altar and grove which *Abraham* built at *Beersheba* (128), gave the first rise to the fiction of his building this temple.

They tell us moreover (129), that *Abraham* having prayed to God to let him see how he raised the dead, was asked by him *whether he wanted faith? no*, replied he, *but it would be a great satisfaction to me.* At the same time the devil having taken notice of a dead body thrown up by the sea, and half devoured by fishes, birds, and wild beasts (130) thought it a proper instrument to ensnare mankind against the belief of a resurrection. He appeared to *Abraham*, who had been bid to repair to the sea-shore, in the shape of a man that seemed astonished at something, and asked him, how it could be possible for the parts of that dead carcass, which had been devoured by so many living creatures, to be re-united at the general resurrection. To whom *Abraham* answered, that he who had created all those limbs out of nothing could more easily gather them from the different places where they lay scattered, than a potter could the broken pieces of a potsherd, and make a new one out of them.

After this God bid him take four birds, and cut them in pieces, and to carry the pieces upon four different mountains; and then give them a call, and he should see them all four fly immediately to him. This seems to be taken from the heifers, goats, and pigeons, which *Abraham* was bid to hew in pieces, &c. (131). To which the *Mohammedans* have added several other circumstances, such as that the four birds were a cock, a dove, a raven, and a peacock; that he cut them all in small pieces, and jumbled them all together. Some add, that he pounded them in a mortar, and divided the whole mass into four parts, which he carried to the tops of four different mountains; after which holding their heads, which he had kept unminced, he called them distinctly by their names; whereupon each of them came to fetch his own head, and flew away. Thus it was that *Abraham* was convinced of the truth of the resurrection according to the *Mohammedans*. And this seems to have some far off relation with what our Saviour says of him (132), that *Abraham* had desired to see his day, and that he saw it

(125) *Calm. Diction. sub voc. Abraham.* (126) *Herodot. l.* 3. *c.* 8. (127) *Strabo l* 16. *Philostorg. ap. Phot. Ammian. Marcel. & al.* (128) *Gen. xxi.* 23. (129) *Koran. c.* 2. (130) *Herbelot. Bibl. Or. p.* 15. (131) *Gen. xv.* 9. *& seq.* (132) *John viii.* 56.

and

viz. Eſau, was all over hairy, and the ſecond came out holding

and rejoiced; which the *Mohammedans*, according to their cuſtom, have applied to the day of the reſurrection. The *Perſian* fire-worſhippers do to this day expreſs a great veneration for him; they call him *Zeerdooſt*, or *Zoroaſter*, which ſignifies the friend of fire, becauſe when he was thrown into the furnace by *Nimrod*'s order, the flames, inſtead of conſuming him, careſſed and embraced him in a friendly manner (133).

Calmet (134) mentions a book in the *French* king's library. No 792, written originally by St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, and tranſlated from the *Syriac* into *Arabic*, upon *Abraham*'s journey into *Egypt*; in which book there is alſo a ſermon on his death, preached by St. *Atharaſius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, on the twenty eight of *March*, on which day the *Coptic*, or *Egyptian* Chriſtians do celebrate his feſtival. The antient fathers of the church have highly celebrated him on the account of his great faith and obedience, and the martyrologies have given him a place among their other ſaints, on the ninth of *October* (135). The church of *Rome* hath likewiſe ordered an office for him, and addreſs him in particular for thoſe who are at the point of death.

It is reported, that the tomb of *Abraham* having been diſcovered near *Hebron*, they found his body, and thoſe of *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, whole and uncorrupted. There were likewiſe ſome gold and ſilver lamps hung up in the cave, which was viſited by multitudes (136). The *Moſlems* have ſuch a veneration for this place, that they make it one of their four pilgrimages, the three others being that of *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jeruſalem*; and the chriſtians built a church over the cave (137), which the *Turks* did afterwards turn into a moſk (138).

Moſ. Ben. Maimon (139), and after him the learned *Spencer*, tells us, that *Abraham* was brought up in the religion of the *Zabeans*, who are ſuppoſed to have been great aſtronomers, aſtrologers, &c. and by diſcovering the power and influence of the ſtars and heavenly bodies, came at length to worſhip them. Who theſe *Zabeans* were, whether a nation, or only a ſect of philoſophers, or whether their name imports any more than their religion and the like, ſhall be enquired into in its proper place. In the mean time, as to what *Maimonides* ſays, we ſhall only anſwer with *Meyer* (140), that it is impoſſible to prove that the *Zabeans* were even as old as *Moſes*; much more that they were older than *Abraham*; for though it be

(133) *Prid. Connex. p.* 1. *Book* 4. (134) *Ex Bibl. Orient. p.* 16. (135) *Martyrol. Rom. Adon. Uſuard. &c.* (136) *Ben Sholman ap. Herbelot.* (137) *Serm. Quadrag. Elmid* 1. 2. *p.* 773. (138) *Vid. Calmet. loc. citat* (139) *Maimonid. Tractat. More Nevok. part. iii c.* 29. & 46. & *in Avodah Zarah. c.* 11. & 12. (140) *Meyer de Feſt. dieb. Hebr. c.* 12.

ing him by the heel, and was therefore named *Jacob* (R). *Esau* became a great lover of hunting, and consequently the darling of *Isaac*, who was very fond of his venison; but *Jacob* was the mother's favourite, who knew that he was to inherit the blessings, and could not, perhaps, forbear intrusting him with the secret betimes, though she seems all along to have concealed it from her husband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old, before *Jacob* gave proof of it. *Esau* came home one evening from his usual hunting, faint and hungry, and seeing a mess of pottage which his brother had got ready, begged to be refreshed with some of it; which he, it seems, well instructed by his mother, utterly refused, unless he would part with his birth-right to him. And *Esau*, in his distress, swore away his birth-right to his brother *Jacob*, as we have said [1].

Esau *sells his birth-right.*

A famine, which happened some years after this, obliged *Isaac* to seek for another habitation; he thought to have gone down into *Egypt*, when GOD appeared unto him, and diverted him from it, bidding him go to *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*, where *Abraham* had heretofore been so friendly entertained, promising, that he would protect, and multiply him exceed-

Year of the Flood, 1194. Year before Christ 1805.

Isaac *goes to* Gerar;

[1] See before, p. 124.

granted, that there were some people called *Zabeans* before *Moses*'s time, and that that idolatry had been in vogue long before him; yet this will not prove, that the *Zabeans* we are speaking of were older than *Moses*; and *Spencer* himself owns (141), that it is almost impossible to discover their beginning, which has given rise to so many different opinions about it, and perhaps not one of them right. However, it is not improbable, that *Abraham*, being born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted to that superstition, till GOD called him away from the one and the other.

(R) From the *Hebrew* word עקב, *Hekeb*, which signifies the heel, is formed the verb עקב, to supplant; and by the addition of the י *Jod*, one of the formatives of nouns, *Jacob*, a supplanter, which name he in time made good. As for the name *Esau*, the meaning is somewhat obscure, unless we derive it, as some (142) do from עשה, *Hassah*, to make, because *Esau* came out all hairy, and as it were perfect; whereas other children are born with hair only on their heads. He is also supposed to have been called *Sheir*, or *Sebir*, from שער, *Shabar*, which signifies hair. And lastly *Edom*, from his selling his primogeniture for a mess of *red* pottage (143).

(141) *Spenc. de Leg. Hebr. ritual. l.* 2. *c* 1. §, 2. (142) *Rab. Sal. Mercer. & al.* (143) *Vid. sup. p.* 124.

ingly

ingly. He obeyed; but the fear he was in for his life, on account of his wife's beauty, made him reſolve to let her paſs for his ſiſter as his father had formerly done. This pretence paſſed current a conſiderable time, till at length the king obſerved from his window ſome familiarities between them, which made him ſuſpect, that ſhe was ſomething more than a bare ſiſter to him. He therefore rebuked them ſharply for the fraud, which *Iſaac* endeavoured to excuſe the beſt he could, telling him that the fear of his own life was the only motive that had induced him to it [m]. *Iſaac* was glad to ſee himſelf out of danger, and he went and ſowed the ground that had been aſſigned to him, which yielded him an hundred fold, to the great ſurprize of his neighbours, who could not ſee him ſo proſperous in this, and all other things which he took in hand, without envy. His richneſs and multitude of ſervants made him likewiſe be feared as a dangerous man, who might probably prove one day too mighty for them. But as the ſucceſs of open violence was doubtful, they reſolved to harraſs him another way, by filling up all his wells, without which his vaſt multitude of cattle could not ſubſiſt. They likewiſe endeavoured to alarm the king againſt him, which they accordingly did; and *Iſaac* found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring to *Gerar*; where he dug new wells, and opened thoſe which had formerly been dug by *Abraham*; in doing of which he met with great and repeated troubles and vexations from the *Philiſtines* of *Gerar*, and was forced to remove at a good diſtance from thence [n].

Is envied by the people.

AT length he was ſued to by *Abimelech* in perſon [o], either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new one. *Iſaac* expoſtulated with them upon the ill uſage he had met with in their land; but nevertheleſs prepared a ſumptuous banquet for them, and on the morrow entered into the covenant they requeſted [p]. On the ſame day word was brought to *Iſaac*, that his ſervants had found water; upon which account he called the place *Beerſheba* (S). The tranquillity which this new

A covenant between Abimelech and Iſaac.

[m] See before, p. 205. [n] See before, p. 207. [o] See before, ibid. [p] See before, ibid.

(S) This name is rather revived than given to the place, ſince we have ſeen already on what account *Abraham* called it ſo (144); though it is not improbable, but the diſcovery of this new well might lead *Iſaac* into a third alluſion to the word שבע, *Shabah*, which ſignifies not only to ſwear, and ſeven, but likewiſe to ſatisfy or

(144) *Supr. Gen. xxi.* 31.

new alliance had procured him, was soon after disturbed by *Esau* marrying two wives, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Bashemath* the daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites* [q].

Year of the Flood, 1239. Year before Christ 1760.

However, *Isaac* beheld him still as heir, and was reconciled to him. If he did know any thing of the sale he had made of his birth-right, he only looked upon it as a youthful trick, and the effect of hunger and weariness. Finding himself therefore grow old and feeble, and his eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death to be nearer than it really was, he being then an hundred and thirty seven years old, resolved to bless him before he died. He therefore called him to him one day, and bad him get some fresh venison, and dress it to his palate, and told him, he designed to confer the blessing on him that day. *Rebekah*, who over-heard their discourse, knowing the importance of the paternal blessing, laid hold on the favourable opportunity, to procure it for her favourite son, in the absence of *Esau*. She directed him then to take two choice kids, which she would dress to his father's liking, and send him into his father, therewith to personate *Esau*. *Jacob* made several excuses. His skin and his voice he was afraid would betray him, being in both so unlike to his brother; so that if *Isaac* should detect the fraud, he would more probably curse than bless him. *Rebekah*, who knew there was no time to lose, took all the curses upon herself, and encouraged him to follow her directions, which he did. Whilst the kids were dressing, she laid their skins on his hands and neck, and then arrayed him in *Esau*'s cloaths, and sent him trembling to his father. When *Isaac* smelt the meat, he was surprized it was so suddenly got ready, and not knowing what to think of it, he put the question several times to *Jacob*, whether or no he was in very deed his son *Esau*? to which he answered in the affirmative, desiring him to rise and taste of his venison, since God who knew his zeal to obey his father, had brought it into his hands much sooner than he could have expected. But *Isaac* still doubtful, desired him to draw nearer, that he might be better satisfied; and when he had felt the hairy skin on his hands and neck, he owned, that *the hands were the hands of Esau, though the voice was the voice of Jacob*. Thus far satisfied, or rather imposed on, he arose and eat heartily of his son's pretended venison.

Jacob *gets his brother's blessing from him.*

[q] Gen. xxvi.

satiate; whereby he might intimate that he had wells enough, and would rest satisfied with them.

Rebekah

Rebekah forgot not to ſend ſome wine with it; and after a cup or two, he bid his ſon come near to him, that he might now beſtow the promiſed bleſſing upon him. The ſmell of *Jacob*'s raiment contributed much to *Iſaac*'s chearfulneſs; he ſmelt and praiſed them, and, in a kind of extaſy of pleaſure, embraced and kiſſed his pretended firſt-born; and having wiſhed him all heavenly and earthly bleſſings [r], diſmiſſed him. If the father was pleaſed at his having performed this important ceremony, the ſon was no leſs rejoiced at his ſucceſs, and at his being freed from acting a part, which to an honeſt man muſt have cauſed the greateſt reluctancy, to ſay nothing of the dread he muſt have been under during all that time, leſt *Eſau* ſhould intervene. But what he did was in obedience to his mother, who aſſured him, that they did only fulfil the divine decrees in all this, and that it had been a direct contravention of them to have acted otherwiſe. Her joy upon this occaſion was great we may be ſure.

WHILST the mother and ſon were congratulating each other, *Eſau* came to his father with the veniſon he had prepared for him. He invited him in the ſame dutiful manner that his brother had done, and wondered to obſerve ſuch tokens of ſurprize and concern in his fathers's face. Not to repeat what we have already expatiated on [f]. *Eſau* found he had been circumvented in his abſence; and a mournful ſcene enſued between the father and the ſon; which was cloſed up by *Iſaac*, who inſiſted, that his bleſſing ſhould remain with *Jacob*. *I have bleſſed him*, ſays he, *yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed* [t] (T). Nevertheleſs, to aſſuage *Eſau*'s grief,

[r] See Gen. xxvii. 28, 29. [f] Vid. ſupr. p. 126. [t] Gen. xxvii. 33. Gen. xxxvii.

(T) Whoſoever narrowly obſerves *Jacob*'s life, after he had obtained his father's bleſſing, will own, that it conſiſted in nothing leſs than worldly felicity, of which he enjoyed as little as any man whatever. Forced from his home into a far country for fear of his brother; deceived and oppreſſed by his own uncle, and forced to fly from him after a ſervitude of twenty one years; in imminent danger, either of being purſued and brought back by *Laban*, or murdered by his brother. Theſe fears are no ſooner over, but the baſeneſs of his eldeſt ſon in defiling his couch; the treachery and cruelty of the two next to the *Sheehemites* (145). And laſtly, the loſs of his beloved wife, and ſuppoſed untimely

(145) *See before*, 172.

and

Esau *is also blessed.*

grief, he blessed him in these words, *thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (U). *By thy sword and thy bow shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, that when thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck* (W).

end of his son *Joseph*; all these overwhelmed him with fresh successions of grief; and to compleat all, his being forced by famine to descend into *Egypt*, and to die there: these, and many more, are sufficient proofs, that his father's blessing was of a quite different nature, and consisted in two particulars only; *viz.* the possession of the land of *Canaan* in right of primogeniture, which his brother had sold him, and which rather belonged to his posterity than to himself; and in the next place, that the MESSIAH being born of his race, and not of that of *Esau*. As to the stratagem by which this blessing was obtained, though it appears somewhat harsh and unjust at first sight; yet if we consider, that these two brothers were designed by providence as types; *viz.* *Esau* of the *Jews* (who were afterwards to be rejected for not accepting the spiritual kingdom of the MESSIAH, in hopes of that glorious earthly one which they dreamed, and still dream of, which is in fact preferring a mess of porridge to the noblest birth-right), and *Jacob* of the *Gentiles*, who were to be admitted into that kingdom, which the former had rejected; if we consider further, that this alienation from one brother to another had nothing to do with a future state, as the papists, our predestinarians, and others imagine, but was confined wholly to the present; if we consider these things, we shall not want the subtilties of the schools to justify an action which was determined, and conducted, by a divine hand, unless men will affirm, that GOD could not in justice make such an alienation; an assertion so bold and absurd, that we don't think any man of sense and common modesty would venture to maintain it.

(U) These words have been rendered by some modern authors (146), *thy dwelling shall neither be fruitful, nor watered by the dew of heaven.* And it is true indeed, that *Idumæa*, or the land of *Edom*, was not very fruitful; but they that understand the original will easily see, that they have wrested it quite out of its genuine meaning.

(W) We must not think, that these predictions were to be fulfilled in *Jacob*'s time, or in his person, who never had any dominion either over the *Edomites*, or any other nation, nor ever possessed the least inheritance, *Machpelah* excepted; but died in a country where he had not one foot of land. How, and when, the *Edomites*, who multiplied exceedingly, and were a fierce, warlike people, became subject to *Jacob*'s posterity; and when they shook off their yoke, we have already related (147).

(146) Le Clerc. Chatil. *in loc.* (147) *See before. p.* 144, & *seq.*

This

This bleſſing was inferior to *Jacob*'s in the following particulars. 1. It omits plenty of corn and wine, by which it ſeems to be implied, that *Eſau*'s lot ſhould not be ſo fertile as his brother's, as in fact it was not. 2. Here is no mention of GOD as there is in the firſt, GOD *give thee*, &c. 3. There is a ſpiritual bleſſing promiſed to *Jacob*, that *they ſhould be bleſſed that bleſſed him*, &c. but no ſuch thing is ſaid to his brother. *Jacob* was for a while in danger of his brother's heavieſt indignation; which *Rebekah* dreading, found an excuſe to ſend him out of the way, as far off as *Padan-Aram*, that he might there marry one of his couſins. She ſent him therefore to her brother *Laban*, alledging, that if he ſhould follow his brother's example, and marry a *Hittite*, it would make the reſt of her life uncomfortable.

IT is very probable, that *Iſaac* had likwiſe ſome ſuſpicion of *Eſau*'s deſign to murder his brother, elſe it is not likely, that he would have ſent *Jacob* away alone, and with only his ſtaff in his hand, when his father *Abraham* had ſent thither a ſervant in ſo noble a manner, unleſs it were done to conceal his flight. However that be, the other reaſon which the mother alledged, was thought highly reaſonable, and *Jacob* was privately ſent for, to take his leave of his father, and to receive his commands and his farther bleſſing; which done, he went away for *Padan-Aram*. In his way thither he was overtaken by the night near *Luz*, and forced to lie in the open fields with a ſtone for his pillow. Here he ſaw in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and angels aſcending and deſcending, whilſt GOD, who ſtood on the top, was pleaſed to encourage him, by promiſing, that he would be his protector, and that he would bleſs and multiply him beyond meaſure [u]. *Jacob* awaking from his dream ſurprized and frighted, cried out, *Surely God was on this place, and I knew it not!* Riſing therefore from his hard bed, he took the ſtone which had ſerved him for a bolſter, and, pouring oil thereon, erected it into a pillar; and in memory of this viſion he called the place *Bethel* (the houſe of God); for it was called *Luz* before that time. Here he likewiſe made a vow unto GOD; that if he would grant him his protection, feed and cloath him, and bring him back ſafe to his father's houſe, the LORD ſhould be his GOD, that he would pay the tythes of all he had unto him, and that the ſtone which he had reared ſhould be GOD's houſe. Having finiſhed his prayer, he went on chearfully the reſt of his way, till he came to his journey's end [w].

Jacob *is ſent to* Padan Aram.

[u] Gen. xxviii. 12. & ſeq. [w] Ibid.

HIS

HIS uncle *Laban* received him with joy; and, after a month's ſtay with him, *Jacob* falling in love with his youngeſt daughter *Rachel*, a beautiful virgin, they agreed that he ſhould ſerve him ſeven years for her, at the end of which ſhe ſhould become his wife. *Jacob* was ſo pleaſed with this motion, that he ſpared no pains to make his ſervice acceptable to his uncle *Laban*, who liked him ſo well for a ſervant, that he reſolved to continue him in the ſame capacity another ſeven years. For when the time was come he was to be put in poſſeſſion of the wife he had ſo dearly bought, he conveyed his new ſon-in-law into his eldeſt daughter *Leah*'s apartment. *Jacob* did not diſcover the deceit till the next morning, and when he found, inſtead of his beloved *Rachel*, her homely blear-eyed ſiſter, he could not forbear expreſſing his reſentment thereat to her father. *Laban* had his anſwer ready, and, in a magiſterial tone, told him, that it was an unprecedented thing in that country to marry the youngeſt daughter before the eldeſt, and that it would have been a great injuſtice to *Leah* to have given him her younger ſiſter; but, continued he, in a milder tone, if you will fulfil the nuptial week with your wife, and conſent to ſerve me another ſeven years for her ſiſter, I am content to take your word for it, and to give *Rachel* to you as ſoon as the ſeven days are ended. *Jacob* could not but be troubled at ſuch an unfair procedure; but he loved *Rachel* too well not to obtain her at any price; he therefore conſented to theſe hard conditions, and at the week's end he enjoyed the fruits of his ſervitude and conſtancy.

ſerves ſeven years for Rachel;

is cheated by Laban.

Marries Rachel.

DURING this interval, *Eſau* went and married *Mahalath*, the daughter of his uncle *Iſhmael*, in hopes, that ſhe would be more acceptable than his two other wives, and brought her home to his father's houſe (X). He had children by all the three

(X) It will be proper to obſerve here, that *Moſes* gives theſe three wives of *Eſau* quite other names, when he comes to ſpeak of the poſterity he had by them (147); which might lead an unwary reader to think, that he had more than three, eſpecially becauſe the fathers of the two former are likewiſe called by different names. Thus his firſt wife, *Judith* of *Beeri*, is afterwards *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*; the ſecond, *viz*, *Baſhemath*, the daughter of *Elon*, is again called *Aholi-bamah* the daughter of *Anah*, the daughter of *Zibeon* the *Hivite*; the laſt, called at firſt *Mahalath*.

(147) *Compare Gen. xxvi* 34. *xxviii.* 9. *with xxxvi.* 2. *& ſeq.*

three wives [x]: his poſterity became very numerous; an account of which has been given in the hiſtory of the *Edomites* [y] *.

IN the mean time *Jacob* behaved himſelf very differently towards his two wives. *Rachel* had his heart and affection, whilſt *Leah* was forced to content herſelf with a formal civility; but GOD made quite another difference between them, by making the latter mother of many children, whilſt her ſiſter continued barren for a long time. *Leah* was ſoon brought to bed of a ſon, and it being then the cuſtom of thoſe times for mothers to give names to their children, not without ſome particular reaſon or meaning, ſhe called him *Reuben*, intimating, that GOD had ſeen her affliction, and had given her a ſon, which would probably engage her huſband to love her. She had another ſoon after him, whom ſhe called *Simeon*; becauſe, ſhe ſaid, the LORD had heard her complaint. Her third ſhe called *Levi*, hoping her huſband would be now joined to her; and the fourth ſhe called *Judah*, thinking herſelf bound to praiſe GOD for her fruitfulneſs; after which ſhe left off bearing for a while [z].

Reuben born.

Simeon, Levi, *and* Judah born.

RACHEL by this time was ſo extremely mortified at her ſiſter's happineſs, that ſhe came one day in a fit of envy, and told her huſband, that, unleſs he gave her children alſo, ſhe ſhould inevitably die of grief. *Jacob* who could not forbear being provoked at ſuch a ſpeech, which ſeemed to lay the blame of her ſterility upon him, anſwered her in a paſſion, that it was out of his power to do miracles, that GOD, who had ſhut up her womb, was alone able to open it; but that her behaviour was rather the way to prevent, than

[x] Gen xxxvi. 1, 2. [y] Ibid. * See before, p. 136, & ſeq.
[z] Gen. xxix.

lath, is now called *Bathſhemath*; but what ſhews that theſe two latter names mean the ſame perſon, and that the ſame thing may be ſuppoſed of the other two (eſpecially, conſidering that *Eſau* is recorded to have had but three wives) is, that ſhe is called in both places the daughter of *Iſhmael*, and ſiſter of *Nebajoth*. All the account that can be given for this difference is, that they had two names, and that it was uſual to call them ſometimes by one, ſometimes by the other. Thus, the mother of *Abijam*, king of *Judah*, who is called in one place *Maachah*, the daughter of *Abiſhalom* (148), is in another place calle *Michaiah*, the daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeah* (149). Other parallel places might be brought in great numbers, were it needful.

(148) 1 *Kings xv.* 2. (149) 2 *Chron. xiii.* 2.

to gain, such a blessing. This mortifying answer made her bethink herself of the usual way, at that time, for women in her case to give their maids to their husbands; she therefore desired him to take *Bilhah*, and to try to make her a mother by her means; to which he consented, and soon after had a son by her, which *Rachel* called *Dan*, meaning that GOD had judged in her favour. She called the other son which *Bilhah* bore *Naphtali*, to express the violent struggles she had had with her sister: after which *Leah*, thinking she had quite left off bearing, gave her maid *Zilpah* also to *Jacob*, whose first son she called *Gad* (a troop), expecting more to come, and the next she called *Asher*, to express the happiness she now enjoyed.

Dan *and* Naphtali *born.*

Gad *and* Asher *born.*

BY this time *Reuben* was about six years of age, and brought home one evening some mandrakes (Y), which he had

(Y) What these mandrakes were, is not easy to guess; but they could not certainly be what we understand by that name. 1. Because they had nothing inviting, either in smell, taste, or colour, to induce a child of his age to gather them; much less could he choose them for any particular virtue or quality they had. 2. The text says, it was then wheat-harvest which in those hot countries is about *May*, when the apples of that root are far from being ripe. 3, The mandrake has a very strong stupifying smell, and is therefore called by the *Arabians Jabrokim*; whereas the *Dudaim*, or *mandrakes*, are commended for their fragrancy, in the only place of scripture where they are mentioned besides (150). For this reason some have fancied them violets (151); others lilies (152); others jassimin; others have rendered the word desirable flowers (153), agreeable to the word *Dudaim*, which signifies, *loves* in the dual, or, the breasts of a woman. Others again and perhaps more probably, have guessed them to be citrons (154). That which has induced so many interpreters to suppose them to be mandrakes, is the virtue attributed to them of helping conception (155), which made *Rachel* willing to try the effects of them; but besides that they were plentiful enough to have been bought at a cheaper rate, it is plain, that she did not conceive after them. Neither is it probable, that *Leah* would have parted with them, if they had been known to have had such a virtue, which perhaps was not discovered till a long time after; when it became known among the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the name of the apple of love, and of the juice of which the emperor *Julian* tells his friend (156),

(150) *Cant. vii.* 13. (151) Onkel. *in loc.* (152) Oleast. (153) Jun. *in loc.* (154) Bochart. Brown's *Vulg. Err.* Calmet. *Comm. in Gen. cap. xxx. v.* 14. (155) Epiph. *ap.* Villet. (156) Ludolph. *Hist. Æthiop. Com. l.* 1. *cap.* 72.

he

had been gathering in the fields in the time of the wheat-harveſt. *Rachel* no ſooner ſaw them, but ſhe deſired to have ſome part of them. *Leah* hereupon anſwered, not over complaiſantly, that it was a little too much for her to take her huſband and her ſon's mandrakes too; wherefore, to pacify her and purchaſe the fruit, ſhe agreed, that *Jacob* ſhould lie with her that night (Z); and *Jacob* no ſooner came home, but *Leah* challenged him to confirm the bargain, which he accordingly did; the conſequence of which was, that ſhe bore him a fifth ſon, whom ſhe called *Iſſachar* (the man of reward), alledging, that it was given her as a reward for giving her maid to *Jacob*. After which ſhe bore her ſixth and laſt ſon, and called him *Zebulun* (*dwelling*), in hopes, that ſo many ſons would make her huſband dwell with her. She had likewiſe a daughter whom ſhe called *Dinah*, which is the feminine of *Dan*; after which ſhe bore no more. As for *Rachel*, her prayers at length being heard, ſhe was happily brought to bed of a ſon whom ſhe called *Joſeph*, in hopes, that GOD would add another to him. By this time, *Jacob*, having finiſhed his fourteen years ſervitude, and being deſirous to reviſit his old parents, deſired his uncle to diſmiſs him and his family. But *Laban*, who had found no ſmall advantage in having ſuch a faithful ſervant, begged of him to ſtay with him a little longer, promiſing him, upon that condition, to give him what wages he ſhould name. Here *Jacob* took an opportunity of reminding him how much his

Iſſachar.

Zebulun *and* Dinah *born.*

Year of the Flood, 1254.

Year before Chriſt 1745.

Joſeph *born.*

that he had taken a doſe to excite him to love. A modern author, in his hiſtory of *Æthiopia*, has confuted the notion of *Dudaim*, ſignifying mandrakes (157), and affirms, that it ſignifies a certain fruit, which the *Syrians* call *Mauz*, not unlike the *Banana*, or *Indian Fig-tree*, in ſhape and taſte, and about the bigneſs of a cucumber, thirty or forty of which often hang upon one ſtem: but whatever theſe *Dudaim* were, whether a fruit or flower, it is certain, they muſt have had ſomething pleaſant and inviting to a child, either in ſmell or taſte.

(Z) The cuſtom of thoſe countries, where polygamy was allowed, was in thoſe days for the huſband to take his wives by turns (*); the kings of *Perſia*, if we may believe *Herodotus* (†), were not exempt from that rule. This makes it more probable, that ſhe ſold her turn for that night to her ſiſter, than that ſhe did direct her huſband which of the four he ſhould lie with.

(157) *Vid.* Calm. *in Gen. xxx.* 16. *Dict. ſub voc.* Mandrag. Aug. *l.* 22. *cont.* Fauſt. *cap.* 29.

(*) *Vid.* Villet. Munſt. *& al.*

(†) Herodot. *l.* 2. *cap.* 79.

ſubſtance

ſubſtance was increaſed, ſince it was put under his care; but that it was now high time that he ſhould make ſome proviſion for his own family; but however, that if he would conſent to let him have all the ſpotted and parti-coloured cattle, whether of ſheep, or goats, and the black ones among the ſheep, for his hire, he would conſent to ſtay ſix years longer with him. *Laban* could not but think the conditions ſomething hard, ſince the white ones only were to fall to his ſhare, and had he known what project *Jacob* had in his head, he would hardly have conſented to them; but as he was willing to keep him at any price, the bargain was ſtruck, and a ſeparation made between the white ones and the reſt, and a ſpace of three days journey put between them to prevent all ſuſpicion; after which *Jacob* began to execute his new project. He had obſerved the rams leaping the ſheep, at the places where they came to drink, from whence he conceived, that if he could lay ſome ſpeckled ſticks in the water at that time, it might make the white ones to bring forth ſpeckled lambs alſo, and tried it ſo ſucceſsfully upon the ſtrongeſt of *Laban*'s flock, that it ſoon dwindled away, whereas his own improved viſibly, both in number and ſtrength (A). *Laban*, vexed at his heart to ſee ſuch a prodigious difference between the two flocks, and perhaps ſuſpecting ſome trick, obliged him to invert the bargain, and for the future to take all the white lambs and kids for his hire, and leave him the reſt; from which time *Jacob* took care to lay by the ſpeckled ſticks. This change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complains to him afterwards[a]: in ſpight of all which, *Jacob* grew exceeding rich, and with the money which he got by his fleeces, *&c.* bought men and women-ſervants, camels, oxen, and aſſes; which raiſed ſuch envy in *Laban* and his ſons againſt him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this made him contrive the means of getting

Jacob's *ſtratagem of the ſpeckled ſticks.*

[a] Gen. xxxi. 41.

(A) Our antient commentators fancied, that *Jacob* made uſe of his ſpeckled ſticks in the ſpring of the year, when the lambs had the whole ſummer to grow fat and ſtrong; but that he ſet them aſide in autumn, when he knew the coldneſs of the winter would ſpoil their thriving: But, as the text ſpeaks neither of ſpring or fall, our moderns have thought it more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he laid the ſticks only before the young and luſty ſheep and goats, and the old and weak he left to take their chance; by which the beſt lambs came to his ſhare, and the worſt to *Laban*'s (158).

(158) Bochart. *de animal. ſacr.* Calm. *Comm. in Gen. c. xxx.* 41.

off with all he had [b]. He acquainted his wives with it, and finding them of the ſame mind, he ſat them and their little ones upon camels, and having got all his ſervants and ſubſtance together, began his journey towards the land of *Canaan*, whilſt his father-in-law, who was at a pretty diſtance from him, was buſy in ſheering his ſheep; which gave *Rachel* an opportunity of ſtealing her father's gods (B). *Laban*, who

ſteals away from Laban.

Year of the Flood, 1260. Year before Chriſt 1739.

[b] Gen. xxx.

(B) The word which we tranſlate gods, in *Hebrew* is תרפים *Teraphim*, which all the *Jewiſh Rabbies* own to be a word of no *Hebrew* etymology. The LXX tranſlate it ſometimes an oracle, and ſometimes vain idols, and *Aquila* idols. Some think it to be an *Egyptian* word, and the ſame with *Serapis*; that *Ham* and his ſon *Mizraïm* were the inventers of idolatry, and that the latter, who was the founder of *Egypt*, filled that country with idols; inſomuch that there was neither town nor village, houſe or road, where they were not to be ſeen (159): As to their figure, uſe, the manner of making them, &c. they are all equally uncertain. As to their ſhape, the moſt received and probable opinion is, that it was human, or ſomething reſembling a human form, as a buſto term, &c. though the *Jews* pretend, that it was the head of a firſt-born ſon plucked off from the neck, and embalmed; under the tongue of which was faſtened a golden plate, with the name of ſome falſe deity engraven upon it; which head, being placed in a nich, or upon a ſhelf, did give vocal anſwers (160): but theſe are rather to be looked upon as fables not worth confuting; and the figure which *Michol* put in *David*'s bed (161), which the original calls by the name of *Teraphim*, ſhews, that it muſt have had an human ſhape. *Joſephus* indeed, who might think it a reflection on *David*, that there ſhould be found an image, or *Teraphim*, in his houſe, has attributed a more ſuitable ſtratagem to *Michol*, though leſs credible (162): he tells us, that ſhe hid the liver of a kid freſh killed under the bed-cloaths, that the panting of it might be taken for the panting of her husband in a fever; but without enquiring, whether, or how long, a kid's liver would continue panting, ſo as to be ſeen under the bed-cloaths; it is ſcarce credible, that the meſſengers would give her time to do all this; or, if ſhe had notice of their coming, that ſhe could time it ſo well, that the liver ſhould be ſtill panting hot when they came up. However, we ſhall meet with ſo many inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory, wherein this author doth depart from the ſcriptures, and from truth, whenever the honour

(159) Kircher. Oedip. *Ægypt. Synt.* 4. *c.* 3. Cunæus *Rep. Hebr.* (160) Jonat. Targ. *in Gen. xxxi.* R. Tanhuma Eleaz. & *al.* (161) 1 *Sam. xix.* 13. (162) Ant. *lib.* 6. *c.* 14.

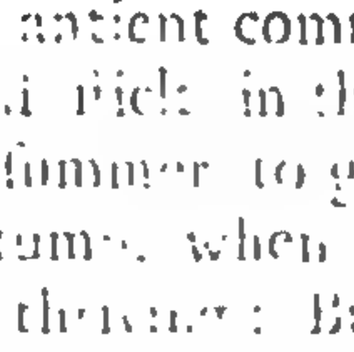
ſubſtance was increaſed, ſince it was put under his care; but that it was now high time that he ſhould make ſome proviſion for his own family; but however, that if he would conſent to let him have all the ſpotted and parti-coloured cattle, whether of ſheep, or goats, and the black ones among the ſheep, for his hire, he would conſent to ſtay ſix years longer with him. *Laban* could not but think the conditions ſomething hard, ſince the white ones only were to fall to his ſhare, and had he known what project *Jacob* had in his head, he would hardly have conſented to them; but as he was willing to keep him at any price, the bargain was ſtruck, and a ſeparation made between the white ones and the reſt, and a ſpace of three days journey put between them to prevent all ſuſpicion; after which *Jacob* began to execute his new project. He had obſerved the rams leaping the ſheep, at the places where they came to drink, from whence he conceived, that if he could lay ſome ſpeckled ſticks in the water at that time, it might make the white ones to bring forth ſpeckled lambs alſo, and tried it ſo ſucceſsfully upon the ſtrongeſt of *Laban*'s flock, that it ſoon diwindled away, whereas his own improved viſibly, both in number and ſtrength (A). *Laban*, vexed at his heart to ſee ſuch a prodigious difference between the two flocks, and perhaps ſuſpecting ſome trick, obliged him to invert the bargain, and for the future to take all the white lambs and kids for his hire, and leave him the reſt; from which time *Jacob* took care to lay by the ſpeckled ſticks. This change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complains to him afterwards[a]: in ſpight of all which, *Jacob* grew exceeding rich, and with the money which he got by his fleeces, &c. bought men and women-ſervants, camels, oxen, and aſſes; which raiſed ſuch envy in *Laban* and his ſons againſt him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this made him contrive the means of getting

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ſteals away from Laban. Year of the Flood, 1260. Year before Chriſt 1739.

[b] Gen. xxx.

(B) The word which we tranſlate gods, in *Hebrew* is תרפים *Teraphim*, which all the *Jewiſh Rabbies* own to be a word of no *Hebrew* etymology. The LXX tranſlate it ſometimes an oracle, and ſometimes vain idols, and *Aquila* idols. Some think it to be an *Egyptian* word, and the ſame with *Serapis*; that *Ham* and his ſon *Mizraïm* were the inventers of idolatry, and that the latter, who was the founder of *Egypt*, filled that country with idols; inſomuch that there was neither town nor village, houſe or road, where they were not to be ſeen (159): As to their figure, uſe, the manner of making them, &c. they are all equally uncertain. As to their ſhape, the moſt received and probable opinion is, that it was human, or ſomething reſembling a human form, as a buſto term, &c. though the *Jews* pretend, that it was the head of a firſt-born ſon plucked off from the neck, and embalmed; under the tongue of which was faſtened a golden plate, with the name of ſome falſe deity engraven upon it; which head, being placed in a nich, or upon a ſhelf, did give vocal anſwers (160): but theſe are rather to be looked upon as fables not worth confuting; and the figure which *Michol* put in *David*'s bed (161), which the original calls by the name of *Teraphim*, ſhews, that it muſt have had an human ſhape. *Joſephus* indeed, who might think it a reflection on *David*, that there ſhould be found an image, or *Teraphim*, in his houſe, has attributed a more ſuitable ſtratagem to *Michol*, though leſs credible (162): he tells us, that ſhe hid the liver of a kid freſh killed under the bed-cloaths, that the panting of it might be taken for the panting of her husband in a fever; but without enquiring, whether, or how long, a kid's liver would continue panting, ſo as to be ſeen under the bed-cloaths; it is ſcarce credible, that the meſſengers would give her time to do all this; or, if ſhe had notice of their coming, that ſhe could time it ſo well, that the liver ſhould be ſtill panting hot when they came up. However, we ſhall meet with ſo many inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory, wherein this author doth depart from the ſcriptures, and from truth, whenever the honour

(159) Kircher. Oedip. *Ægypt. Synt.* 4. *c.* 3. Cunæus *Rep. Hebr.* (160) Jonat. Targ *in Gen. xxxi.* R. Tanhuma Eleaz. & *al.* (161) 1 *Sam. xix.* 13. (162) Ant. *lib.* 6. *c.* 14.

who did not hear of his flight till the third day after, was full ſeven days before he could overtake him; by which time

of his nation is concerned, that his authority will be of little weight in all ſuch caſes.

Theſe *Teraphims* were afterwards univerſally known by the name of taliſman, as they are to this day all over *India*. The *Perſians* called them *Telephim*, a name not unlike *Teraphim*. They were made of different metals, and ſizes, caſt under certain conſtellations, with the figures of ſome planets, and magic characters engraven upon them. What metal thoſe of *Laban* were, or how big, or how many, is not eaſy to gueſs; only this the text tells us, that ſhe hid them in the ſtraw, and ſat upon them. As for their uſe, it was chiefly to give anſwers, to foretel what was to come, to diſcover what was hid or loſt, and the like. Beſides this, they were likewiſe addreſſed to for temporal bleſſings, and to avert evils. They were to be conſulted and prayed to, at certain times, under particular aſpects of the planets, from which, according to the *Jews*, they partly received that power, and partly from the characters engraven on them (163). Another Rabbi goes farther, and pretends, that they gave their anſwers *viva voce* (164), and proves it from the words of the prophet, *The Teraphims have ſpoken vain things* (165). However we muſt not ſuppoſe, that all the *Teraphims* were of the ſame make, or for the ſame uſes, even among the *Jews*. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of other ſorts, when we come to ſpeak of that of *Michah* (166): beſides, as they came to be more univerſal, every one had them made after his own fancy; though the generality of them had at leaſt a human head.

The laſt thing worth enquiring into is what induced *Rachel* to ſteal her father's gods. Concerning which we can affirm nothing certain: ſome think, that ſhe did it to repay herſelf for the damage which they had ſuſtained by her father (167); others, that ſhe thought by that means to prevent *Laban*'s enquiring of them which way *Jacob* went (168); others, that ſhe would thereby cure her father of his idolatry, againſt which *Jacob* had read his wives many a lecture (169). Laſtly, others think, that both ſhe and her ſiſter were ſtill addicted to that ſuperſtition, and that their deſigning to continue in it, made her to conceal the theft from her huſband (170); but that *Jacob*, making a thorough reformation in his houſe, cauſed them to be taken from her, and buried under a tree in *Shechem* (171).

(163) D. Kimchi *ſub voc.* Teraph. (164) R. Eleaz. *cap.* 36. (165) *Zechar. x.* 2. (166) *Judges xvii.* 1, & *ſeq.* (167) Perrer, Johnſon, & *al.* (168) Abenezrah *in loc.* (169) Theodoret. *Quæſt.* 9 Rab. Sal. Greg. Nazianz. *orat. de* S. Paſch & *al.* (170) Cyril. *in Gen. xxxi.* Chryſoſt Cajet. Muſc. Calv. & *al.* (171) *Gen. xxxv.* 4.

Jacob

Jacob was already got over the river *Euphrates* (C), and was got up the mountains of *Gilead*, where he had pitched his tent for that night. The day being too far ſpent for *Laban*, and thoſe relations he had brought with him, to do any thing, they encamped near him, and waited for the morning. It is evident, that he had ſome ill deſign againſt his ſon-in-law; but GOD, who appeared to him that night in a dream, was pleaſed to avert it, by threatening him ſeverely, if he committed any hoſtility or violence againſt him. *Laban*'s courage being thus cooled, their meeting on the next morning proved more calm than he intended it. He contented himſelf with expoſtulating with him, that he had ſtolen away without giving him an opportunity of kiſſing his children and grand-children, and ſending them away with the uſual ceremonies of muſic and dances. *Jacob*, on the other hand, was not without his complaints; the cheat he had put upon him in making him ſerve ſo long for a woman he did not care for; the changing his ſalary ſo many times, and his late ſtrange behaviour towards him and his family: all theſe and many more, he anſwered him, were but ill requitals for all his diligence and care, or for the bleſſings which GOD had heaped upon him for his ſake. *Laban* had yet another thing to lay to his charge, namely, the ſtealing of his gods; and *Jacob*, ignorant of *Rachel*'s theft, deſired him to make the moſt diligent ſearch for them throughout his family, promiſing, that the perſon on whom they were found ſhould be immediately put to death. *Laban* loſt no time, but went and ſearched every tent, and laſt of all came to that of *Rachel*, who had hid the *teraphims* under the camels litter, and had ſet herſelf down upon them. She kept her ſitting whilſt he was curiouſly examining every corner of her tent, and excuſed it, with telling him, that the condition ſhe was then in, allowed her ſex to diſpenſe with the uſual ceremonies. This prevented all further ſcrutiny, and *Laban*, who could not think, that ſhe would come near ſuch ſacred ſtuff in that condition, went

Laban *overtakes him:*

Searches for his Gods.

(C) Though the text doth not ſay what river he paſſed, yet it is plain, it could be no other than the *Euphrates*, which the ſcripture ſometimes calls the river *Perah*, ſometimes the great river, and ſometimes emphatically, *the river* (172); either, becauſe that and the *Nile* were the only two conſiderable ones they knew; or, becauſe it was one of the four rivers of *Paradiſe*; or laſtly, becauſe it was the boundary of the promiſed land †.

(172) *Vid. Joſh.* i. 4. *Gen.* xxxi. 21. & *alib.* † *Vid. Gen.* xv. 18.

away with a heavy heart, and acquainted his ſon-in-law with his ill ſucceſs. This cauſed ſome freſh expoſtulations, which being ended, they fell upon a more agreeable ſubject, which was to make an alliance between them, and to erect a monument, as a ſtanding witneſs of it to future ages. They all put a helping hand, and reared the pile, which *Laban* called in the *Syrian* tongue *Jegar-Sahadutha*, and *Jacob* in *Hebrew* *Galeed*; both which ſignify the heap of witneſs †. Here they like before, that neither would paſs over that monument to hurt the other, and *Jacob*, that he would uſe his wives and children with all becoming tenderneſs and affection. The ceremony being ended, and a ſacrifice offered upon the occaſion, he regaled the whole company the reſt of that day; and the next morning *Laban*, having embraced and bleſſed the whole family, returned home to *Padan-Aram* c.

Jacob and Laban part in memory of it

Laban returns home.

JACOB, who thought his abſence a greater ſecurity than the oaths he had ſworn, was glad to have ſo well eſcaped; but one fear ſucceeded another, and the reſentment of his brother *Eſau* began now to give him a freſh trouble; but a viſion which he had of an hoſt of angels, who met him in his way to *Canaan*, did diſſipate his anxiety for a while, and in memory of this viſion he called the place *Mahanaim* (two camps). But being ſtill fearful of his brother ‡, he reſolved to ſoften him with a ſubmiſſive meſſage, or at leaſt, to feel how his pulſe beat toward him. He ſent therefore ſome of his ſervants before, to acquaint him with the ſucceſs he had during his ſtay in *Meſopotamia*, the riches and multitude of wives, children, ſervants, and cattle, which he had acquired, and that he did not think fit to proceed further homewards, till he had ſent him his beſt compliments. The meſſengers returned with the news, that *Eſau* was coming to meet him, accompanied with four hundred of his men. This was enough to compleat *Jacob*'s dread: he then began to think himſelf a dead man; but, having recovered himſelf a little, he ſet himſelf about giving orders to his family. He divided them into two bands, in hopes, that if the one periſhed, the other might eſcape; which done, he addreſſed himſelf to GOD in a very humble prayer, acknowledging his great mercies to him, and his own unworthineſs of them, and begged his future protection againſt his brother's ſword, and that he would fulfil all his former promiſes to him. After this he reſolved to try how far preſents would work upon *Eſau*'s temper, and having ſet a-part two hundred ſhe-goats, and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, thirty ſhe-

Jacob's vision. He calls the place Mahanaim.

† Vid. ſup. p. 266. c Gen. xxxi. ‡ Vid. ſup p. 128.

camels,

camels with their colts, forty cows and ten bulls, twenty ſhe-aſſes and ten colts, he ſent them before him in ſeparate bands, and charged their drivers, when they met his brother, to tell him, that they were preſents ſent by *Jacob* to his lord *Eſau*, in order to entreat his favour and good will. On the next morning he made all his family and flocks go over the brook *Jabbok*, long before break of day, whilſt himſelf tarried at *Mahanaim*; where there appeared a man who wreſtled with him till the morning, and not being able to prevail with him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint, then deſired him to let him go ſince day appeared. *Jacob* was reſolved to have his bleſſing firſt; upon which he changed his name from *Jacob* to *Iſrael*, which ſignifies a man that has prevailed with God. But when he was deſired to tell his own name, he refuſed it, and left him (D). *Jacob* thereupon

He ſends ſome preſents to Eſau.

Jacob *is named* Iſrael *at* Peniel.

(D) Moſt verſions, as well as ours, render the words of the angel to *Jacob* in the latter part of the 28th verſe, as if *Jacob* had prevailed over men as well as over him; whereas he had been ſo far from prevailing over the only two enemies he had, *viz. Eſau* and *Laban*, that he had been forced to flee from them both. This makes it therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to a better verſion of theſe words, if the original can bear us out in it: which it will do without the leaſt violence; or rather, by following the moſt ſtrict and literal ſenſe of it, which runs thus. *Thou haſt acted, or behaved, prince like* (in thy wreſtling) *with* God, *and thou ſhalt alſo prevail over men.* And indeed, what could be more comfortable to *Jacob* in the ſtrait he was in, about meeting his brother *Eſau*, than ſuch a promiſe? or what can more naturally account for this viſion, than to ſuppoſe, that it happened unto him in order to diſpel his fears? Not that we need to confine the meaning of the wreſtling, or the ſenſe of the angel's words to the preſent dread and difficulties, which that patriarch laboured under; for his numerous poſterity was to be no leſs ſubject to the hatred and perſecutions of other nations: nothing therefore could be more proper to ſtrengthen his and his childrens faith and reliance in God, than this prophetic viſion and promiſe, that as he had now wreſtled with God and prevailed, ſo he ſhould likewiſe in the numberleſs difficulties, which both he and they ſhould meet with from their enemies. This verſion is likewiſe more agreeable to the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, the *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgate*, which render it thus, *If thou haſt been thus fit able to prevail with* God, *how much more ſhalt thou be able to prevail over men!*

This myſterious wreſtling has indeed induced ſome of the antient fathers to think, it was to be underſtood in a ſpiritual, and not actual ſenſe (173): which they conclude from the words of the Apo-

(173) Hieron. *qu. Hebr.* Orig. *et al.*

He

therefore called the place *Peniel*, or the face of GOD, and when he came to march, he found that he halted upon his thigh; upon which account his posterity never eat of that joint [d]. And *Josephus* tells us, that neither *Jacob*, nor any of his posterity ever since, did eat that part of any creature [e]; and though the text mentions only the sinew that shrank; yet so scrupulous have some of the *Jews* been even to this

[d] Gen. xxxii. [e] Ant. l. 1. c. 20.

stle (174), *we wrestle not against flesh and blood*; and some *Jews* do think, that it was done in a dream (175); and that his halting was either occasioned by weariness, the cold of the night, or the posture he slept in. But besides that the fear of his brother gave him but little inclination to sleep; the circumstances of the story, the imposition of a new name, and above all, the testimony of the prophet *Hosea* (176), who says, *he had power over the angel, and prevailed*, that *he wept and prayed unto him*, seem to make it more than a dream, if it was not a real and corporeal wrestling. As to the person who wrestled with *Jacob*, some have believed it to have been an angel, only because *Hosea* calls him by that name in the place above quoted; whereas when it is GOD, or CHRIST, that appears like one, he is distinguished by the angel of the covenant, or some other word (177). But what follows in the very next verse of the prophet plainly confutes that notion, *he found him in Bethel, even the* LORD GOD *of hosts*. That it was GOD who met him in *Bethel*, is plain, by his saying, *I am the* GOD *of Bethel* (178). The general opinion therefore of antient and modern authors is, that it was CHRIST who wrestled with *Jacob* here. 1, Because he blessed him; and 2, Because *Jacob* says, *I have seen* GOD *face to face*, &c. and called the place *Peniel* (179). As for what is said, that he could not prevail, it might be an expression *ad captum*; as when he says to *Moses*, *let me alone, that I may*, &c. (180.) This *Peniel* became afterwards a city of some note for we find, that *Gideon* pulled down one of its towers, because they had denied them bread (181); but it was afterwards rebuilt by *Jeroboam* (182). *Josephus* says, that he likewise built a palace there; it stood by the river *Jordan*, and belonged to the tribe of *Gad* (183) *Strabo* mentions a city adjoining to *Tripolis*, which was called the face of GOD, at one end of mount *Libanus* (184).

(174) *Ephes.* vi. 12. (175) R. Levi. *l.* 1. & *al.* (176) *Hos.* xii 4. (177) Perrer. *in loc.* & *al.* (178) *Gen.* xxxi 13. (179) Tertul. *lib.* 2. *cont.* Marcion. Hilar. *de Trin. l.* 4. Ambr. *de fid. l* 6. Chrysost. *in cap.* 7. Actor. &. *al.* Calv. Mercer. & *al. mult.* (180) *Exod.* xxxii. 10. (181) *Judges* viii 17. (182) 1 *Kings* xii. 25. (183) Jos. *Ant. l.* 8. *c.* 3. (184) Strabo *l.* 16.

day,

day, that for want of knowing which it was, they abſtain from the whole hind-quarter; though others, leſs nice, abſtain only from the thigh; and ſome again will eat even that, and content themſelves with plucking the ſinew out of it[f]. Some think, that *Jacob*'s lameneſs was ſoon over; others, that he halted all his life. However that be, this new viſion gave him ſuch freſh courage for the preſent, that he marched on chearfully till he had overtaken his family.

IT was not long before he diſcovered his brother afar off, coming towards him with his large retinue, at which he could not forbear betraying ſome freſh tokens of diſtruſt. To prepare therefore for the worſt, he divided his family into three bands; the two maids and their ſons went firſt, *Leah* and her children next, and *Rachel* and *Joſeph*, who was then about ſix years of age, followed in the rear, as fartheſt from danger. As ſoon as he ſaw his brother, he bowed himſelf ſeven times down to the ground before him, who, being moved with his ſubmiſſive behaviour, ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and wept over him (E). And ſeeing his wives and children, who not to be wanting in their reſpect to him, did proſtrate themſelves before him, one after another, in the ſame order in which *Jacob* had diſpoſed them; and being informed who they were, returned their civilities

Meets with his brother Eſau.

[f] CALM. Hiſt. O. T. in loc.

(E) The *Mazorites* and *Cabaliſts* obſerve, that there is a large point over the word וישקהו *Vaiſhakehu, and he kiſſed him*, which implies, that he did not deſign to kiſs his brother, but to bite him; for the word ſignifies alſo to bite; but that *Jacob*'s neck was immediately turned into marble. Wherefore the text ſays, they both wept, he for the odd change in his neck, and *Eſau* becauſe he had almoſt broke his teeth againſt it, and that this prevented his wicked deſign againſt his brother (185). But it is more than probable, that *Iſaac* and *Rebekah* had taken much pains to convince him, during his brother's abſence, that what *Jacob* and ſhe had done, was by order of GOD himſelf, who had decreed the inverſion of the ſucceſſion before they were born; that it would therefore be not only in vain, but even an unpardonable crime, for him to oppoſe himſelf againſt the decrees of providence; and that, inſtead of recovering his brother's bleſſing, he would bring a terrible curſe upon his own head: by which, and other ſuch like arguments, they had wholly perſwaded him to acquieſce in the divine will, and to ſet aſide all animoſity againſt *Jacob*.

(185) Bereſhith Rabbah *in loc.* Mazor. *in loc.*

with

with the ſame tenderneſs that he had his brother's. He now began to chide him in a civil manner, for ſending him ſuch great preſents, and to deſire him to take them back, alledging, that it was ſuperfluous to him, who had enough of every thing; but *Jacob* begged ſo earneſtly that he would accept of them, that he at length prevailed. *Eſau* offered afterwards to accompany him to the end of his journey, or at leaſt to leave a ſufficient number of his men to guard him; but he begged to be excuſed from conſenting to either, ſeeing he was forced to go gently on, by reaſon of his little ones, and the cattle that were with young: upon which his brother took his leave and went away for mount *Seir* *; and *Jacob* ſeeing himſelf rid of all his fears, ſtopped at a convenient place, to which he gave the name of *Succoth*, or *booths*, by reaſon of the booths and folds he made there for his camels and cattle; he likewiſe built himſelf a houſe there. This *Succoth* became afterwards a city of ſome ſtrength, and *Gideon* did ſeverely puniſh ſome of its chief inhabitants, for their ſaucy anſwer to him, when he was in purſuit of the *Midianites* [g]. It was ſituate between the brook *Jabbok* and the river *Jordan*. From *Succoth* he went to *Salem* (F), a place near

Jacob *ſtopt ſome time at* Succoth.

* Vid. ſup. p. 128. [g] Gen xxxiii.

(F) We have here followed the *Engliſh* verſion, though the original, we think, might be more properly rendered, he arrived *ſafe* and *ſound*, or *peaceably*, at the city of *Shechem*: for the word *Salem* or rather *Shalem*, bears that ſignification; and there are no remains of any place near *Shechem*, that is called by the name of *Salem*. For this reaſon ſome have thought it to be that *Salem* of which *Melchizedek* was king (186), the ruins of whoſe palace were ſtill to be ſeen in St. *Jerom*'s time; which ſhewed it, he ſays, to have been a magnificent building, and which, he thinks, is the ſame with *Salem* here ſpoken of (187). But it is not likely, that the former was ſo near *Shechem*, any more than the *Salem* where *John the Baptiſt* did frequent (188), which was near *Jordan*; whereas *Shechem* was at a diſtance from it. Beſides *Joſephus* tells us, that the old *Salem* was the ſame as *Jeruſalem* (189). And the *Pſalmiſt* ſeems to intimate the ſame, when he ſays *at Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling in Sion* (190); but the *Salem* near *Shechem* was near thirty miles from *Jeruſalem*. Others have ſought for *Salem* in *Shiloh*, which is about half way between *Jeruſalem* and *Shechem*, and have thought that they were the ſame (191). But, beſides, that *Shiloh* is not near *Shechem*, it is plain from *Judges* (192)

(186) *Gen. xiv.* 18. (187) Hieron. *quæſt. Hebr.* (188) *John iii.* 23. (189) Ant. *l.* 1. *c.* 11. (190) Pſal. lxxvi. 2. (191) *Vid.* Villet. *c.* 33. (192) *Judg xxi.* 19.

that

near the city of *Shechem*, in the land of *Canaan*, where he bought a piece of land from *Hamor*, the father of *Shechem* for an hundred pieces of money, and pitched his tents there (G), and built an altar to the LORD, which he called *El-elohe-iſ-rael*, o. the mighty GOD of *Iſrael* [h]. This was in all likelihood the ſame place where *Abraham* had heretofore built one, ſoon after his firſt coming into the land of *Canaan* [i]. And here alſo was probably *Jacob*'s well near mount *Gerizim*, where CHRIST talked with the woman of *Samaria* [k]; for that mountain ſtood in the country of the *Shechemites* [l].

Buys a piece of ground near Shechem.

HERE *Jacob* might have lived long enough peaceably and agreeably, being beloved and reſpected by all that people, had not *Dinah*'s curioſity of viſiting the women of the city, ſome ſay, to ſee one of their feaſts [m], proved the cauſe of

[h] Gen. xxxiii 20. [i] Gen. xii 7. Annal. USSER p. 9. CALM. Hiſt. O. T. 205. VILLET. & al. [k] John iv. 6. & ſeq. [l] Judg. ix. 7. [m] Jo. Ant. l. 1. c. 21.

that they were two diſtinct places: wherefore upon the whole we think, that *Salem* ſhould here be rendered *ſafe*, or *in peace*; namely from the dread and dangers he had been in of his brother *Eſau*, and not becauſe he was cured of his lameneſs, as the *Jews* imagine.

(G) The word *Keſhitah* קְשִׂיטָה, which is here rendered *a piece of money*, ſignifies alſo *a lamb*; from whence *Onkelos* (193), the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Oleaſter*, and others, have tranſlated it an hundred lambs, as they have alſo that place in *Job*, where every one of his friends gave him a *Keſhitah*; but it is more likely that they gave him a piece of money than a lamb; for that would be of greater ſervice to him in the condition he was in. All the *Jewiſh* interpreters, except *Onkelos* above-named, render it by the word מֵאָה (194), which ſignifies a piece of money of about the value of a penny, and tell us, that the *Arabians* called money *Keſhitah* 195). It is more probable, therefore, that it was a ſmall coin that had a lamb ſtamped upon it, and was called by that name, as we do call an *Angel* from the ſtamp it bears of one. As for thoſe who think that this price was hardly ſufficient to purchaſe ſuch a piece of ground, it not amounting to above ten or twelve ſhillings (196), they ſhould conſider, that if a lamb in thoſe days was worth no more than five farthings or three halfpence, which is probable enough, money then bearing a higher value, an hundred lambs would be but equivalent to an hundred ſuch pieces of money.

(193) Targ. Onkel. *in loc* (194) *Vid* Mundl. *in loc* (195) *Ap.* Villet. (196) Le Scene's *Eſſay on a new tranſlation, p* 166.

with the ſame tenderneſs that he had his brother's. He now began to chide him in a civil manner, for ſending him ſuch great preſents, and to deſire him to take them back, alledging, that it was ſuperfluous to him, who had enough of every thing; but *Jacob* begged ſo earneſtly that he would accept of them, that he at length prevailed. *Eſau* offered afterwards to accompany him to the end of his journey, or at leaſt to leave a ſufficient number of his men to guard him; but he begged to be excuſed from conſenting to either, ſeeing he was forced to go gently on, by reaſon of his little ones, and the cattle that were with young: upon which his brother took his leave and went away for mount *Seir* *; and *Jacob* ſeeing himſelf rid of all his fears, ſtopped at a convenient place, to which he gave the name of *Succoth*, or *booths*, by reaſon of the booths and folds he made there for his camels and cattle; he likewiſe built himſelf a houſe there. This *Succoth* became afterwards a city of ſome ſtrength, and *Gideon* did ſeverely puniſh ſome of its chief inhabitants, for their ſaucy anſwer to him, when he was in purſuit of the *Midianites* [g]. It was ſituate between the brook *Jabbok* and the river *Jordan*. From *Succoth* he went to *Salem* (F), a place near

Jacob *ſtopt ſome time at* Succoth.

* Vid. ſup. p. 128. [g] Gen xxxiii.

(F) We have here followed the *Engliſh* verſion, though the original, we think, might be more properly rendered, he arrived *ſafe* and *ſound*, or *peaceably*, at the city of *Shechem*: for the word *Salem* or rather *Shalem*, bears that ſignification; and there are no remains of any place near *Shechem*, that is called by the name of *Salem*. For this reaſon ſome have thought it to be that *Salem* of which *Melchizedek* was king (186), the ruins of whoſe palace were ſtill to be ſeen in St. *Jerom*'s time; which ſhewed it, he ſays, to have been a magnificent building, and which, he thinks, is the ſame with *Salem* here ſpoken of (187). But it is not likely, that the former was ſo near *Shechem*, any more than the *Salem* where *John the Baptiſt* did frequent (188), which was near *Jordan*; whereas *Shechem* was at a diſtance from it. Beſides *Joſephus* tells us, that the old *Salem* was the ſame as *Jeruſalem* (189). And the *Pſalmiſt* ſeems to intimate the ſame, when he ſays *at Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling in Sion* (190); but the *Salem* near *Shechem* was near thirty miles from *Jeruſalem*. Others have ſought for *Salem* in *Shiloh*, which is about half way between *Jeruſalem* and *Shechem*, and have thought that they were the ſame (191). But, beſides, that *Shiloh* is not near *Shechem*, it is plain from *Judges* (192)

(186) *Gen. xiv.* 18. (187) Hieron. *quæſt. Hebr.* (188) *John iii.* 23. (189) Ant. *l.* 1. *c.* 11. (190) Pſal. lxxvi. 2. (191) *Vid.* Villet. *c.* 33. (192) *Judg. xxi.* 19.

that

near the city of *Shechem*, in the land of *Canaan*, where he bought a piece of land from *Hamor*, the father of *Shechem* for an hundred pieces of money, and pitched his tents there (G), and built an altar to the LORD, which he called *El-elohe-iſrael*, or the mighty GOD of *Iſrael* [h]. This was in all likelihood the ſame place where *Abraham* had heretofore built one, ſoon after his firſt coming into the land of *Canaan* [i]. And here alſo was probably *Jacob*'s well near mount *Gerizim*, where CHRIST talked with the woman of *Samaria* [k]; for that mountain ſtood in the country of the *Shechemites* [l].

Buys a piece of ground near Shechem.

HERE *Jacob* might have lived long enough peaceably and agreeably, being beloved and reſpected by all that people, had not *Dinah*'s curioſity of viſiting the women of the city, ſome ſay, to ſee one of their feaſts [m], proved the cauſe of

[h] Gen. xxxiii. 20. [i] Gen. xii. 7. Annal. USSER p. 9. CALM. Hiſt. O. T. 205. VILLET. & al. [k] John iv. 6. & ſeq. [l] Judg. ix. 7. [m] Jos. Ant. l. 1. c. 21.

that they were two diſtinct places: wherefore upon the whole we think, that *Salem* ſhould here be rendered *ſafe*, or *in peace*; namely from the dread and dangers he had been in of his brother *Eſau*, and not becauſe he was cured of his lameneſs, as the *Jews* imagine.

(G) The word *Keſhitah* קשיטה, which is here rendered *a piece of money*, ſignifies alſo *a lamb*; from whence *Onkelos* (193), the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Oleaſter*, and others, have tranſlated it an hundred lambs, as they have alſo that place in *Job*, where every one of his friends gave him a *Keſhitah*; but it is more likely that they gave him a piece of money than a lamb; for that would be of greater ſervice to him in the condition he was in. All the *Jewiſh* interpreters, except *Onkelos* above-named, render it by the word מעה (194), which ſignifies a piece of money of about the value of a penny, and tell us, that the *Arabians* called money *Keſhitah* (195). It is more probable, therefore, that it was a ſmall coin that had a lamb ſtamped upon it, and was called by that name, as we do call an *Angel* from the ſtamp it bears of one. As for thoſe who think that this price was hardly ſufficient to purchaſe ſuch a piece of ground, it not amounting to above ten or twelve ſhillings (196), they ſhould conſider, that if a lamb in thoſe days was worth no more than five farthings or three halfpence, which is probable enough, money then bearing a higher value, an hundred lambs would be but equivalent to an hundred ſuch pieces of money.

(193) Targ. Onkel. *in loc.* (194) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (195) *Ap.* Villet. (196) Le Scene's *Eſſay on a new tranſlation*, *p.* 166.

much miſchief, and obliged her father to withdraw from that place nearer to *Mamre*, where his father ſtill lived †. *She-*

Shechem's *amour with* Dinah. *chem*, the ſon of *Hamor* the *Hivite*, who was prince of that country, ſaw her, became in love with her, raviſhed her, and ſent her home to her father, with the greateſt aſſurances of marriage, if *Jacob*'s conſent could be as eaſily obtained as that of his father *Hamor*. *Dinah* told her miſhap to her father, who was forced to bear it patiently for the preſent; becauſe his ſons were all out in the field. But as ſoon as they were come home, and made acquainted with it, their reſentment grew to ſuch a height, that they reſolved ſeverely to revenge the diſhonour done to their family. In the mean time *Shechem* having prevailed upon his father to obtain him the damſel, *Hamor* went with him to make the propoſal of it to her father, and promiſed to give her as large a dowry as he ſhould deſire; adding, that if his family were to intermarry with the *Shechemites*, it might prove the moſt effectual means for both to live in perfect peace and friendſhip. But the treacherous ſons of *Jacob*, who meditated nothing but the moſt bloody revenge, replied, that is was not lawful for them to contract any affinity with any uncircumciſed nation; but that, if he and his people would conſent to be circumciſed, as they were, they would agree to his propoſal. The ſequel ſhews, that they deſigned nothing leſs. For the prince, having acquainted his people with the whole matter, did eaſily perſuade them to accept the conditions, ſince it would have given them a power over all their ſubſtance and riches. *Shechem* was no doubt very preſſing to have the ceremony of circumciſion performed out of hand, that he might the ſooner enjoy his deſires, and, in complaiſance to him, the whole city agreed to go about it that very day. Three days after this, when their wounds had rendered them incapable to ſtand in their own defence, *Simeon* and *Levi*, *Dinah*'s brothers entered the city, and put all the males to the ſword, and brought their ſiſter back. After this they went and plundered the place, took all the women captives, and carried away all the cattle they found in the neighbourhood. When *Jacob* came to hear of this barbarous exploit, he was extremely diſpleaſed at it. He reproved them for it, told them the dangerous conſequences that muſt inevitably attend ſuch a treacherous action, which he thought muſt end in the deſtruction of himſelf and family. And indeed we need not doubt, but the reſt of the inhabitants of that country might, and would,

Year of the Flood, 1267. Year before Chriſt 1732.

Hamor *demands her in marriage for his ſon.*

Jacob's *ſons treachery.*

They enter the city, and deſtroy all the males, &c.

† Vid. ſup. p. 171.

eaſily

eaſily have made his words good, had not GOD interpoſed, and ſent a panick fear amongſt them, inſomuch that they did even let them depart quietly, and carry of all the plunder they had got from the ſlaughtered *Shechemites*. However, all the anſwer *Jacob*'s ſons made to him was, why did he uſe our ſiſter like a harlot [n] ?

HOWEVER, GOD was ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears Jacob *is bid to go and dwell at* Bethel. once more, by ſpeaking to him in a dream, and bidding him go to *Bethel*, where he had formerly appeared to him, when he fled from his brother, and to dwell there, and build an altar unto him. *Jacob* therefore unwilling to prophane that holy place, by carrying with him any thing that might be diſpleaſing to GOD, ordered his family to bring all the idols they had taken from the *Shechemites*, or brought from *Padan-Aram*, if his wife's were not among them, to purify themſelves even to the very changing of their garments, and to bury all their ſuperſtitious lumber in a deep hole, which he cauſed to be made under an oak near to *Schechem*. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted even with their very ear-rings, which they uſed to wear as taliſmans, or charms, againſt ſickneſs and other misfortunes [o]. After which *Jacob* and his whole family ſet out with all they had, and arrived ſafely at *Luz*, afterwards called *Bethel*: none of the neighbouring inhabitants daring to purſue after them. As ſoon as he came there, he built an altar to GOD, and called it, *El-beth-el*, or the GOD of *Bethel*: ſoon after which *Deborah*, his mother's nurſe (H), died, and was buried under an *Their idols buried.* Deborah *dies.*

[n] Gen. xxxiv. [o] See CALMET, Comm. in Gen. xxxv. 4.

(H) It is not eaſy to gueſs how ſo very old a woman as *Rebekah*'s nurſe muſt then be, ſhould be found in his retinue, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was ſent by *Iſaac* to enquire after *Jacob*'s welfare. *Calvin* and others indeed think, that ſhe went with him into *Meſopotamia*, having a deſire to ſee her own country again, and that when ſhe heard that he was gone for the land of *Canaan*, her deſire to ſee *Rebekah* made her follow him thither; but it is unlikely, that a woman at her years ſhould take ſuch rambles: For if we ſuppoſe her to have been forty years old when ſhe was taken in to be *Rebekah*'s nurſe (and leſs than that ſhe could hardly be, ſeeing ſhe was not taken to ſuckle her, but to bring her up as a governante), ſhe muſt have been near an hundred and ſeventy years old when ſhe died. The *Hebrews* tell us, that *Rebekah* having promiſed her ſon, when he was going from her, that ſhe would ſend for him again, as ſoon as ſhe found that he was out of danger, did now ſend *Deborah* to fetch him back; but, beſides that a younger meſſenger would

an oak at the foot of the hill of *Bethel*, and the place was called *Allon-bachuth*, or *the oak of mourning*. He made but a ſhort ſtay at *Bethel*, being deſirous to go to viſit his father, whom, for ought we find, he had not ſeen ſince he went to *Meſopotamia*: but as he was marching towards *Ephrath*, *Rachel* fell in labour at a ſmall diſtance from the place, and perceiving that it would coſt her her life, called the child *Benoni*, or *the ſon of my affliction*; but after ſhe was dead, *Jacob* changed that name, too likely perhaps to revive his grief for her loſs, into that of *Benjamin*, or *the ſon of my right hand*. *Rachel* was buried in the way to *Ephrath*, and a ſtone monument was reared over the grave, which was ſtill to be ſeen in *Moſes*'s time. This was not the only misfortune *Jacob* met with in this place: for his ſon *Reuben*, having taken a liking to *Bilhah*, his father's concubine and *Rachel*'s maid, did not ſcruple to lie with her: which, when his father heard, made ſo deep an impreſſion in his heart, that he grieved at it to his dying day [p]. Soon after this *Jacob* left that melancholy place, and came at length to *Mamre*, to his old father *Iſaac*; with whom he continued almoſt the ſpace of thirteen years, ſome ſay nineteen, that is, till the good old man departed this life, which he did in a very advanced age, being an hundred and eighty years old; having been almoſt blind and decrepid a conſiderable number of years (I). His two ſons buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*, with *Abraham* and *Sarah*; after which *Eſau* returned home, and *Jacob* continued at *Mamre* [q].

Rachel brought to bed of Benjamin. *Dies, and is buried at* Ephrath.

Reuben's inceſt.

Iſaac *dies, and is buried by his two ſons.*

However, the happineſs which *Jacob* had enjoyed, during his ſtay with his father, had not been without ſome allay. *Joſeph* was about ſeventeen years of age, and was become

[p] Gen. xlix 4. [q] Gen. xxxv.

would have been more proper; it is certain *Jacob* was not ſent for, but called by God, and drove by *Laban*'s cruel uſage out of that country

(I) The *Jews* tell us, that the maſters who taught *Iſaac* the law of God were the patriarchs *Shem* and *Heber*, who were ſtill living; and that when *Abraham* took him with him to mount *Moriah* to ſacrifice him there, he told *Sarah*, that he was going with him to the ſchool of *Shem* 197. They likewiſe attribute to him the compoſing of the noon-prayers which they conſtantly uſe: for they think *Abraham* was the author of thoſe of the morning, and *Jacob* of thoſe of the evening, and *Iſaac* of thoſe of noon *.

(197) Sgambat. Archiv. *Vet. Teſt. l.* 2. *p.* 197. * Fabric. *Apocryph. Vet. Teſt.* 434.

his

his darling, in regard of his excellencies of body and mind; beſides, his father had obſerved ſomething extraordinary and promiſing in him, beyond what he could ſee in his other ſons, which made him ſo exceſſively fond of him (K), that it procured him the envy of all his brothers. What encreaſed it ſtill more was, that *Joſeph* having obſerved ſome vile actions in the ſons of *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, with whom his father had ſent him to feed the ſheep, in hopes, that they would pay him a greater regard than his other brethren, came and acquainted him with it. But he himſelf helped to compleat their envy, or rather, to turn it into an irreconcilable hatred, by innocently telling them ſome dreams he had, which ſeemed to foreſhew, that he ſhould one day get the power and authority over them. One of them was, that he ſaw in a wheat-field his own ſheaf ſtanding upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. Another was, that he ſaw the ſun, moon, and eleven ſtars, doing the like obeiſance to him. This laſt he likewiſe told to his father, who, though he could not perhaps but be delighted with it, and think it ſignificative of ſome great fortune that would attend him; yet obſerving, with what envy his brethren heard it, thought fit to rebuke him ſeverely before them, aſking him, if he thought, that his father, mother, and brethren were to bow themſelves to the earth to him? but this rather helped to encreaſe their hatred againſt him, and made them

Joſeph beloved by his father.

Hated by his brethren.

His two dreams.

(K) Moſt verſions as well as ours, have made *Jacob* to love *Joſeph*, becauſe he was the ſon of his old age, whereas he had two ſons younger than he, *viz.* *Zebulun* and *Benjamin*, and this laſt was born above fifteen years after him. It ſeems they have confounded the words בן זקנים *Ben Zekenim*, the ſon of ſenators or elders, as he is called here, with בן זקנה *Ben Ziknah*, the ſon of old age. But the former has a quite different meaning, it ſignifying, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, *the ſon or diſciple of ſenators*; that is, becauſe he was endued with extraordinary wiſdom and prudence. Accordingly the *Samaritan*, *Perſic* and *Arabic* verſions have rendered it, *becauſe he was a wiſe and prudent ſon*; though even this comes ſhort of the energy of the idiom, and might be more properly tranſlated, *becauſe he was as wiſe and prudent as a ſenator*. And as it is natural for parents, eſpecially fathers, to admire thoſe children that ſhew any degree of wiſdom above their years, ſo *Jacob* had a great deal of reaſon to ſhew a more than ordinary love for ſuch a ſon; whereas to be fond of a child of old age, had *Joſeph* been even ſuch, is but a common piece of dotage, which *Moſes* would hardly have thought worth recording (198).

(198) *Vid.* Le Scene's *Eſſay.*

reſolve

reſolve to contrive his death. It was not long before an opportunity offered itſelf to them. *Jacob* being uneaſy, that he had not heard from them for ſome time, ſince they were gone to *Shechem* with their flocks, and fearing leſt ſome ill luck had befallen them, ſent *Joſeph* to enquire after them. When he came thither, he was told that they were removed farther off, about twenty miles farther north towards *Dudaim*. He went after them, and they no ſooner ſaw him, but they all agreed to make away with the dreamer, as they called him, and to make their father believe, that ſome wild beaſt had devoured him. They had certainly executed their bloody deſign, without any regard either to his tears, his age, or to the grief, which the news of his death would cauſe to their aged father, had not *Reuben* diſſuaded them from imbruing their hands in his blood, and adviſed them to throw him alive into a pit, and let hunger and grief perform that cruel office. Whether the fear of the guilt of blood, or deſire to make him die a more lingering death, prevailed upon them to take the advice, they let him down into the pit, and, as if they had performed ſome noble exploit, they ſat down to eat and to drink. In the interim a troop of *Iſhmaelites* happening to paſs by, with ſpices and balm from *Gilead*, and bound for *Egypt*, *Judah* perſuaded his brethren to ſell him to them, ſince his death would do them no more ſervice, than his being carried down into *Egypt* †. His project was approved, and *Joſeph* was ſold to the merchants, and carried off unknown to *Reuben*, whoſe deſign was to have got him out of the pit, and to have ſent him back privately to his father. The ſurpriſe and concern he was in when he found him gone, forced ſuch complaints from him, that they ſoon underſtood what his deſign had been. They took therefore the more care that he ſhould not know what was become of him. Soon after this, having dipped his party-coloured coat, which they had ſtripped him of, in ſome kid's blood, they ſent it home to their father; who no ſooner ſaw it, than he ſuppoſed that his beloved child had been torn in pieces by ſome wild beaſt. He took his ſuppoſed loſs ſo to heart, that he did not ceaſe mourning for him, 'till he heard the ſurprizing news of his advancement in *Egypt*[r] (L), where

He is ſold, and carried down into Egypt.

† Vid. ſup. p. 114. [r] Gen. xxxvii.

(L) *Juſtin* in epitome of *Trogus* makes mention of *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt* by his brethren, who envied the excellency of his wit;

where *Joſeph* happened to be ſold to an officer of the king's guard, named *Potiphar* (M). Here *Joſeph* ſhewed ſuch diligence and integrity, and proved ſo ſucceſsful in all he undertook, that his maſter ſoon took notice of him, and committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been about ten years in *Potiphar*'s houſe, when his extraordinary beauty and comlineſs began to inflame his miſtreſs's heart, and ſhe, not being over-nice in ſuch matters, made no difficulty to diſcloſe the ſecret to him, in ſuch plain terms as would force a direct anſwer from him. But how great was her ſurprize, when, inſtead of the chearful compliance ſhe probably expected, ſhe found herſelf denied, and ſeverely reprimanded for her diſloyal paſſion! Howèver, being willing to hope, that another opportunity might prove more favourable, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, ſhe laid hold on one when all the family was abroad, and accoſted him in ſo paſſionate and violent a manner, as gave him to underſtand, that ſhe would not bear any further denial. *Joſeph*, thinking it ſafer to leave her than to ſtay and expoſtulate with her, was forced to leave his upper garment behind, which ſhe held ſo faſt that he could not get it out of her hands. This laſt affront ſo enraged her, that ſhe reſolved his immediate ruin. She began with ſetting up a moſt horrid out-cry, which ſoon brought in all the people that were within hearing of it, then ſhewing them *Joſeph*'s cloak, ſhe told them, that he had made ſo furious an attempt to raviſh her, that nothing but her loud cries could have delivered her from him. By that wit; and having got him privately into their hands, ſold him to ſome merchants, who carried him down into that country (199).

Sold there to Potiphar.

Is ſolicited to an amour by his miſtreſs

His refuſal makes her accuſe him.

(M) It may not be improper to obſerve here, that tho' the text calls *Potiphar* an eunuch, yet he was not a real one, as the LXX render it, and the *Jews* fancy; ſome of whom think, that he was not ſo thoroughly caſtrated, but that ſome of the ſtrings being left might make him deſire a wife (200); for though the *Hebrew* word סָרִיס *Saris* doth properly ſignify an *Eunuch*, yet it is often uſed to ſignify an *officer belonging to the court, and near to the king's perſon.* He is alſo called שַׂר טַבָּחִים *Sar Tabachim*, which in its primitive meaning ſignifies *the prince of the butchers*, from *Tabach*, which ſignifies *to kill, ſlaughter*, or what is beſt expreſſed by the *French* word *Egorger.* For which reaſon ſome have rendered it *the prince of the cooks* (201). But, as the matter is of no great importance, we have followed the *Engliſh* verſion, which agrees in this with the generality of interpreters (202).

(199) Juſtin. *l.* 36. *c.* 2. (200) D. Kimki & *al.* (201) *Vid.* Mercer. Jun. & *al.* (202) Joſeph. *Philo, Ambr.* & *al.*

time

time her ſpouſe came home, ſhe had dreſt up her ſtory ſo well, and made ſuch uſe of the dumb witneſs ſhe had torn from him, that ſhe was eaſily believed. Had *Potiphar* loved him leſs than he did, it is probable, he would have ſacrificed him that minute to his reſentment; but he contented himſelf for the preſent with ſending him into the king's priſon [r], where we ſhall leave him for a while, to take a view of what paſſed in his father's family.

He is ſent to priſon.

Judah's *marriage with a* Canaanite.

NOT long after *Joſeph* had been ſold into *Egypt*, *Judah* happened to marry the daughter of a *Canaanite*, whoſe name was *Shuah*, by whom he had three ſons (N), *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. *Er* being cut off for his wickedneſs, before he had any children by his wife *Tamar*, *Judah* bid his ſecond ſon *Onan* to take her, according to the cuſtom of that country, and to raiſe a poſterity to his brother. *Onan* obeyed ſeemingly, but, not brooking the thoughts that his children ſhould be eſteemed his brother's, took ſuch a wicked and unnatural way to prevent *Tamar*'s having any by him, that GOD was provoked

Er's death.

Onan's ſin and death.

[r] Gen. xxxix.

(N) It is not eaſy to gueſs at what time *Judah* had theſe three ſons by this *Canaaniteſs* woman; and if we take the words in the original, *at that time*, in a ſtrict ſenſe, as if it happened about the time that *Joſeph* was ſold, he muſt have been too young; being but twenty two years of age; for *Joſeph* was ſeventeen years old, and he could not be above four or five years older, being the fourth ſon of *Leah*, and he and *Joſeph* both born within the compaſs of ſeven years. So that the moſt that can be thought is, that he had married either a little before *Joſeph* was ſold, or about that time, and that the latter part of the ſtory of his ſon's marriage and death, and the buſineſs of *Tamar*, happened during the twenty years that *Joſeph* continued in *Egypt*. And therefore, though *Moſes* relates all theſe events in the chapter preceding that, which gives an account of his diſgrace and impriſonment, it is moſt probable, that he has done it to prevent intermingling the ſtory of thoſe two brothers too much, and ſo has made an end of *Judah*'s adventures before he went on with thoſe of *Joſeph*. Neither need we think ſtrange, that *Judah* and his ſons ſhould marry ſo young, ſince we have other inſtances in ſcripture of the like nature; ſuch as that of *Ahaz*, *Hezekiah*'s father, who was but eleven years old when he was born; for *Ahaz* was but thirty ſix when he died, and his ſon was twenty five when he began to reign (203), though he was his immediate ſucceſſor. And if a prince in thoſe latter days could have a child at that age, much more might they that lived in *Judah*'s time.

(203) 2 *Kings xvi.* 2. *Ibid. xviii.* 2.

to puniſh him with death alſo (O). *Judah* therefore bid her remain a widow in her father's houſe, until his third ſon was grown old enough to ſupply his brother's place; but when ſhe ſaw that time come, and that he neglected to ſend for her, as indeed he never deſigned it, leſt *Shelah* ſhould meet with the fate of his two brothers, ſhe reſolved to make herſelf amends by ſome other way, which ſhe effected by the following ſtratagem.

JUDAH had buried his wife about this time, and was ſtill young enough to feel the want of her. As ſoon therefore as the uſual days of mourning were over, it being then the ſeaſon of ſheep-ſheering, he reſolved to try whether that diverſion might allay his grief. He took an intimate friend with him, and went up to *Timnath*, the place where the ſheerers were at work. In the mean while *Tamar* hearing of it, reſolved to make uſe of that opportunity to ſet on work her deſign. She put off her widow's garments, and dreſſing herſelf like a curtezan, and throwing a vail over her face (P), ſet herſelf between the two ways that lead to *Timnath*, through one of which ſhe knew her father-in-law muſt needs paſs.

(O) Though *Onan*'s ſin was in it ſelf great enough, yet it is very probable that it was aggravated with a worſe circumſtance; *viz.* his having an eye to the ſuppreſſing of the MESSIAH'S coming, ſince he ſhould not have the honour to be numbered among his anceſtors (204), which might provoke GOD to cut him off. As for the ſin of his elder brother, it is thought to have been the ſame with *Onan*'s but committed with a different view; that *Tamar* might not ſpoil her beauty and ſhape by bearing of children; but this is only a rabinic conjecture.

(P) The text ſays, that *Judah* thought her to be a harlot, becauſe ſhe had covered her face. From whence ſome have fancied that ſhe covered it with paint; but theſe are ſufficiently reproved and confuted by *Abenezra* (205). Others think that the vail over the face was the ſign of a harlot(206); but whether they were ſo ſhame-faced in thoſe days or not, it ſeems rather, that ſhe had vailed herſelf that *Judah* might not know her. What therefore made him think her to be a curtezan, was her ſitting alone in ſuch a conſpicuous place; for ſo the original may be rendered. If it be aſked, how ſhe could prevent her voice from betraying her, all that can be ſaid is, either that ſhe had an art of altering it ſo as not to be known, as ſome people have, or, which is more probable, that *Judah* was ſo hot in purſuit of his pleaſure, that it did not permit him to make any reflection about it. *Vid.* our next note.

(204) *Vide* Alix. *in Pentat.* (205) Abenezra *in loc.* (206) Jun Calv. & *al. in loc.*

Judah *and* Tamar.

JUDAH no ſooner ſpied her, but, thinking her to be what ſhe appered, began to make his addreſſes to her, and ſhe inſiſting only upon a reward for her compliance, he promiſed her to ſend her a kid, and at her deſire left her his ſeal, his bracelet, and ſtaff, as a pledge for it. The intrigue being over, *Judah* ſent his friend *Adullam*, for that was his name, with the kid, to redeem the pledges, but in vain, for ſhe was gone home; neither did the men of the place, of whom he enquired, know any thing of ſuch a woman plying there. He went to *Judah* and told him his ill ſucceſs, who, fearing to be expoſed for his amour, anſwered his friend, let her keep the pledges, as long as I have performed my promiſe to her, as you yourſelf will bear me witneſs. (Q)

Tamar *with child.*

BUT the matter was not ſo indifferent as he thought. Some months after word was brought to him, that his daughter-in-law had proved diſloyal, and was certainly with child. *Judah*, though glad at the news, becauſe her death would free him from his promiſe of giving his ſon *Shelah* to her, pretended to be highly provoked at her incontinency, and, ordering her to be brought forth, condemned her to be burnt, according to the laws of the country. *Tamar*, inſtead of being ſurprized at the dreadful ſentence which he had pronounced againſt her (R), produced the pledges he had left with her, and

Condemned to be burnt,

(Q) It ſeems by this action of *Tamar*, that ſhe had obſerved ſomething of this propenſity to women in him, whilſt ſhe lived with his two ſons, elſe it is not probable, that ſuch a project ſhould come into her head, neither would ſhe have appeared ſo ſure of the ſucceſs, as ſhe ſeems to have been by the ſequel. However, it is plain, that it was neither the virtue, nor ſanctity of the twelve patriarchs, that recommended them to the favour of GOD, but his covenant with *Abraham*, and the glorious deſigns of his providence on their poſterity. And this is what *Moſes* told the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs in more places than one (207).

(R) Some think, that *Judah*, as head of his own family, had power of life and death over all that belonged to it; but it is hardly probable, that the *Canaanites*, in whoſe country they dwelt, would give a ſtranger ſuch a power. 'Tis more likely therefore, that he meant only, that ſhe ſhould be brought before a court of Judicature, and ſentenced according to the laws of the country. However, whether judge or proſecutor, 'tis certain he acted like an unrighteous one: for *Tamar* could not be juſtly accuſed of adultery, which alone condemned her to be burnt, unleſs it were becauſe he had betrothed her to his ſon *Shelah*, by the promiſe he made her to marry her to him (otherwiſe it was lawful for widows to ſeek their

(207) *Deut. paſſ.*

and told him, that ſhe was got with child by the owner of them. Whereupon *Judah*, in a confuſion and ſurprize, owned, that ſhe was the more innocent of the two, and that he had wronged her in with-holding *Shelah* from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched her from that time. When her full time was come ſhe brought forth twins; but the manner of their being born was ſomething ſurprizing; for one of them put forth his hand, about which the midwife tied a ſcarlet thread, expecting him to come out the firſt: but when he withdrew his hand, and his brother ſhewed him the way into the world, his mother called him *Phares*, or *breach*, by reaſon of the breach he had made between his brother and him; and the other was called *Zarah* [t].

but abſolved.

A ſtrange birth.

JOSEPH in the mean while, was got into ſuch favour with the keeper of the priſon, that he entruſted him with the care of all the priſoners. Two of them, men of ſome diſtinction, *viz.* *Pharaoh*'s chief butler and baker, being very ſad and thoughtful one morning about a dream which each of them had, *Joſeph*, being informed of the cauſe and the dream, gave each of them its particular interpretation, telling them alſo the preciſe time when they ſhould ſee them fulfilled. Accordingly, three days after the butler was reſtored to his place, and the baker hanged (S). *Joſeph* took this opportunity

Joſeph.

Dreams of two priſoners explained.

[t] Gen. xxxviii.

their fortune elſewhere, as appears by what *Naomi* ſaid to her two daughters-in-law) becauſe he never deſigned to fulfil his promiſe (208). It was moreover an inhuman thing to put a woman to death before ſhe was delivered; and the *Romans*, bad as they were with reſpect to children, whom they uſed to expoſe when they thought fit, had yet a law to prevent a pregnant woman being put to death before her delivery (209). But it is probable, that his eagerneſs to be rid of her, made him ſpeak more unadviſedly than he would have done, had ſhe been a more indifferent perſon. However, it is plain, that *Joſephus* looked upon all the tranſactions mentioned in this chapter to be ſo little for the credit of *Judah* and his ſons, that he has ſuppreſſed them all. This is one, though far from the only one, of the inſtances we told the reader of in a former note, of his ſuppreſſing any thing that caſt a reflexion on his nation †: the reſt will come in courſe.

(S) Our tranſlation has rendered the expreſſion, which *Joſeph* uſes to the butler and the baker, *ſhall lift up thy head*, too literally, ſince they imply that they would both have the ſame fate; whereas it is plain they proved vaſtly different. The words in the original mean, that in three days *Pharaoh* would have them brought forth

(208) *Ruth i.* 9. (209) Ælian. *l.* 5. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 401, (B)

nity of addreſſing himſelf to the former, and to beg his aſſiſtance and intereſt to get him out of priſon, telling him at the ſame time, how he had been ſold out of his country, and falſly accuſed by his miſtreſs, and what elſe he thought proper to move him to comply with his requeſt.

But the butler, being got at liberty and reſtored to his place, never remembered his fellow priſoner for two whole years, till a remarkable accident forced him, as it were, to call him to mind. The king his maſter had had two very frightful and portentous dreams in one night, the meaning of which he had in vain enquired of all his *Egyptian* wiſemen, none of whom could give him the leaſt light into them. The uneaſineſs which appeared in *Pharaoh*'s countenance, and the ſearch he ordered to be made for ſome more learned interpreters, did ſoon make our courtier recollect what *Joſeph* had foretold him in the priſon. He went therefore inſtantly to the king, and, after an humble apology for his ingratitude and forgetfulneſs, acquainted him, that two years before there was an *Hebrew* youth in priſon with him, who had interpreted his and the baker's dream with a more than ordinary exactneſs, and ſeemed to have a much greater talent that way, than all the wiſemen that had been hitherto conſulted. *Pharaoh* was too eager to be ſatisfied about his own, not to ſend immediately for *Joſeph*, who, having waſhed and ſhaved himſelf, and changed his cloaths, was forthwith introduced to his majeſty. He no ſooner appeared than the king told him his dreams, and promiſed him a conſiderable reward if he could give him an interpretation of them. *Pharaoh* had dreamed, that he had ſeen ſeven luſty fat cows feeding on the banks of the *Nile*; ſoon after which ſeven others lean and ill-favoured ones came and devoured them; and yet did neither look the fatter or bigger for it. His ſecond dream was much of the ſame kind, *viz.* ſeven full ears of corn devoured by ſeven blaſted ones. *Joſeph* anſwered the king with his uſual modeſty, that the ſeven cows and ſeven ears ſignified the ſame thing; that the dream being repeated was only a ſign, that the thing was to happen immediately after. That the ſeven

Pharaoh's *two dreams interpreted by* Joſeph. Year of the Flood, 1284. Year before Chriſt, 1715.

and examined; for the word here rendered *lift up the head*, ſignifies to *muſter*, to *call to an account*, and *to take the ſum* of any thing; and the ſequel ſhews this to have been the true meaning, ſince, after ſuch examination, the one was hanged, and the other reſtored. It ſeems therefore probable, by the expreſſion here uſed, that they had been ſuſpected, or accuſed, of cheating the king, and that when their accounts had been examined and caſt up, the one was found guilty, and the other cleared.

fat

fat cows and full ears ſignified ſeven years of exceſſive plenty, which would nevertheleſs be quite forgotten in the ſeven ſucceeding years of famine, ſignified by the ſeven lean cows and blaſted ears. He thereupon adviſed the king to appoint a wiſe and expert man over his whole kingdom, who ſhould take care to build granaries, and ſet officers in every province, to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the ſeven plentiful years, againſt the ſucceeding years of famine.

THE king and all that heard him, were ſurprized at the wiſdom of this young ſtranger, who was then but thirty years old, and concluded, that he was the fitteſt perſon to be ſet over the kingdom, and to put his propoſal in execution. He was thereupon made maſter and overſeer of *Pharaoh*'s houſe; and orders were given, that he ſhould be obeyed in all things, as if he had been *Pharaoh* himſelf. The king ſtopped not here, but took his ſignet off his finger and gave it to him, cauſed him to be cloathed in fine linen, and put a golden chain about his neck, telling him, that he appointed him ſuperintendant over the whole kingdom, and the next unto himſelf in authority: he gave him moreover the name of *Zaphnath-paaneah*, which ſignifies *a revealer of ſecrets* (T). And to compleat his happineſs, he gave him the daughter of *Potipherah*, prieſt, or prince of *On*, to wife (U); and made him ride

Joſeph's *advancement and glory.*

His marriage.

(T) Theſe are not *Hebrew* words, as ſome rabbies dream (210), who render it by הִצְפּוּנוֹת מִגְלֶה, for though the firſt word may be derived from צָפַן *Zaphan*, to *hide*; yet the original of *Paaneah* is not to be found in the *Hebrew*. St. *Jerom* and others think, it ſignifies the SAVIOUR of the world in the *Egyptian* tongue (211); but it is moſt probable, that it ſignifies the revealer of ſecrets, and is accordingly ſo rendered by moſt *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian expoſitors (212).

(U) As it is not likely, that *Joſeph* ſhould be grown ſo great a courtier in ſo ſhort a time, as to have forgot his religion, eſpecially ſince we find him making ſo ample a profeſſion of it to his brothers ſeven years after (213); ſo neither is it probable, that he would have married the daughter of an uncircumciſed, whether prince or prieſt. But it was not ſo with *Potipherah*, who could not but be deſirous to purchaſe ſo advantageous an alliance at any rate, and therefore might eaſily be induced by *Joſeph* to remove that only obſtacle, by becoming circumciſed. This was therefore a fair opportunity for him to introduce that ceremony among the *Egyptian*

(210) Rambam. (211) Hieron. *in loc* Egubin. &c. (212) Targ. Onkel. *in loc.* Joſ. *Ant. l. 2. c. 6. LXX.* Cirot. Jun. *in loc. & al.* (213) *Gen xlii.* 18.

prieſts,

ride in his second chariot, while some men that ran before it cried, *bow the knee* (W). *Joseph*, being raised to this height of power, took a progress through the whole kingdom, built his granaries, appointed proper officers in every place, and in a word, ordered all things with such prudence and application, that before the seven years of plenty were over, he found his stores filled above numbering. During this time he had two sons born of his wife *Asenath*. The first of whom he called *Manasseh*, intimating, that GOD had made him forget all his toils; and the next he called *Ephraim*, because GOD had made him fruitful in the land of his affliction.

Manasseh and Ephraim born.

THESE seven plentiful years were succeeded immediately by the seven years of famine; neither was the scarcity con-

The years of famine.

priests, which might afterwards be received also by the laity. However that be, we must not mistake the city of *On* for that of *No*, threatened with destruction by *Ezekiel* (214), which was *Alexandria*. *On* therefore was *Heliopolis*, the chief city of the canton of that name, called by *Ptolemy Onium* (215), distant about twenty miles from *Memphis*, the metropolis of the kingdom †. Neither must we confound this *Potipherah* with that to whom *Joseph* has been sold, as St. *Jerom* has done. 'Tis much more probable, that they were two distinct persons. 1. Because the names are differently written; the first *Potiphar*, and the other *Potipherah*, or rather *Potipherangh*, ending with the letter ע (*Ain*). 2. The one is called captain of the guards, the other priest, or prince, of *On*.

3. The former therefore must have his residence in the capital, to be always about the king; the other lived at *On*, or *Heliopolis*; and lastly, it is not likely, that *Joseph* would have married his master's daughter, lest she should have proved like her mother, whose incontinency he had so severely smarted for (216).

(W) The *Jews*, *Kimki* excepted, unwilling to suppose, that so religious a man as *Joseph* would suffer the ceremony of bowing the knee to be performed to him, have divided the word אברך *Abrek*, and read it אב רך *Ab rak*, which in *Hebrew* signifies *tender father*; by which they understand, that he was a father with respect of his consummate wisdom, and tender with respect of his years (217). And it is certain, that if the word be *Hebrew* it signifies both *bow the knee*, and *tender father*; but if it be *Egyptian*, we are to seek for the meaning of it. *Josephus* says nothing of this circumstance, probably, because for want of understanding the *Hebrew*, he was forced to follow the *Septuagint*, which renders it, *bow the knee*.

(214) *Ezek. xxx.* 16. (215) *Vid.* Hieron. *loc. Hebr.* † *Vid.* Vol. I. *p.* 387. (216) August. *quæst. in Gen. i.* 36. Chrysost. *Homil.* 63. *in Gen.* Mercer. Jun. Mulcul. & *al.* (217) Targ. Onkel. R. Jehud. & *al.*

fined

fined to the land of *Egypt*, but was felt all over the land of *Canaan*, and all the nations round about it. As ſoon therefore as the *Egyptians* came to be pinched for want of bread, they applied themſelves to *Pharaoh*, who commanded them to apply to *Joſeph*; upon which he immediately ordered his ſtores to be opened, and corn to be ſold to the people who flocked to him, not only from all parts of *Egypt*, but from all the neighbouring countries [u].

BY this time *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing that there was corn to be bought in *Egypt*, ſent ten of his ſons thither to buy ſome, and kept only *Benjamin* with him. Theſe, upon their arrival into *Egypt*, were directed to *Joſeph*, whom they muſt apply to for an order; and as ſoon as they ſaw him they proſtrated themſelves before him, and begged they might be ſupplied with ſome corn. *Joſeph* knew them immediately, though he was ſo altered that they could not call him to mind: he put on a ſevere look, and in an angry tone aſked them, whence they came? and upon their anſwering, from the land of *Canaan*, he charged them with being ſpies, who were come to diſcover the weakneſs of the land. Such an unexpected accuſation forced them to juſtify themſelves; they told him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that they were come with no other deſign than to buy corn for their family, which was very numerous, they being all one man's ſons; that they had left another, a younger brother, with their father, beſides another who was now dead. This was what *Joſeph* wanted, who in a ſurly commanding tone told them, that unleſs one of them fetched this youngeſt ſon, whilſt the reſt were kept in ſafe cuſtody, he would not be perſuaded but that they were ſpies, and would puniſh them as ſuch. To ſhew that he was in earneſt, he ſent them all to priſon, and kept them there three days; at the end of which he ſent for them, and putting on a milder face ſaid to them, *this do and live, for I fear* GOD. Let one of you remain a priſoner with me, whilſt the reſt go home with proviſion for your family; and when you bring your youngeſt brother hither, he ſhall be delivered up ſafe, and you juſtified. He then commanded *Simeon*, who had been perhaps one of his moſt zealous enemies, to be bound before their eyes, and ſent to priſon, whilſt he had the pleaſure to hear them confeſs their inhumanity towards their brother, whoſe bitter cries had not been able to ſoften them to pity; acknowledging, that this misfortune had befallen them as a juſt puniſhment for it. Here *Reuben* had an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, by re-

Joſeph's brethren come to him for corn.

Joſeph's rough behaviour to them.

Simeon kept bound.

[u] Gen. xli.

minding

minding them of the pains he took to diſſuade them from the horrid fact, little thinking who heard him, any more than his brethren; for *Joſeph* ſpoke by an interpreter to them. At length, having learned all that he wanted to know, he diſmiſſed them, not without contriving a freſh occaſion of ſurprize to them after they were gone, having bid the officer, who was to fill their ſacks with corn, to return their money in the mouth of the ſacks. Accordingly, when they came to bait, and to give ſome provender to their beaſts, they were not a little frighted to find all their money in their ſacks, and failed not to make all the diſmal reflections upon it, that their fear could ſuggeſt to them; concluding, that the haughty *Egyptian* lord had done it, that he might have a pretence to enſlave them at their next coming. As ſoon as they were got home they acquainted their father with all theſe adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his ſon *Simeon*, was much more ſo, when he found, that *Benjamin* muſt go down to redeem him. He withſtood all their perſuaſions as long as he could [w], till, at length the famine increaſing, and the proviſion being almoſt ſpent, *Judah* prevailed with him to part with his favourite ſon for a time, promiſing to bring him ſafe back, or elſe to be anſwerable for him at the hazard of his life (X). As it was not without the utmoſt reluctancy

Their money returned.

[w] Gen xlii.

(X) The whole conduct of *Joſeph*, from his being firſt brought into *Egypt* to his diſcovering himſelf to his brethren, having been very much canvaſſed and diſapproved, it will not be amiſs to enquire how far it deſerves it, and how far it may be juſtified, even abſtracting from the hand of providence being concerned in it. Firſt then, he is blamed for not having ſent word to his father of his condition, who would have redeemed him at any rate, the city of *Memphis*, where he was ſold, not being above eighty miles at moſt from *Hebron*, where *Jacob* dwelt. To this it may be anſwered, 1. That if he had returned home, his brethren would, in all likelihood have taken a more effectual way to be rid of him, and, upon the firſt opportunity, have put their former bloody project in execution. And ſecondly, that *Egypt* being the place where he expected the preferment which his dreams had fore-ſignified to him, it was by no means adviſeable for him to leave it, but to wait patiently there for the event. Again, he is blamed for his rough and unjuſt uſage towards his brethren, which, it is pretended, favours of the rankeſt revenge: but it is plain, that if revenge had been the chief motive of his behaviour, he could have indulged it, in a more effectual way, without any danger of being called to an account for

tancy that *Jacob* conſented to this ſeparation, ſo he failed not to give his ſons the ſtricteſt charge about him, and to take all the proper meaſures for their ſafe return, and to gain the favour of the proud *Egyptian* lord. He bid them carry double their money, and make ready ſuch preſents as they thought would be acceptable to him (Y); and having entreated hea- *Jacob's preſents to* Joſeph.

ven,

it: whereas it is plain he had a much better deſign in it, namely, either to bring their heinous cruelty towards him into their remembrance, as it actually did †; or, 2. *in order to inform himſelf* of the ſtate of his family, eſpecially of his father and of his brother *Benjamin*; or laſtly, to make them reliſh his future kindneſs the better, by the rough uſage they had met with before. The laſt, and indeed the moſt conſiderable thing he is blamed for, is his ſending for his brother *Benjamin*, which he knew, his former behaviour conſidered, would cauſe an infinite deal of grief to his aged father, if not break his heart; and if he refuſed to ſend him the whole family muſt ſtarve at home, and *Simeon* remain in bonds. As for the latter part of the charge, *Joſeph* had it ſtill in his power to have remedied it, ſince, if he had found that his other brethren ſtayed longer than ordinary, he could but have ſent *Simeon* home with what meſſage and ſupply he pleaſed. But as for the other part of his behaviour, his cauſing *Jacob* to paſs ſo many days, if not weeks, in all the fear and anxiety that ſo dear a ſon's abſence and danger could cauſe, it cannot eaſily be juſtified any other way than by ſuppoſing, that *Joſeph* did certainly foreſee what would happen, and that his father's grieving ſometime for *Benjamin* would be ſo far from endangering his health, that it would only encreaſe his joy when he ſaw him again, and give a greater reliſh to the news of his own advancement and ſucceſs in *Egypt*. Without this ſuppoſition, 'tis plain, ſuch a ſudden tranſition from an exceſs of ſorrow to one of joy, was of itſelf ſufficient to have deprived him of his life, or of his ſenſes.

(Y) It is to be feared the generality of our expoſitors have not been very happy in their tranſlation of ſome of the preſents which *Jacob* ſent into *Egypt*, which has induced ſome learned critics of a later date (218) to endeavour to give us a more rational account of them, ſuch as the honey, nuts, and almonds, which could be no great rarities in *Egypt*, nor indeed any of the others, except the balm, which was that of *Gilead*, and of great price all the world over. A ſmall quantity therefore of it was a preſent worth accepting; but as for roſin, or wax, as many of our interpreters have rendered it, it could not be worth ſending.

Bochart, indeed, in the place above quoted, thinks, that it was either roſin, or turpentine, rather than balm of *Gilead*; becauſe

† *Gen. xlii* 21 *& ſeq.* (218) Bochart *paſſim.* Le Scene's *Eſſay. Eſſay towards a new tranſlation of the Bible, and others.*

ven, not without abundance of tears, for their good ſucceſs, diſmiſſed them; little dreaming, what glorious news he ſhould hear at their return, to make him amends for his ſon's abſence. They no ſooner appeared before *Joſeph* with their brother *Benjamin*, but he commanded his ſteward to conduct them to his houſe, where he deſigned they ſhould dine with him. But they, who had abandoned themſelves to fear, began to ſuſpect, that ſome ill deſign was hatching to enſlave them, upon the account of the money which they had found in their ſacks. To prevent therefore, as much as they could, any quarrel ariſing upon that ſcore, they acquainted the ſteward with the whole affair before they entered the houſe; ad-

Gilead was on one ſide *Jordan*, and *Jacob* was then at ſome ſmall diſtance from it on the other: but that doth not prove, that there was none to be bought there, or to be ſent for upon ſuch an occaſion. He adds, indeed, that *Joſephus* affirms balm to have been unknown in *Judæa*, till the queen of *Sheba* brought ſome of it to *Solomon* from *Arabia Felix*: but *Joſephus* may be miſtaken. Beſides, how came *Gilead* to be ſo famous for it afterwards? The Queen hardly brought the trees there, and if *Solomon* had ſent for them afterwards, he would have planted them in all likelihood nearer to him: but whatever it was, 'tis plain, that roſin and turpentine could not be a preſent worth *Joſeph*'s acceptance. The next is honey, which was indeed very much admired by the antients, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*, for a delicious food (219); but, unleſs that of *Canaan* was better than ordinary, it was hardly a preſent worth ſending to an *Egyptian* prime miniſter, ſince 'tis morally impoſſible, that country ſhould be without it. It is more likely, therefore, that they were dates, which are called by the ſame name (דבש *Debeſh* as the *Jewiſh* doctors obſerve, and which, when full ripe, yield a ſort of honey not much inferior to the other, The *Arabic* calls dates *Daboos*, and the honey of them *Dibo*, or *Dibis*, to this day; and it is plain, that *Judæa* abounded in palm-trees of all ſorts, more eſpecially about *Jericho*, if we may believe *Joſephus* and *Pliny*. The next is what we tranſlate ſpices; but the *Hebrew* word נכאת *Nekoth* doth rather ſignify ſtorax than ſpices, being a precious aromatic gum, that was put into all precious ſpicy ointments (220). *Myr*, or as it is in the original לוט *Lot*, is rather the ſtacte or ladanum, of the *Chaldee* and *Septuagint*, the laſt name coming nearer the *Hebrew* word. It is thought to be the gum of the cypreſs-tree, and was one of the aromatics in the perfume preſcribed by God to *Moſes* (221).

(219) 1 *Sam. xiv.* 27. 2 *Sam. xvii.* 29. *Cant. iv.* 11. Homer. *Iliad* λ. *v.* 630. *Odyſſ.* η. *v.* 69. Sueton. *de* Neron. *c.* 27. *& al.* (220) *Vid.* Bochart *Hierozoic. lib.* 4. *col.* 531, 532. (221) *Exod. xxx.* 34.

ding,

ding, that they had brought it back with them, with a new ſupply to buy ſome freſh proviſions. The ſteward, ſeeing their concern, bid them not be under any apprehenſions about it, for they ſhould never be aſked for it again. He then brought them into the houſe, ordered them water to waſh their feet, and provender for their beaſts, and in the mean time he brought *Simeon* unbound to them. He afterwards acquainted them, that they were to dine with his lord, who would be back by noon; upon which they ſet themſelves about making ready their preſents, which they accordingly laid before him with the utmoſt reverence, as ſoon as he came home. *Joſeph*, having ſaluted them round, began to enquire after their father's health, and whether that was their youngeſt brother that ſtood before him. *Benjamin* bowed his head to the ground, and *Joſeph* having bleſt him, ordered the victuals to be brought in, and made them ſit down by themſelves, and to be ſerved according to their rank and ſeniority, whilſt he ſat at a table by himſelf, and his *Egyptian* gueſts at another by themſelves; it being an abomination to the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* (Z). *Joſeph*, according to the cuſtom of the country, and of thoſe times [x], ſent diſhes from his own table to all his brethren, and they were not a little ſurprized to ſee how exactly he ſerved them according to their ſeniority;

Benjamin *and his brethren dine with* Joſeph.

[x] Vid. XENOPH. in vit. CYR. lib. 8.

(Z) This extreme averſion of the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* has been variouſly accounted for. Some attribute it to the exceſſive pride of that nation, which deſpiſed all but themſelves; others to the *Hebrews* being ſhepherds, and ſo eating of the ſheep and other cattle which the *Egyptians* worſhipped (222). Accordingly we read in another chapter (223), that ſhepherds were alſo an abomination to the *Egyptians*, whether *Hebrews* or otherwiſe; and *Moſes* tells *Pharaoh*, that they could not ſacrifice in *Egypt* what was an abomination to them (224); that is, to kill and eat part of thoſe beaſts which they worſhipped (225): but the moſt probable reaſon of this averſion to ſhepherds, and to the *Hebrews*, as ſuch was the great oppreſſion and tyranny under which they had groaned, when the *Hykſos* or king-ſhepherds, as the word ſignifies, poured in upon them, enſlaved, and held them in ſubjection above five hundred years; and of which an account has been given in a former chapter (226).

(222) Muſcul. Munſt. Tremel & *al. in loc.* (223) *Gen.* *xlvi.* 34. (224) *Exod.* viii. 26. (225) *Chald Paraph.* (226) *Vid. ſup. p.* 4 *vid.* Manetho *apud* Joſeph. *cont.* Apion.

but much more so, when they saw *Benjamin*'s portion five times larger than any of the rest, which was an usual mark of honour to the person to whom it was sent. After they had eat and drank plentifully, they began to think of taking their leave, and of going about their other affairs [y]; but *Joseph* had yet one fright more in reserve for them before he discovered himself. He bid his steward to put his drinking-cup into *Benjamin*'s sack, and to overtake them at some distance off the city, and, after a thorough search, to bring the pretended thief back to him. The thing was punctually executed, and we may easily imagine their surprize and concern, when the silver cup was produced out of the sack of their younger brother. They made all possible haste to load their asses again, and returned to *Joseph*, who received them with a warm reprimand for thus requiting his kindness and civility to them; which he concluded however with assuring them that though he might justly punish them all, yet the person only upon whom the cup was found should remain a slave, whilst the rest might go home in peace. After they had expressed their grief and shame in the humblest manner they were able, *Judah*, who had taken *Benjamin* under his care, having recovered himself from his surprize, addressed himself to *Joseph* in the most submissive and pathetic terms. He acquainted him with his father's extreme fondness for the lad, the great difficulty they had to persuade the good old gentleman to part with him, and the danger of his grieving to death for the loss of him. He likewise offered himself at the same time as an equivalent for his brother, with such zeal and concern, that *Joseph* was no longer able to contain himself. His [z] bowels began to yearn, and his tears to flow so fast, that he was forced to send all the by-standers away, whilst he made himself known to his brothers. He no sooner had told them, that he was *Joseph* their brother, which was all that his full heart would let him utter, but they were all struck with such mixture of joy and surprize for a considerable time, that they could make him no answer; neither did they dare even to look towards him, to convince themselves whether it was really he or an allusion. By this time *Joseph* having recovered himself, desired them to draw nearer unto him; he embraced them all round with a surprizing tenderness, and to dispel all their further apprehensions, he told them, that their selling him into *Egypt* having been directed by an unseen providence, and proved the means of so much good, both to himself, to them, and to all *Egypt*, he would be so far from re-

Joseph's *cup found in* Benjamin's *sack.*

Judah's *speech to* Joseph.

Joseph *discovers himself.*

[y] Gen. xliii. [z] Gen. xliv.

senting

ſenting it, that they ſhould never hear it ſo much as mentioned by him from that day. Whilſt this was doing, ſome of the *Egyptians*, one of whom might be the interpreter, went and acquainted the king and the whole court, that *Joſeph*'s brethren were come to buy corn. *Joſeph* had no deſign to make a ſecret of it, when he ſent the *Egyptians* out of the room; he only wanted to be without witneſſes whilſt he diſcovered himſelf to them, diſſipated their fears, acquainted them with his good fortune, and tried to perſuade them to bring his father down with all their families and cattle; ſeeing there were yet five years of famine to come, during which the earth would hardly return the ſeed it had received. However the news had pleaſed *Pharaoh* ſo well, that he ſent for him, and told him, that ſince his father had ſuch a numerous family, and the ſcarcity not half over, he might ſend for them, and place them in what part of the country he thought fit; promiſing him, that they ſhould never want proviſions, nor any other favour he could ſhew them. He likewiſe bid him to ſend them a freſh ſupply of grain, and ſuch other things as he thought they might want for their journey, and chariots to bring their wives, children, and beſt moveables; telling them, that they needed not regard the ordinary ſtuff, ſince the good of the land was before them. *Joſeph* gladly obeyed the king's orders, and, beſides the chariots and proviſions, ſent to his father ten aſſes laden with the choiceſt commodities of *Egypt*; he likewiſe preſented his brethren with changes of garments, and diſtinguiſhed *Benjamin* by the addition of a large ſum of money; after which he diſmiſſed them with a ſtrict charge that they ſhould not fall out by the way. It is not to be doubted but their journey was performed more briſkly this time than the laſt. They found their father alive and well, whoſe firſt care was to look out for his favourite ſon, whom having joyfully received he thought himſelf at the height of his happineſs. But when they acquainted him with *Joſeph*'s grandeur, and told him, that he was the very man who had cauſed them ſuch mortal frights, the good old man, not being able to bear ſo much good news at once, fainted away in their arms; and being come to himſelf, doubted whether it was not a dream. At length, when they ſhewed him *Joſeph*'s preſents, and the *Egyptian* chariots, his doubts and fears vaniſhed, and he cried out in an exceſs of joy, *It is enough for me that my ſon* Joſeph *lives, I have now nothing more to wiſh, but to go down and ſee him once more before I die* [a].

Pharaoh's *orders to* Joſeph.

Joſeph *ſends for his father, &c.*

[a] Gen. xlv.

THUS

This great deſire of ſeeing ſo dear a ſon, whom he had ſo long mourned for, in all his *Egyptian* glory, ſpurred him up to haſten his departure, and to overcome all the difficulties which the number of his children, cattle, and all the other lumber of houſhold-ſtuff laid in his way. However, as his gratitude to God for all the mercies he ſaw himſelf bleſſed with, and his further want of the divine protection to accompany him ſafe into *Egypt*, demanded ſome freſh act of religion from him, he choſe to go to *Beerſheba* to offer ſome ſacrifices there; both becauſe it was the place where *Abraham* and *Iſaac* had lived ſo long and ſo happily, and becauſe it was in his way to *Egypt*, being the utmoſt boundary of *Canaan* towards the ſouth. Here God appeared again unto him, and bid him not fear to go down, ſince he would be with him and protect him, and in due time bring his poſterity out of it, to enter into the poſſeſſion of the promiſed land; adding moreover, that as for him, he ſhould have the comfort to live near his ſon *Joſeph*, to die in his arms, and to have his eyes cloſed by him. *Jacob*, thus comforted and encouraged, haſted his way to the metropolis of *Egypt*, and when he came within ſome ſmall diſtance from it, he ſent *Judah* before to acquaint *Joſeph* with his arrival, and to deſire him to come to him in the land of *Goſhen*, where he had promiſed to ſettle them (A). *Joſeph* was no ſooner informed of it, than he got up into his chariot, and went to meet his father, and their mutual joy upon this occaſion was ſuch, as is better imagined than expreſſed. As ſoon as this tender greeting was over, *Joſeph* told them, that he would go out of

Jacob *goes down into* Egypt.

Joſeph *acquaints* Pharaoh *with it.*

(A) It is a wonder how the *Septuagint* came to place the land of *Goſhen* in *Arabia*, at leaſt ſome copies have it *Goſhen in Arabia*, ſince that was farther off from *Egypt* than the land of *Canaan*. St. *Jerom* thinks, that it was the ſame as *Thebaïs* in *Æthiopia*, or bordering to it (227): but that was too long a journey for *Jacob*, neither would *Joſeph* have been near enough to have ſeen and ſupplied his wants: whereas he gives it as a reaſon to his brethren in the former chapter for his chooſing this land, that they might be near him: but this *Goſhen* was ſituate between the *Red-ſea* and the *Nile*, upon the borders of *Canaan*, not far from *On*, or *Hierapolis* (228), where his chief habitation was. It was a fruitful ſpot of ground and fit for cattle, and therefore *Joſephus* tells us, that *Pharaoh* kept his own there (229): it was ſeparate from *Egypt*, and therefore fitteſt for *Jacob* and his family, which would be out of all danger of interfering with the *Egyptians* (230).

(227) Hieron. *loc Hebr.* (228) Joſeph. *Ant. l.* 2. *c.* 7. (229) *Id. ibid.* (230) *Vid.* Jun. Merc. *& al.*

hand

hand to give *Pharaoh* notice of their arrival, who would no doubt have the curioſity to ſend for them, and to enquire after their occupation; in which caſe he charged them to tell him, that they, as well as their fore-fathers, were ſhepherds from their youth. This was indeed an occupation which the *Egyptians* abominated, as we have ſeen before †; but *Joſeph* had his ends in it, being afraid, leſt *Pharaoh* ſhould detain them in his ſervice, inſtead of ſending them into the land of *Goſhen* where he was deſirous to place them. Accordingly, when five of his brethren were brought before the king, and were asked what their profeſſion was; they anſwered him as *Joſeph* had bid them, adding, that the famine, which raged in *Canaan*, had forced them to come with all their cattle into *Egypt*, and begging, that he would be pleaſed to appoint them the land of *Goſhen* to dwell in; which *Pharaoh* readily granted. *Joſeph* likewiſe preſented his father to him, who wiſhed the king abundance of happineſs; and being aſked how old he was, anſwered an hundred and thirty. Here the king expreſſing, perhaps, ſome wonder, to ſee a man ſo old, and in ſo good a caſe, *Jacob* added, that his life had been ſo full of trouble, that he came vaſtly ſhort of the years of his anceſtors. After this *Joſeph* conducted him and the whole family to the land of *Goſhen*; where he took care to ſupply them with all the neceſſaries of life, during the whole time of the famine. *Pharaoh* likewiſe ordered *Joſeph* to chooſe ſome of the ableſt of them, and to commit the care of his cattle to them, which he accordingly did [b]. It will not be amiſs to give here the names of *Jacob*'s children and grand-children, which came down with him into *Egypt*. As to the difficulties in adjuſting the account of them, and reconciling it with ſome other places of ſcripture, we chooſe to give them to our readers in a note, rather than interrupt the thread of the hiſtory (B).

Jacob ſtands before Pharaoh.

Year of the Flood, 1293. Year before Chriſt 1706.

A Liſt

† Vid. ſup. p. 427, *ſub. nota* (Z). [b] Gen. xlvi.

(B) *Moſes* makes mention of two numbers of ſouls in *Jacob*'s family, excluſive of his daughters-in-law, *viz.* ſixty ſix (231) and ſeventy (232); he doth likewiſe reckon thirty three ſouls to *Leah*, including *Dinah* (233); and to *Zilpbah* her handmaid ſixteen ſouls, including *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, and *Beriah*'s two ſons (234). To make which reckonings agree with the fourteen of *Rachel* (235) and the two firſt ſums of ſixty ſix and ſeventy. It is to be obſerved,

(231) Gex. xlvi. v. 26. (232) v. 27. (233) v. 15. (234) v. 18. (235) v. 22.

firſt,

A list of Jacob's *family.*

A List of *Jacob*'s sons and grandsons.

The sons of *Jacob*, and their sons.

- By *Leah*
  - *Reuben*; *Hanoch*, *Phallu*, *Hezron*, *Carmi*.
  - *Simeon*; *Jemuel*, *Jamin*, *Ohad*, *Jachin*, *Zohar*, *Shaul*.
  - *Levi*; *Gershon*, *Kohath*, *Merari*.
  - *Judah*; *Er*, *Onan*, *Shelah*, *Pharez*, *Zerah*. (*Er* and *Onan* died in *Canaan*.)
  - *Issachar*; *Tola*, *Phuvah*, *Job*, *Shimron*.
  - *Zebulun*; *Sered*, *Elon*, *Jahleel*.
- By *Zilpah*
  - *Gad*; *Ziphion*, *Haggai*, *Shuni*, *Ezbon*, *Eri*, *Arodi*, *Areli*.
  - *Asher*; *Jimnah*, *Ishuah*, *Isui*, *Beriah*, *Serah*, a daughter.
- By *Bilhah*
  - *Dan*; *Hushim*.
  - *Naphtali*; *Jahzeel*, *Guni*, *Jezer*, *Shillem*.
- By *Rachel*
  - *Benjamin*; *Belah*, *Becher*, *Ashbel*, *Gera*, *Naaman*, *Ahi*, *Rosh*, *Muppim*, *Huppim*, *Ard*.

The sons of *Pharez*, *Judah*'s son; *Hezron*, *Hamul*.
of *Beriah*; *Heber*, *Malchiel*.

In first, that in the number sixty six *Jacob* is not reckoned, but only the souls that came out of his loins; but in the number of thirty three he seems included, else we shall find but thirty two, *viz.* *Leah*'s twenty nine sons, two grandsons by *Pharez*, and *Dinah*, in all thirty two; but that *Jacob* is reckoned in this number seems intimated by the eighth verse of the chapter, in the words *Jacob and his sons, viz.* by *Leah*. Accordingly *Josephus* gives us a list of them to the number of thirty two, including *Dinah*; yet sums them up thirty three, without acquainting us that he includes *Jacob*; though it is plain by the amount that he doth. This being premised, the whole account will stand thus:

Leah	33	including *Jacob*.
Zilpah	16	
Rachel	11	exclusive of *Joseph* and his two sons.
Bilhah	7	
	67	

Out of which deduct *Jacob*, because *Moses* reckons here only those that came out of his loins, and there will remain sixty six.

IN all threeſcore and ſix, excluſive of *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter by *Leah*, and of *Joſeph* and his two ſons *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*; which being added to the number, it will amount to ſeventy ſouls.

THREE

To which add *Jacob*, *Joſeph*, *Ephraim*, and *Manaſſeh*; becauſe this ſecond reckoning is of all the ſouls of *Jacob*'s family, in which caſe he may be included, and the whole amount will be ſeventy ſouls (236): but if we reckon *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, as *Joſephus* has done (237), and in all probability *Moſes* too, ſince he mentions her in his liſt, we need not to include *Jacob* in the number: for it will be ſeventy complete without him.

It is true that St. *Stephen* (238) reckons the whole number of them ſeventy five, which diſagrees with that of *Moſes*; but it muſt be remembered, that the apoſtles and firſt preachers made uſe of the *Septuagint* verſion, as being the only one then univerſally underſtood by the *Jews*; which verſion adds five more to *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*, namely, *Machir* and *Gilead*, ſons of *Manaſſeh*, *Sutalan* and *Taban*, ſons of *Ephraim*, and *Eden*, *Sutalan*'s ſon. But, beſides that they differ from the *Hebrew*, by reading eighteen inſtead of fourteen ſouls to *Rachel* (239): they likewiſe differ from themſelves; for fourteen and the five which they add will make nineteen, and not eighteen. Some antient fathers, thinking this knot inſoluble, have endeavoured to pick ſome myſteries out of it (240); but we need not be at any trouble to free the *Septuagint* verſion from error, which doth in ſo many inſtances differ from the original. However, there is ſtill another rational way to account for this difference between St. *Stephen*'s reckoning and that of *Moſes*, which is as follows. That St *Stephen* follows the firſt number of *Moſes*, *viz.* ſixty ſix; out of which he excludes *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, and his two ſons, to which he adds nine of their wives; for *Judah*'s wife was already dead, and *Benjamin* is ſuppoſed to be ſtill unmarried, and *Joſeph*'s wife out of the caſe: ſo that if we add theſe nine wives, which, though not of *Jacob*'s blood, yet belonged to his family, and to *Joſeph*'s kindred (which is the expreſſion St. *Stephen* makes uſe of) to the number of ſixty ſix, it will amount to ſeventy five (241).

Some antient and modern writers have ſuppoſed, that all theſe grandſons were not born when *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*, but either ſoon after, or at leaſt during his life; for which reaſon they think *Moſes* made no ſcruple to ſet them down with the reſt (242). So far are they from thinking, for inſtance, that *Benjamin* had ten

(236) Villet *cap. xxxvi.* (237) Joſ. *Ant. l.* 2. *c.* 7. (238) *Acts. vii.* 14. (239) *Gen. xlvi.* 22. (240) Auguſt *Queſt. in Gen. cli.* Euchar. & *al.* (241) Berruyer *Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu, p.* 373, 374. 4° *Edit.* Kidder *in pentat.* (242) Calmet. *Comm. in Gen. in loc.* & *Hiſtoire de Juifs. p.* 245. Berruyer *loc. citat.* St. Auguſt. *Quæſt. cit.*

THREE things are to be obſerved in the liſt which *Moſes* has given us in this chapter, namely, 1. That the wives are not ſet down in it; becauſe they were not deſcended from him, any more than his ſervants and ſlaves. 2. That he doth not ſet them down according to the order of their birth as in other places c, but mentions thoſe that were born of *Leah* and her maid, and then thoſe of *Rachel* and her maid. And 3dly,

c Gen. xxxv. 24, & ſeq. & alib.

ſons by that time, being but a little turned of thirty, that they think he was hardly married. The ſame thing they ſuppoſe of *Pharez*'s two ſons, alledging, though falſely, that *Pharez* was but one year old at *Jacob*'s departure (243). But all theſe ſuppoſitions are point blank contrary to the text, and if *Moſes* muſt have reckoned all thoſe that were born in *Egypt* before *Jacob*'s death, we don't know why he might not almoſt as well have reckoned ſeven hundred as ſeventy; ſince they muſt have encreaſed very faſt there, and married very young, elſe they could hardly from ſeventy have encreaſed to upwards of ſix hundred thouſand in the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, which was all the time of their abode in *Egypt*. It will therefore be more reaſonable to ſay, according to *Moſes*'s account, that *Pharez*'s two ſons were then born, though very young; for *Pharez*, being begotten of *Judah* in the thirtieth year of his age, might take a wife at fourteen or fifteen, and ſo have two ſons before *Jacob* left *Canaan* (244). The ſame may be likewiſe ſaid of *Benjamin*, who might have a number of children and two grand-children at the age of thirty one. We have already given inſtances of men, if they may be called ſo, who have had children when they were ſome years younger than we ſuppoſe theſe (245); ſo that there is no reaſon to depart from the plain text of *Moſes*, to fall into more difficult ſuppoſitions, than any that are in his narrative.

Another difficulty, that is raiſed againſt this genealogical liſt, is the difference of the names here mentioned and in other places of ſcripture, where the ſame genealogy is rehearſed, as in 1 *Chronicles* and *Numbers* (246); but we have already obſerved, that it is very common for men to have two names in the ſcriptures, and to be called ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by the other *. Concerning which the reader may conſult our commentators at their leiſure; as well as about the omiſſion of ſome of theſe perſons mentioned in *Moſes*'s liſt, which are left out by the author of the book of *Chronicles* (247).

(243) Perrer. (244) Mercer. Villet. (245) *See before, p.* 410, *ſub nota* (N). (246) 1 *Chron iv.* 24. *Numb xxvi.* 13 *ſeq.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 396, *ſub nota* (X) (247) *Vid. Villet. in loc.*

That

That the number ſixty ſix, in one part of the liſt, is only of the ſouls which *came out of* Jacob's *loins*, and the ſecond number of ſeventy is that of *all the ſouls* which belonged to the *Houſe of Jacob*; to which therefore *Joſeph* and his two ſons, and a grand-daughter named *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, muſt be added, in order to make the number of ſeventy complete.

WHILST *Jacob* and his family were kept in peace and plenty, by the provident care of his ſon, the *Egyptians* felt the diſmal effects of the famine, which encreaſing daily upon them, and *Joſeph* holding up his corn at a high rate, ſoon drained them of all their money. After this they were reduced to ſell their cattle, houſes, land, and at length their very ſelves, for ſubſiſtence. By this means he bought all their lands and perſons for the king's uſe; and from that time they all became ſlaves to the crown, except the prieſts, who had a ſufficient quantity of proviſions allotted to them out of the royal ſtores, without being at any expence for it. One would be apt to think, that *Joſeph*'s zeal for the king's intereſt carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence, and that he did not conſider, that, whilſt he took ſuch an advantage over a ſtarving people, he raiſed the king's power to the degree of an abſolute tyranny, under which his family or their poſterity would one time or other ſeverely groan, as they effectually did. The text, as well as *Joſephus*[d], tells us, that he tranſplanted the people from one end of the kingdom to the other; and that the miſerable multitude went ſome one way and ſome another[e], ſubmitting to any miſery rather than ſtarving. However, when the ſeventh and laſt year of ſcarcity was come, *Joſeph* acquainted them, that they might now expect a crop againſt the next year, that the *Nile* would overflow, and the earth produce again as uſual; that he would diſtribute freſh lands, cattle, and corn to them, that they might return to their uſual tillage; upon this condition nevertheleſs, that from thenceforth the fifth part of all the product of their lands ſhould go to the king, and the reſt ſhould be theirs. The poor people were glad to ſubmit to theſe conditions, which were much better than they probably expected. They all ſet about cultivating the ground that was allotted to them, and from that time it paſſed into a law, that the fifth part of the product of the whole land of *Egypt* ſhould belong to the crown, which law continued in force for ſeveral centuries after, till a new regulation and diviſion was made †. However, *Joſeph* by this means gained the love and eſteem both of the king and people.

The Egyptians *ſell their lands and themſelves for corn,*

and are tranſplanted from one end of the kingdom to the other.

The fifth part of the product of their lands aſſigned to the crown.

[d] Ch. xlvii. ver. 22. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 7. [e] Vid. Hebr, Chald. & Arab. verſ. † See before, p. 28.

WHILST he was enjoying the fruits of his great ſucceſs and policy, his family at *Goſhen*, whom he failed not to viſit often, did wonderfully encreaſe both in children and wealth. At length *Jacob*, by that time he had lived there ſeventeen years, finding himſelf to grow old and feeble, and that his end could not be far off, ſent for his ſon *Joſeph*, and ſpoke to him to this purpoſe: Though the deſire of ſeeing a ſon, ſo dear to me as you are, raiſed to the height of *Egyptian* glory, joined to the raging famine with which our land was viſited, made me willingly come down into this ſtrange country; yet, *Canaan* being the inheritance which GOD promiſed to *Abraham* and his poſterity, and where he lies interred with my father *Iſaac* and ſome others of our family, in the ground which he purchaſed of the inhabitants; my laſt and dying requeſt to you is, that you will not ſuffer me to be buried here; but that you will ſwear to me to ſee me carried to *Machpelah*, and there depoſited with my anceſtors: your great power with the king of *Egypt* will eaſily obtain you and me that favour, which is the laſt I have to aſk of you. *Joſeph* did not make his father wait long for that ſatisfaction; he promiſed and ſwore to him that he would fulfil his deſire; and *Jacob*, who in all probability had ſat up upon his bed whilſt this ceremony laſted, bowed down his head towards his bed's teſter, in token of adoration and gratitude for the ſatisfaction which his ſon had now given him (C) [f].

Jacob's *requeſt to* Joſeph.

Year of the Flood, 1310. Year before Chriſt 1689.

JOSEPH.

[f] Gen. xlix.

(C) In this place, where *Jacob* is ſaid to have bowed himſelf, or rather, to have worſhipped, towards the bed's head; the *Septuagint*, if it has not been corrupted, ſeems to have read מַטֶּה *Matteh* a ſtaff, for מִטָּה *Mittah* a bed. So that they have tranſlated it, *he worſhipped towards the end of his ſtaff*; and the *Rhemiſh* divines, *he worſhipped the head of his ſtaff* (248). From which, and what the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſays (249), that he worſhipped *leaning* on his ſtaff, (where the word *leaning* is added, to expreſs the meaning of the particle עַל *hal* in the *Hebrew*, and ἐπὶ in the *Greek*; both which ſignify *upon*, and preſuppoſe his reſting, or leaning upon, and not worſhipping the top of the ſtaff; they have not ſcrupled to defend the worſhip of the croſs, of which this ſtaff, they pretend, was the type (250). But, without entering into the controverſy, it will be ſufficient, in order to juſtify our verſion, to obſerve, Firſt, that the apoſtle made uſe of the *Septuagint*, and ſo quotes it as he finds it there, and not as it was in the original,

(248) *Bibl. Remens. in loc.* (249) *Hebr. xi.* 21, (250) Do *Annotat. in Heb xi.* 21. *& al.*

which

JOSEPH, who could not long be abſent from the court, took his leave of his father, not without giving ſtrict charge to ſome of the family, that, upon the very firſt appearance of danger, they ſhould immediately ſend for him. Accordingly, as ſoon as word was brought to him that his father was a dying, he took his two ſons *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim* with him, and went to preſent them to him, begging him, that he would give them his bleſſing before he died. *Jacob*, at the ſight of them, found his ſtrength, as it were, renewed. He ſat up upon his bed, and addreſſing himſelf to him, ſpoke with ſuch chearfulneſs, and in ſuch ſtrong and lively terms, as ſhewed nothing leſs than the dotage or weakneſs of a dying old man. He began with recapitulating all the glorious promiſes which GOD had formerly made to him, concerning his numerous poſterity's inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and concluded with the death of his dear *Rachel*. How tenderly I loved her, continued he, my whole family can teſtify; but I deſign to give her and you a further proof of my affection: you have had two ſons born in this ſtrange land, which, according to the uſual order of inheritance, ſhould have only the portion of grand-children in the diviſion of the promiſed land; but I will do more for them, and they ſhall from this day be called by my name, be eſteemed my ſons, and, as heads of two diſtinct tribes, receive a double lot: thus, inſtead of the tribe of *Joſeph*, they ſhall be called the two tribes of *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*. But if you have any more ſons after them, they ſhould only be allotted the portion of grand-children. I have yet one thing more in ſtore for you above the reſt of your brethren, *viz.* the portion which I took out of the hands of the *Amorites* by my ſword and bow. This ſhall likewiſe fall to the lot of your poſterity, when GOD ſhall bring you into that happy land (D). He then deſired his

Joſeph brings his two ſons to Jacob.

Ephraim *and* Manaſſeh *are made two tribes in* Iſrael.

which the *Jews* did no longer underſtand. And ſecondly, that he ſpeaks there of a different action, *viz.* *Jacob*'s bleſſing *Joſeph*'s children, which did not happen till ſome time after, whereas here *Jacob* makes *Joſeph* ſwear not to bury him in *Egypt*. Here he ſeems to have kept his bed, and there to have received freſh ſpirits, and to have ſat on it, leaning, perhaps on his ſtaff (251).

(D) There is a threefold queſtion ſtarted from this place, *viz.* 1. What portion this was which *Jacob* gave to *Joſeph*. 2. How he is ſaid to have conquered it by his ſword. 3. If *Shechem* be the place here meant, why he ſays, that he got it from the *Amorites*:

(251) *Compare Gen. xlvii and xlviii. Vid.* Villet. *c.* 47.

Whereas

his two grand-ſons to be brought to him, which *Joſeph* accordingly did, placing the eldeſt at *Jacob*'s right, and the youngeſt at his left hand: But he was ſurprized to find his father croſs his deſign, by croſſing his arms and laying his right on the head of the youngeſt, and his left on that of the eldeſt. He would have hindered it, thinking that it was done by a miſtake; but his father convinced him of the contrary, and, in bleſſing of the lads, which he did with great fervency and tenderneſs, he not only preferred *Ephraim* to *Manaſſeh*, but gave him much the larger and nobler bleſſing. The ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew how exactly this prophecy of *Jacob* was verified in thoſe two tribes, as well as the next grand one, which he pronounced concerning all the twelve [g].

Jacob *bleſſeth the younger before the elder.*

[g] Gen. xlviii.

Whereas *Hamor* the father of *Shechem* was a *Hivite* (252). As to the firſt; it is generally agreed, that it was the city and territories of *Shechem*; for we don't read of any other conqueſts that *Jacob* made; and accordingly we find *Shechem* mentioned in St. *John*'s Goſpel 253) as the place which he gave unto *Joſeph*. 2. How he could ſay, that he got it by his ſword and his bow, when he ſo far diſallowed his ſons barbarous action towards the *Shechemites*, as even to curſe their reſentment which was the cauſe of it, has puzzled all our antient and modern expoſitors to account for; we ſhall only mention ſome of the moſt notable conjectures about it. 1. Some think it was the ſword and bow of his innocence (254); others of his prayers (255); others of his money (256): others think, that he ſpeaks proleptically, and that it was to be conquered afterwards by *Joſeph*'s poſterity (257): others again think, that *Jacob* had atchieved ſome warlike exploit againſt the *Amorites*, as *Abraham* had againſt the four kings 258). But the moſt general and probable opinion is, that when his ſons had once got that city and territories by the murder of all the inhabitants, he was forced to ſtand up in his own defence, and to keep the poſſeſſion of it by force of arms, 'till he removed to *Bethel*, and to recover it again by the ſame means from the *Amorreans*, who, living intermixed with the *Hivites*, had taken poſſeſſion of it during his abſence. And this is the reaſon why he ſays he got, or recovered it from the *Amorites*, and not from the *Hivites* (259).

(252) *Gen. xxxiv.* 2. (253) *John iv.* 5. (254) Hieron. *tradit. Hebr.* (255) *Chald. Paraph.* (256) Hieron. *ibid.* Auguſt. (257) Jun. & *al.* (258) Cajetan Andr. Maſius. (259) R. Sal. N. de Lyr. Mercer. Villet. Berruyer, & *al.*

FOR

FOR *Jacob*, having now exhauſted his ſpirits, and finding his death approaching, reſolved to conſecrate his few remaining hours in foretelling to his ſons, whom he had gathered about him, what ſhould happen to them in the latter days; and, as no prophecy was ever more punctually fulfilled than this, we ſhall endeavour to give it to our readers in a more modern and intelligible ſtile, than we have it in our verſion, without departing from the ſenſe of the original; and where any difficulty happens in our way, we ſhall acquaint him with it in a marginal note, and endeavour to make it as plain as we can. However, we beg leave to premiſe here, that what *Jacob* pronounces, or rather propheſies, concerning his ſons, is not ſo much to be underſtood as foretold of them, as of their tribes; nor of what ſhall immediately happen to them, but of what was not to have its completion till ſome time at leaſt after their entrance into the promiſed land. Thus, for inſtance, when he ſays, that *Zebulun* ſhall dwell along the ſea-coaſts, or that *Naphtali* is a well-ſpread tree yielding grafts and fair branches; it is plain, that he means by the firſt, that the lot of the tribe of *Zebulun* ſhould be by the ſea-ſide; and the laſt, that the *Naphtalites* ſhould prove in time very powerful and numerous. This is what the event has fully verified, and what ſhall be further proved in the following notes. The good old patriarch, after a moſt pathetic preface to draw their deepeſt attention, began with the firſt-born in theſe words:

Jacob's *laſt bleſſing to his twelve ſons.*

" REUBEN, thou art my firſt-born, and waſt once the
" firſt-fruits of my might and my ſtrength, and as ſuch thou
" waſt entitled to the right of primogeniture, the beſt por-
" tion in the inheritance, to the dignity of the prieſthood,
" and the ſupreme authority over thy brethren: but all
" theſe prerogatives, like the unſtable waters, that paſs by
" and return no more, are gone from thee; becauſe thou,
" little regarding the ſacredneſs of thy father's bed, didſt
" defile it, and alienate it from me [h]; for which crime,
" though thou continue ſtill to be a tribe in *Iſrael*, yet thou
" ſhalt ever be far inferior to the reſt of thy brethren, either
" in number, wealth, or ſtrength (E).

Reuben.

" SIMEON

[h] Gen. xxxv. 22. Vid. MUNST. in loc.

(E) The ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory ſhews, that the tribe of *Reuben* did ſtill remain in obſcurity, and without any of the marks of diſtinction, which uſed to be annexed to the right of primogeniture, ſuch as a double portion, ſupreme authority, and the prieſthood. Accordingly the *Jewiſh* expoſitors, eſpecially the *Engliſh Rabbah*

Simeon and Levi.

" SIMEON or *Levi* might have ſucceeded to the right of " primogeniture, which their brother's inceſt has juſtly " deprived him of, had they not proved ſuch inſtruments of " treacherous cruelty. May my ſoul be for ever preſerved " from ſuch bloody councils, and my honour unſtained from " their horrid guilt: For the fierceneſs of their anger hur- " ried them to commit murder, and the impetuouſneſs of " their fury made them break through all obſtacles that op- " poſed them. Curſed be their fury, for it was violent, and " their malice, for it was inhuman. This cruel diſpoſition " of theirs forces me to divide their tribes, that they may " never be rejoined in *Iſrael* [1]." Thus far the good old patriarch performed a ſevere and ungrateful taſk, and his prophecy againſt thoſe tribes was exactly verified in due time (F). Then caſting his eyes on *Judah*, with a joy equal to the indignation which he had expreſſed againſt his other brethren, he addreſſed himſelf to him thus:

Judah.

" JUDAH, thy name ſignifies praiſe †, and accordingly " thou ſhalt have the praiſe of all thy brethren. They ſhall " fall proſtrate before thee, as before their king and ſove- " reign, and thine enemies ſhall be forced to ſubmit their " necks to thy yoke. Like a young lion ſhall my ſon fall " upon his prey, and like an old lion, or a fierce lioneſs

[1] Gen. xlix. ver. 5, 6, 7. † Vid. ſup. p. 397.

Rabbah, or large comment on *Geneſis*, tells us (260), that he fell from a threefold dignity, *viz.* הבכורה הכהנה והמלכית, primogeniture, prieſthood, and royal dignity. But becauſe thou art fallen, continues the commentator, thy primogeniture is given to *Joſeph* (who accordingly had two portions allotted to him) the prieſthood to *Levi*, and the ſceptre to *Judah*. And where it is ſaid of this laſt (261), *thy brethren ſhall praiſe thee*, he paraphraſes it thus: והיו כל אחיך נקראים על שמך, Thy brethren ſhall be called by thy name, *i. e.* they will not ſay I am a *Reubenite*, or a *Simeonite*, but a יהודי *Jehudi*, a *Jew*.

(F) *Jacob*'s words imply a double diſperſion, *viz.* of the two tribes from one another, and their being interſperſed among the reſt. And accordingly *Levi* had no inheritance among his brethren in the land of *Canaan*, but had a certain number of cities aſſigned to it in every tribe. As for that of *Simeon*, it had properly but a portion of *Judah*'s inheritance (262), if we except ſome few places which they got upon mount *Seir* and in the wilds of the valley of *Gedor* (263).

(260) Bereſh. *Rab. ſect.* 98. (261) *Gen xlix.* 8. (262) *Joſh. xix.* 1, & *ſeq.* (263) 1 *Chron. iv.* 39 & 40.

" ready

" ready to ruſh upon it, who ſhall dare to rouſe him up?
" The ſceptre ſhall not depart from *Judah*, nor the law-
" giver from between his feet, until *Shiloh* be come and the
" people be gathered unto him (G); his portion ſhall a-
" bound

(G) The ſenſe, as well as completion of this noble prophecy, being very much diſputed between the *Jews* and us, we have endeavoured to render the latter part of the verſe more agreeable to the original, which in its plain and obvious ſenſe affirms, that the ſceptre ſhall not depart from *Judah*——till both *Shiloh* was come, and the nations gathered unto, or brought to his obedience. This verſion is further proved by the event; for the *Jews* did not loſe their ſceptre, or *Sanhedrim*, which was their בית דין *Beth din*, or higheſt court of judicature and ſupreme legiſlative power, till the *Heathen* became converts to *Chriſtianity*, of whom *Cornelius* was the firſt (264): And the *Jews* themſelves own, that this ſupreme court did ſtill ſubſiſt from the time of *Moſes*, the founder of it, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*. They likewiſe own, that the word שבט *Sheveth*, which we tranſlate *Sceptre*, doth not always ſignify the royal power of dignity, but ſometimes only the legiſlative; and this has been further proved by two eminent divines (265). The latter *Jews* therefore, finding themſelves pinched by this prophecy, rather than allow the received interpretation of the antients, which is agreeable to ours, have fallen into various abſurd notions, which they are not aſhamed to defend with a zeal peculiar to them. Thus ſome will have the meaning of this paſſage to be, that the *Meſſiah* ſhall not come, till *Shiloh*, the place ſo called, be deſtroyed, or the *Jewiſh* monarchy be at an end (266). Others by *Sheveth* underſtand a tribe, which that word alſo ſignifies, and think the meaning to be, that *Judah* ſhould not ceaſe to be a tribe till the coming of *Meſſiah* (267): in which they have been alſo followed by ſome *Chriſtians* (268); becauſe that tribe did viſibly ſubſiſt as ſuch till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, but ſo did that of *Levi*. However, many of our modern *Jews* ſtand ſtifly to this ſenſe, and ſcruple not to affirm, that it has ſubſiſted not only to that time, but even to this very day, pure and unmixed. Others add, that it retains ſtill a kind of ſceptre, or royal power, beyond the river *Euphrates*, and that the *Naſſi*, or head of it, is a prince lineally deſcended from *Judah*, whoſe ſplendor, dignity, and power over his own tribe, is little inferior to that of a king (269): but *credat Judæus*. 'Tis certain we have only their bare word for this imaginary kingdom. They likewiſe

(264) *Acts* 10. *paſſ.* (265) *Vid. in* Mede's *works, a ſermon on that text and* Saurin's *Diſcours Hiſtoriques, &c. diſc. XLI.* (266) Aben-Ezra *in loc. & al.* (267) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (268) Oleaſt. Jun. Villet. & *al. in loc.* (269) Benj. de Tudel. *Itiner & al.*

" bound with ſuch fertile vineyards, fruitful trees, and paſture
" grounds, that he ſhall tie his aſs to the vine and palm-
" tree, and waſh his garments in the juice of the grape,
" and his teeth with the milk of his kine (H) [k].

" ZEBULUN'S

[k] Gen. ibid. ver. 8. & ſeq.

diſagree not only with us, but even among themſelves, about the meaning of the word מחקק *Mechokek*, law-giver. Concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to the two laſt-mentioned divines for further ſatisfaction (270).

As to the word שילה *Shiloh*, though it be almoſt univerſally owned to mean the *Meſſiah*, yet as to its original ſignification there is no ſmall diſagreement. St. *Jerom* reads it *Shaloach* from שלח *Shalach* to ſend, reading ח for ה (271). Others from שלה *Shalah* to be peaceable (272), and underſtand by *Shiloh* a peace-maker. Others derive it from שיל *Shil*, which they will have to ſignify a ſon, becauſe שליה *Shiliah*, or *Shilijah*, ſignifies the ſecundine of a woman (273); but 'tis plain the firſt of theſe is no where to be found in the Old Teſtament, and the ſecond only in one place, where it moſt probably ſignifies the ſecundine (274). A modern critic takes the word *Shiloh* to ſignify the *end*, and the ſenſe of the words to be, that from the time the ſceptre comes into the tribe of *Judah*, it will continue in it till that tribe be at an end (275); but his opinion has been lately confuted, among many others, by the above-mentioned Monſ. *Saurin*, in an elaborate diſcourſe on that ſubject †. Another modern author tells us, that it ought to be derived from *Shulah*, to fatigue, be tired, ſuffer, and to be applied to the ſufferings of the *Meſſiah* (276): but without fatiguing our readers any further, the moſt probable ſenſe of the word, if the change of a letter be allowed, will be that of the *Septuagint*, *Onkelos*, and ſome others (277) who read it שילו *Shelo*, that is, *he to whom it belongs*, ו and ה being often interchanged in the ſacred book *, the ſenſe will be plainly this, that the ſceptre or legiſlative power ſhall not depart from, but be depoſited in the tribe of *Judah*, until the right owner, or he, *ſhelo*, to whom it of right belongs, has made his appearance in the world. This ſenſe ſeems the moſt eaſy, natural, and agreeable to the original, as well as the moſt applicable to CHRIST the king of kings. As for the י redundant in שילו *Shilo*, it is agreeable to the property of the word *Ebævi* as the Grammarians ſpeak.

(H) *Judah*'s lot did exactly anſwer this prediction, it was a fertile land, full of vineyards, fruit-trees, and noble paſture-ground

(270) Mede *and* Saurin *loc. citat.* (271) Hieron. *queſt. Hebr.* (272) Mercer. *& al* (273) *Vid.* Villet *cap.* 49. & Saurin *loc. cit.* (274) *Deut. xxviii.* 57. (275) Le Clerc. *in Com. Pentat. in loc.* † Saur. *loc. cit.* (276) Gouſſet *Comm. ling. Hebr. ſub voce* שלה *fatigare. Vid* Calm *ſub voce* Schilo. (277) *LXX.* Targ Onkel. *in loc.* Mornay *cont. Jud.* Oleaſt & *al.* * *Vid. 2 Sam. xvi.* 10. & 18. *ap.* Munſt. *in loc.*

for

" ZEBULUN'S (I) dwellings ſhall ſpread themſelves a- Zebulun.
" long the borders of the ſea, and he ſhall ſtretch the num-
" ber of his commodious havens as far as the city of *Zi-*
" *don* [l].

" ISSACHAR, like a ſtrong, but indolent aſs, ſhall Iſſachar.
" chooſe to carry burdens in the midſt of his brethren, ra-
" ther than be deprived of his beloved eaſe, in the pleaſant
" land of his inheritance, and prefer ſervitude and tribute
" before the fatigues of war and conqueſt (K) [m]."

FROM the ſix ſons of *Leah Jacob* paſſes to thoſe of *Bilhah*, *Rachel*'s maid. He begins with intimating, that the ſons of

[l] ibid. 13. [m] Ibid. 14.

for cattle. It was in this tribe that the valley of *Eſhcol*, or the *brook of the grape*, was, a bunch of which was brought by two of the ſpies whom *Moſes* ſent to ſearch the land, as a ſpecimen of the richneſs of that ſoil: here was likewiſe the brook or torrent of that name, along whoſe banks were the moſt delicious paſture grounds: (278) and ſome travellers aſſure us, that there are ſtill very large grapes to be met with in the valley of *Hebron*, which may be probably that along which that torrent runs (279).

(I) *Zebulun* is mentioned next, though *Iſſachar* was elder than he, for which no certain reaſon can be aſſign'd, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the patriarch had a prophetic eye to the lot which was to fall to *Zebulun*, which was in time to become famous for being the chief dwelling of the *Meſſiah*; for *Nazareth* and *Capernaum* were in that tribe, and himſelf was denominated a *Nazarene* from the firſt of theſe cities (280); but this is a conjecture only. Certain it is however, that if *Jacob* had been preſent at the diviſion of the promiſed land, he could hardly have given a more exact deſcription of *Zebulun*'s lot, than he did then above two hundred and fifty years before it happened: for it extended from the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, to the lake of *Genezareth* on the eaſt ſide.

(K) No leſs wonderful and exact was he in the deſcription of *Iſſachar*'s tribe, and the lot that fell to it. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt, who is alſo followed by the generality of *Jewiſh* Rabbies, gives a quite different turn to this prophecy: they read it thus, " *Iſſachar*, " finding that his lot is fallen in a fertile land, ſhall ſubdue the in-" habitants of it, and bring them under tribute"; but the firſt ſenſe is more agreeable to the original, and verified by the event: for that tribe had the richeſt and moſt fertile ſpot in all the land of *Canaan*, but was often infeſted and ſubjected by ſtrangers, eſpecially in the time of the Judges.

(278) *Num. xiii. paſſ.* Calvin. Mercer. Jun. Grot. & *al.* (279) *Vid.* Calmet *Comm. in Numb. xiii. ver.* 23, 24. (280) *Matt. ii. ult. & cap. iv.* 13. & *ſeq.*

the handmaids ſhould have the ſame priviledge with thoſe of the miſtreſſes, and be heads and judges of their own tribes. Dan. Then alluding to the name of *Dan*, a *judge*, he declares, "that he ſhould judge his people, that is, his own tribe, "like the reſt of the twelve;" and then adds, "that like a "ſerpent hid in the highway, or a viper in the ſand, which "doth not openly aſſault its enemy, but bites him by the "heel; ſo *Dan* ſhould overcome more by policy and ſtrata-"gem, than by valour and open force (L) [n]." Here the prophetic patriarch breaks out into an ejaculation, *I wait for thy ſalvation, O* LORD. The meaning of which ſeems to be this, that whether his poſterity were preſerved by their valour or policy, whether they owed their ſucceſs to the drawn ſword of *Judah*, or the hidden ſnares of *Dan*; yet their ſafety and happineſs did chiefly depend on the gracious promiſes of GOD, on whom he did rely. Others think however, that *Jacob*, foreſeeing either the grievous oppreſſions which that tribe was to labour under, as it actually

[n] Ibid. 16. & ſeq.

(L) The word נחש *Nachaſh* in the original ſignifies a ſerpent in general, which having no ſuch qualities as are here deſcribed, the *Septuagint* have tranſlated it by the word *Ceraſtes*, which is a kind of ſerpent, ſo called from its having two fleſhy horns; its inſtinct is to hide itſelf in the ſand, and by faſtening on the horſes heel, to make him overthrow his rider (281). The *Jews* think, that this prophecy was more paticularly fulfilled, when *Samſon*, who was of that tribe, pulled down the large building, which cruſhed him and the *Philiſtines* to death (282). Others, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, ſuppoſe, that *Jacob* deſigned to intimate by it, that though *Dan*'s tribe was but ſmall, he having had but one ſon, yet it ſhould produce one of the moſt famous Judges of all *Iſrael* (283): As for thoſe who apply this prophecy to Antichriſt, as if he was to come out of that tribe; becauſe he is omitted in the Apocalypſe in the liſt of the tribes that were ſealed (284); they are ſcarce worth confuting, ſince they may as well fetch him out of that of *Simeon*, which *Moſes* omits when he bleſſes the reſt (285). Beſides, *Jacob* pronounces theſe words as a bleſſing, not as a curſe, to *Dan*, whoſe tribe moreover was diſperſed, if not extinguiſhed, a thouſand years before Antichriſt appeared in the world, if he has yet at all.

(281) *Vid.* Bochart. *Hieroſoic lib.* 1. *col.* 28. (282) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* Villet. *c.* 49. (283) *Chald. Paraph.* Jun. *in loc.* Calmet. *Hiſt.* O. T. (284) Perrer. *contr.* 1. (285) *Deut. xxxiii.*

did

did from the *Amorites* [o], from which nothing but a miracle could ſave them, or their defection from the true worſhip of GOD, that tribe being the firſt that ſet up the public worſhip of idols [p], did breath out this ſhort prayer for their deliverance. However, it is not improbable, that *Jacob* might have a much higher view than any of theſe, and that his comparing *Dan* to a viper might bring into his mind that univerſal ſalvation, which was to be wrought by the ſeed of the woman, which was to bruiſe the ſerpent's head, and to have his heel bruiſed by it [q].

" GAD, continued he, ſhall be often infeſted by bands of robbers and plunderers, but he ſhall conquer them at laſt (M) [r]. Gad.

" ASHER's portion ſhall make him happy; it ſhall abound with excellent corn and oil, the bread and dainty meats Aſher.

[o] Judg. i. 34. Vid. TREMEL. in loc. [p] Ibid. cap. xvii. & xviii. paſſ. [q] Gen. iii. 15. [r] Ibid. xlix. 19.

(M) What was propheſied of *Gad* was likewiſe exactly verified. His lot happened on the other ſide *Jordan*, where he was continually expoſed to the excurſions of the plundering *Arabs*, but, by the continual watchfulneſs and bravery of that tribe, they were not only prevented, but ſometimes alſo caught and plundered in their turn by the *Gadites*. Others indeed underſtand it quite otherwiſe, and it muſt be owned, that the original is ſomewhat obſcure in this place: they read it thus, *Gad*, being girded for the battle, ſhall lead an army and bring it back conqueror, which they apply to *Jephtha*, who is thought to have been of that tribe; but, as this ſenſe is rather too forced, others read it, *Gad* armed ſhall fight at the head of all *Iſrael*; which they think was in ſome meaſure verified, when, having received their portion on one ſide *Jordan*, they offered likewiſe to go and help their brethren on the other ſide to conquer theirs. But beſides that this is alſo far fetched; theſe prophecies ſeem rather to intimate the fate and ſucceſs of the tribes in general, than any particular action or circumſtance of theirs. And therefore we prefer the firſt reading, and think, that the prophecy refers chiefly to the continual conflicts the *Gadites* had with the *Hagarenes*, that is with *Jetur*, *Nephiſh*, and *Nodab*, whom they at length overcame, and took from them in one battle fifty thouſand camels, two hundred and fifty thouſand ſheep, and an hundred thouſand men priſoners (286). This ſenſe is likewiſe more agreeable to the character which *Moſes* gives of that tribe, who compares it to a lion that leapeth upon his prey (287).

(286) 1 *Chron.* v 20, 21. *Vid.* Mercer. Villet. Jun, & *al.*
(287) *Deut. xxxiii* 22. & *ſeq.*

" that

" that ſhall be made of them ſhall be fit for a king's " table (N) [r]".

Naphtali. " NAPHTALI is like a large tree, well-ſpread, or having " grafts, which ſhoot out pleaſant branches." Or, according to our *Engliſh* verſion, *Naphtali*, like a hind newly eſcaped, or let looſe ſhall excel his brethren in ſwiftneſs, and be remarkable for the ſweetneſs of his eloquence (O) [t].

THESE four laſt were the ſons of the two hand-maids, from whom he paſſes with a ſeeming joy to thoſe of his beloved *Rachel*; and *Joſeph*, whoſe turn came next, heard

[r] Ibid. ver. 20. [t] Ib. v. 21.

(N) The bleſſing ſpoken to *Aſher* is capable of a double ſenſe, and both verified by the event, namely, either that his country ſhould be the moſt fertile, and produce the nobleſt corn in the whole land of *Paleſtine*, which it actually did; or elſe, that it ſhould abound with the fineſt and moſt delicious oil, fit to be mixed in all kinds of paſtry-work, which his portion was alſo remarkable for, inſomuch that its oil was the moſt famed of all *Canaan*'s, as ſhall be ſhewn in the ſequel: for which reaſon we have choſen to word it in ſuch terms as ſhould expreſs the two excellencies of that noble ſoil, rather than to confine the ſenſe to either particular; though *Moſes* in his bleſſing of that tribe ſeems to intimate the latter, when he ſays that *Aſher* ſhould dip his foot in oil (288).

(O) We have alſo given this prophecy in both the ſenſes which the original will bear; but as that which our *Engliſh* verſion gives us is ſomewhat uncouth and unintelligible we have endeavoured to make the ſenſe of it a little plainer; though that reading be the moſt generally received both by antient and modern expoſitors; and the firſt part applied to *Barak*'s overcoming *Siſera*. and the latter to the ſweet words which *Deborah* and he ſang in the noble canticle which was made on that occaſion (289); yet as we have obſerved, that *Jacob*'s bleſſings have a more general ſcope, we prefer the firſt reading, which compares him to a well-ſpread oak, which is agreeable to the original, and more exactly verified by the event; for no tribe multiplied ſo wonderfully as this of *Naphtali*, who had but four ſons when he came into *Egypt*; yet could muſter up upward of fifty three thouſand men fit to bear arms (290) when they came out of it; *i. e.* in leſs than 220 years. Thoſe who make a difficulty againſt our tranſlating the *Hebrew* אילה *Ailah* a great tree, becauſe it is contrary to the *Mazorah*'s punctuation, may find that verſion juſtified by the learned *Bochart* and *Le Scene*, as well as that of the whole verſe (291) which is agreeable to the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic* verſions.

(288) *Ibid. ver.* 24. (289) *Judg. c. iv. & v. p. tot.* (290) *Numb. i.* 43. (291) Bochart. *Hieroſ.* Le Scene. *Eſſ. on a new Tranſlat. & al.*

his

his bleſſings pronounced in the moſt pompous and endearing terms.

JOSEPH, ſaid the good old father, ſhall increaſe daily more and more, as his name doth emphatically imply. His beauty attracted the eyes of the fair ſex, the damſels ran upon the walls to ſee him (P); or, according to our verſion, he ſhall multiply like a fruitful bough planted by a well ſide, whoſe branches run up and ſpread againſt the wall. Men armed with the poiſoned darts of rancour and envy, meaning *his brethren*, have cauſed him a world of woe; his ruin would have been unavoidable, had not the Almighty, in whom he truſted, proved his ſtrong ſhield and defence, broken his bonds from off his arms (Q), and brought him out of priſon, to be a father and protector to the houſe of *Iſrael*; for this the LORD, even the GOD of thy father, ſhall bleſs thee with the dew of heaven, and with the fatneſs of the earth, with the fruit of the womb, a numerous poſterity, and the fruit of the breaſt, and plenty of all ſorts of cattle. May all the bleſſings promiſed to me and to my forefathers, be *Joſeph.*

(P) The original has בן פרת *Ben porath*; which if derived from the root פרה *Para*, he has fructified, as ſome do, the ſenſe will be *Joſeph* is a fruitful ſon; and then the word בנות *Banoth* (daughters) muſt be underſtood figuratively of the branches that run along the wall; but we rather chooſe to derive the word from פאר *Paar*, to make, or be, beautiful, the א being quieſcent in *holeim*, as the grammarians ſpeak, and then the literal ſenſe will be, *Joſeph is a ſon of beauty*; the daughters ran upon the walls to ſee him, and this reading has by far the moſt votes.

(Q) Our *Engliſh* verſion and ſome others render this verſe thus; *but his bow abode in ſtrength, and the arms of his hands were made ſtrong:* but this interpretation is ſomething forced, and the literal ſenſe runs thus; *but he continued in the ſtrength of his bow; and the hands of his arms (not weapons but the arms of his body* יפוז *Japhuſu* were (not ſtrengthened, as it is there rendered) but broken, ſcattered; which therefore may be more applicable to his fetters, in which ſenſe the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Chaldee*, &c. have taken it; the ſame word alſo occurs in the firſt verſe of the 68th pſalm; *let* GOD *ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered*, is therefore rightly rendered there, and it would have been nonſenſe to have ſaid let his enemies be ſtrengthened, that verſe being the very words which *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* uſed, whenever the ark was taken up, before they marched from one place to another (292): to which may be added, that the verb פץ *Phos*, has ſeldom any other ſignification than that we have given it, which however we ſubmit to the reader.

(292) *Numb.* x. 35.

doubled

doubled upon *Joseph*'s head, even upon his crowned head, (R); may they out-top and out-stretch the everlasting mountain, and prove to him more fruitful and lasting than they[u].

Benjamin. BENJAMIN, the last of all *Jacob*'s sons, who had been so great a favourite of his father, did probably expect a suitable blessing from him; but whether it were that *Jacob* foresaw no extraordinary merit or happiness attending his tribe, or that its being afterwards blended with that of *Judah*, would make it to share in all its blessings, he contented himself with describing him by his fierce and warlike disposition, who wolf-like should shed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their spoil (S). Having thus pronounced his prophetical blessing to every tribe (T), he reminded them, especially *Joseph*,

[u] Ibid. ver. 22. & seq.

(R) We have here likewise ventured to depart from the *English* version, which renders the words בֵּן פֹּרָת עֲלֵי עָיִן *Nazir Achauf, him that was separate from his brothers*; for though the verb נָזַר *Nazar* signifies *to separate*, whence the word *Nazarite* comes, and *Joseph* was really separated from his brethren when he was sold into *Egypt*; yet it is not probable, that *Jacob* would have couched so barbarous and unnatural an action in such soft terms, when the original abounds with the most expressive: besides *Nazar* doth rather signify a separating upon a religious account; it is therefore more probable that he used the word *Nazir*, which signifies *crowned*, in allusion to the superintendants of the king's houshold, in all the eastern empires, who were called *Nazirs*, and probably wore some kind of diadem about their heads by way of distinction and grandeur (293). This sense will be more agreeable likewise to the solemn and pompous style, which the patriarch uses throughout all *Joseph*'s blessing.

(S) The warlike and untameable disposition of this tribe was sufficiently verified afterwards in many instances, but more particularly the two following ones; namely, first, by the fierce battles which they fought against the united force of all the other tribes, though for a very bad cause, the *Levite*'s abused concubine (294), wherein they came off conquerors twice, tho' vastly inferior in numbers (295): and secondly, by the war, which the house of *Saul*, who was of that tribe, had with *David* and the house of *Judah*, for the kingdom (296); however, 'tis certain, that they are describ'd in scripture as the fiercest warriors, and experteſt archers in *Israel*.

(T) Some critics have cavilled at the words of *Moses*, *he* (Jacob)

(293) *Vid.* Calmet. *Hist. Old. Test in loc.* (294) *Judg. xix.* (295) *Ibid. c. xx.* (296) 1 *Sam. pass.*

Joſeph, that they ſhould bury him with his anceſtors in the cave of *Machpelah*; and they having renewed their promiſe to him, he laid himſelf again in his bed, and ſoon after expired [w], being 147 years of age, ſeventeen of which he ſpent in *Egypt* in the land of *Goſhen* (V).

THE

[w] Gen. xlix.

cob) *bleſſed every one of them with a ſeparate bleſſing* (297); whereas they think the three firſt might have been more properly called curſes than bleſſings; and this has given others and us unneceſſary trouble of anſwering them. Some authors have been too fond of having recourſe to the ſubtilties of the ſchools to elude this difficulty: thus St. *Ambroſe* tells us, that they being rather propheſies than bleſſings, muſt therefore be bleſſings becauſe they are propheſies (298): and another *Romiſh* author (299) ſays, that they were called bleſſings from the greateſt part being ſuch; whereas it is ſaid, that he bleſſed every one (300): others therefore have bethought themſelves of that thread-bare ſolution, that the ſame word in the original ſignifies to bleſs and to curſe, which has been applied to other caſes as well as this, and to as little purpoſe. Thus, when *Job*'s wife bids him bleſs GOD and die, they have thought that ſhe meant curſe GOD, and die; whereas 'tis plain ſhe only ſpeaks ironically to him, and means nothing but that he bleſſes GOD in vain; ſince he would die as well as thoſe that let it alone. As for *R. Salomon*'s anſwer, we mention it only for its abſurdity and impiouſneſs, who ſays, that *Jacob* deſigned indeed to bleſs all his ſons, but that he was ſeized with a phrentic fit at the beginning, which made him curſe the three firſt that came to hand. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that he bleſſed them all, though not alike; and if his ſevere rebuke to the three eldeſt, and the puniſhment he pronounced againſt them, did bring them to a ſenſe of their wickedneſs, it was a bleſſing to them, though not a temporal one; tho' even in this laſt ſenſe he may well be ſaid to have bleſſed them likewiſe, ſince he aſſigned each of them a lot in the inheritance of the promiſed land, which he had power to have deprived them of; and as *Moſes* did afterwards bleſs them, 'tis plain, he did not think that they had received a curſe from their father.

(V) Beſides theſe propheſies of *Jacob*, which *Moſes* has preſerved to us, and which have been ſufficiently verified by their events, the *Jews* attribute ſome other works to him, ſuch as the treatiſe, entitled, *The Ladder to Heaven*; in which there is an explanation of that which he ſaw in a dream at *Bethel*; and which the *Ebionites* adopted as canonical; and a teſtament called by his name, *The Teſtament of* Jacob, reckoned by Pope *Gelaſius* among the *Apocry-*

(297) *Gen. xlix.* 28. (298) Ambroſ. *de benedict. Patriarch. Jacob. cap. ii.* (299) Perrer. (300) *Ver.* 28.

AND now *Joseph*, who had hitherto suppressed his grief, began to give it full vent; he fell upon his dead father, bathed his face with tears, and expressed all the filial sorrow that such a loss could inspire; at length, remembring his dying charge, he went to get his body embalmed, and to make all other preparations for his funeral. The *Egyptians* on their part mourned for him as long as the days of his embalming lasted, *viz.* seventy days, the ceremony of which was performed as follows; the body was sent to the physicians or embalmers, who first took out the brain and entrails, and washed them in palm-wine, impregnated with strong astrin-

phas. The *Jews* do likewise use some prayers every night, which they pretend to have been composed by him: they affirm, that he wrote the fourteen gradual psalms, and some others, whilst he lived with *Laban*; all which fables are only fit for a *Jewish* creed. However, as to the great praises which they give him, no one can blame them for it; and the author of *Ecclesiasticus* has justly summed up his character in few words, *chap xliv.* 25, 26. Some divines, especially of the church of *Rome*, look upon him not only to have plainly foretold the coming of the *Messiah*, but to have been likewise a kind of type of him in his laborious and troublesome life; in his flights and travels; in his marriage with *Leah*, the figure of the *Jewish* synagogue; and afterwards with his beloved *Rachel*, the figure of the christian church.

The *Mohammedans* allow him to have been not only a prophet, but also the father of all the prophets, who were all descended from him except *Job*, *Jethro*, and *Mohammed*. They likewise believe, that the royal dignity did not depart from his posterity till the times of *John the Baptist* and JESUS CHRIST, and that the twelve tribes of the *Jews* did spring from him, as their own twelve tribes did spring from *Ishmael*. *Jacob* gave name to two places, *viz.* the well and the ford of *Jacob*: the former was still known by that name in our SAVIOUR's time, and we read of a famous church formerly built there in the form of a cross, and dedicated to St. *John the Baptist*; and that the well was just before the rails of the communion-table, to which sick folks resorted in great numbers to drink some of its waters for the recovery of their health. As for the ford of *Jacob* it is not easy to guess whereabouts it was; but as for those who think, that he forded the *Jordan* near the place where it empties itself into the sea of *Tiberias*, they seem to have gone much out of the way, and it is more likely, that he crossed somewhere near *Bethshan*, since he came back by that way, when he returned from *Mesopotamia*, and that he crossed the *Jabbok* at *Mahanaim*, and went from thence to *Peniel* and *Succoth*, which are near *Bethshan*, and his prayer, *that he had passed over that river only with his staff, and now with two bands*, makes it probable, that he came back the same way he went.

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gent drugs ; after which they began to anoint the body with oil of cedar, myrrh, cinamon, and caſſia, and this laſted thirty days. They next put it into ſalt of nitre during the ſpace of forty days longer ; ſo that they allowed threeſcore and ten days to compleat the ceremony[x]. This method however was only uſed for perſons of the greateſt rank; the meaner people had a cheaper way, but *Joſeph* was too ſenſible of his father's merit to ſpare any coſt on him. His being in deep mourning making him unfit to appear at court, he begged of ſome of *Pharaoh*'s officers to acquaint him of his father's death, and with his laſt commands, who made no difficulty to grant his favourite's juſt requeſt, and ordered moreover the chief officers of his houſhold, and the grandees of the kingdom, to accompany the funeral pomp. All *Jacob*'s family went likewiſe along with it, none ſtayed behind but their wives and little ones. The cavalcade conſiſted of a great number of chariots, and a vaſt multitude of men on horſeback. As ſoon as they had croſſed the river *Jordan*, and were entered into the land of *Canaan*, they made a halt of ſeven days at the threſhing-floor of *Atad*, and there performed a funeral ceremony, which made the *Canaanites* call the place *Abel-Mizraïm*, or the mourning of the *Egyptians*. They then continued their march 'till they arrived at *Machpelah*, where *Iſrael*'s ſons depoſited him in the cave, and then returned to *Egypt* with the reſt of their company. It was then that *Joſeph*'s brethren began to fear his reſentments for the former wrongs they had done him ; to prevent which as much as they could, they ſent an humble meſſage to him, that it was their father's earneſt requeſt to him, that he would forget all paſt injuries, and take them ſtill under his protection. Such an injurious and undeſerved ſuſpicion might have had a quite contrary effect than they deſired, had he been of a leſs generous temper ; but *Joſeph* was ſo far from reſenting it, or enquiring into the validity of this pretended laſt requeſt of their father, which he never had heard of before, though he was the proper perſon to whom it ſhould have been made, that he could not refrain his tears, whilſt the meſſenger was acquainting him with the concern and dread his brethren were in : to remove which he ſent immediately for them, and received them with the ſame affection as when *Jacob* was alive ; he excuſed and comforted them, and gave them ſuch freſh aſſurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, though pro-

[x] See before, p. 264.

bably very much amazed at the greatneſs of his ſoul, a virtue to which they ſeem to have been utter ſtrangers.

HE outlived his father about ſixty years, and when he found his death approaching, he ſent for his brethren and told them, with the ſame prophetic ſpirit that *Jacob* had done before, that GOD would, according to his promiſe, bring their poſterity out of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan*: he charged them therefore not to bury him there, but to lay his body in a coffin, and depoſit it in ſome place where they might find it, and carry it away with them, and bury it in the ſpot of ground which *Jacob* had given to him by his laſt will. He gave up the ghoſt ſoon after [z], and his brethren took care to fulfil his laſt requeſt, having firſt got him embalmed, after the manner of the *Egyptians* (W).

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[z] Ibid cap. ult.

(W) The *Jewiſh* rabbies have been very fertile in their inventions, in adding many particulars to the life and death of this great man, of which there is not the leaſt footſtep in ſcripture. An inſtance of the firſt kind is the bloody fight, which he had with one *Tzepho*, the ſon of *Eliphaz*, at his father's funeral, who would have withſtood their burying him in that cave of *Machpelah*, diſputing their title to that ground, whom *Joſeph* and his men having overcome, carried away with them into *Egypt*, and kept him there a priſoner as long as *Joſeph* lived; but as ſoon as he was dead, *Tzepho* found means to eſcape into *Italy*. This ſtory is quoted by ſome learned rabbies (301) out of *Joſephus Ben-gorion*, by which name the *Jews* call *Joſephus* the hiſtorian After his death, they tell us, the magicians of *Egypt* told *Pharaoh*, that if he had a mind to keep the *Hebrews* in his dominions, he muſt hide the body of *Joſeph* in ſome place where they ſhould never find it; for it would be impoſſible for them to go out of *Egypt* without it: upon which his body was ordered to be put into a אדון של חקקי כיכרים cheſt that weighed 500 talents, which, even according to the *Syrian* talent which is but 12 pound, amounted to 6000 pound weight, which they carefully laid in the bottom of one of the branches of the *Nile*, after they had turned the courſe of it another way, whilſt they ſunk it in the mud: and that *Moſes* was forced to work a miracle to get it out and carry it away (302). Some tell us, that his coffin was carefully laid up in the king's treaſury, becauſe his magicians had foretold, that if ever it was carried out of *Egypt*, the

(301) R. Abr. Sepharhaji. R. Moſ. Gerund. (302) *Elle Haddevarim Rabba. ſect.* זאת הברכה *See alſo the life of* Moſes, *publiſhed by* Gaulmain *in* French *p.* 32. *and his notes, l.* 2. *c.* 2.

land

The ſequel of the ſtory ſhews how punctually their poſterity fulfilled the latter part of his will, taking his body with them, and burying it in the place which he had appointed (X). He was 110 years old, when he died, an

land would fall into moſt terrible darkneſs, and be plagued with an infinite number of other evils (303): beſides theſe *Jewiſh* fables, *Joſeph* has likewiſe been thought to have inſtructed the *Egyptians* in all thoſe ſciences which they became ſo famous for, by applying to him that verſe in the pſalms, *that he might inſtruct his* (Pharaoh's) *princes, and teach his ſenators wiſdom.* In a word, he has been taken for *Serapis*, *Oſiris*, *Adonis*; for *Mercury*, *alias Hermes*; for the famous *Thaut*, or *Hermes Trismegiſt*, the reputed inventor of arts and ſciences (304): on the other hand, ſome heathen authors (305) tell us, that he learned ſeveral magic arts in *Egypt*, and in particular that of interpreting ſigns and dreams, and there is a book of magic ſtill extant, which has been falſely attributed to him, entitled *Joſeph's Looking-glaſs*: it is mentioned by *Trithemius*, *Naude*, and others. He is thought to have been the inventor of the art of meaſuring, and contriver of land-marks; which latter is more than probable, becauſe he was forced to diſtribute the lands again to the *Egyptians*, after the famine was over, which might put him upon excogitating ſome kind of boundaries to them. And *Artaphanes*, quoted by *Euſebius*, tells us, that the *Egyptians* had their fields all in common, 'till he taught them to divide and bound them, that every one might cultivate his own inheritance; adding, that he likewiſe invented the art of meaſuring, which procured him the reſpect and admiration of that people (306); they do ſhew to this day in *Egypt* ſome wells, baths, and other works of that patriarch, but thoſe eaſtern nations have added ſo many ridiculous fancies of their own to hiſtory, that they do not deſerve to be credited (307).

(X) Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid in the laſt note, we ſhall venture to tell our readers upon the teſtimony of St. *Jerom* (308) that the *Iſraelites* raiſed a moſt noble monument to *Joſeph's* memory, which was ſtill to be ſeen in his days. It ſtood in *Shechem*, in the field which *Jacob* bought of *Hamor*, and which he afterwards gave to him, in which field *Joſeph* was actually buried (309).

Mohammed in his *Koran Sarat* XII. gives us a long hiſtory of *Joſeph*, which he has ſtuffed with many fabulous circumſtances, and which the eaſtern people have ſtill more enlarged upon (310). The *Mohammedans* pretend to have ſeveral books of his amours with *Zo-*

(303) *Teſtam. XII patriar. in vit.* Simeon. (304) *Vid.* Calmet *Hiſt. O. T. c. xxxv.* (305) Juſtin *ex* Trog. *lib. xxxvi.* (306) Artaph *ap.* Euſeb. *de præpar. lib. ix. cap. xxiii.* (307) *Vid.* Calm. *loc. citat.* (308) Hieron. *qu. hæbr in Geneſ.* (309) *Joſh. ult.* 32. (310) *Vid.* Maracc. *notes on the Alcoran.* Herbel. *Diction. in the word* Jouſouph.

leikhab,

an age which came very ſhort of that of his anceſtors, and might probably be owing to his being forced to a different

leikhah, *Pharaoh*'s daughter, his maſter *Potiphar*'s wife, which they make uſe of to kindle the love of God in their hearts, it being among them what the canticles are with the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, that is, an allegory of the love of God and a pious ſoul. As for *Mohammed*'s hiſtory of *Joſeph*, though it differs much from that of *Moſes*, yet the reader may not think it amiſs to have a ſketch of it. It is to this purpoſe (311) *Joſeph* having acquainted his father with his dream of the ſun, moon, and 12 ſtars falling down before him, *Jacob* forbid him to tell it to his brethren, leſt the devil ſhould put it into their heads to conſpire againſt him, adding, that *Joſeph* would be the choſen one of God, *&c.* but his brethren, ſeeing that he was better beloved than they, reſolved to murder him; to which end they perſuaded their father to ſend him into the fields with them, under pretence that it would be a diverſion to him, promiſing at the ſame time, that they would take great care of him: *Jacob* anſwered, that he was afraid leſt they ſhould be careleſs of him, to which they replied, are you afraid the wolves ſhould come and eat him in our preſence, or that we ſhall not have ſtrength enough to defend him? The father being thus prevailed upon, they took him next morning along with them, and flung him into a well; they came home that ſame night, and told him, that whilſt they were playing and running a race, and *Joſeph* was watching over their garments, a wolf had come and devoured him; and finding that *Jacob* was hard to credit their ſtory, they ſhewed him *Joſeph*'s bloody ſhirt; upon which *Jacob* told them, that they had done the deed, and would certainly anſwer for it before God; after which he endeavoured to bear his loſs patiently.

A caravan, which chanced to go by that very day, and wanted ſome water, let down their bucket into the well, and *Joſeph* laying hold on it was drawn out; they cloathed him forthwith, and carried him into *Egypt*, where they ſold him for a little ready money. The perſon who bought him gave him in charge to his wife, telling her, that he would one day prove uſeful, and be inſtead of a ſon to them. By that time he had attained the twentieth year of his age, his miſtreſs *Zoleikhah* became ſo exceſſively in love with him, that ſhe ſhut him up one day in her chamber, and declared her paſſion to him: *Joſeph* rebuked her for it, and ran towards the door, but before he could open it, ſhe caught hold of his ſhirt, and tore it off his back: her huſband happened to be behind the door, and ſhe no ſooner ſaw him, but ſhe began to make a loud complaint of an attempt made by *Joſeph* againſt her chaſtity, whom ſhe therefore deſired to be ſeverely puniſhed, appealing to a child that was there in its cradle, for the truth of what ſhe ſaid: the

(311) *Bibliot. Orient.* Jouſouph ben Jacub.

child

ferent way of living from theirs, having continued 80 years in that pinacle of grandeur, to which *Pharaoh*, or rather his great

child readily anſwered, that if the ſhirt was torn before, he was guilty and ſhe innocent; but if it was torn behind, he was innocent, and ſhe accuſed him falſely. The ſhirt upon examination, proving to be rent behind, acquitted *Joſeph*, and diſcovered the ill intention of his miſtreſs,

The whole city was ſoon filled with the noiſe of this adventure, and *Zoleikhah* being informed that the ladies ſpoke of it much to her diſadvantage, reſolved to invite them to a feaſt, and whilſt they were eating, to introduce *Joſeph* to them. She did ſo, and he no ſooner appeared, but his beauty did aſtoniſh them beyond meaſure; inſomuch, that, not knowing any longer what they did, they cut their fingers inſtead of their meat, and whiſpered to one another, that he muſt be an angel and no man! By this means ſhe put a ſtop to their reflections; but it was not long before ſhe made another puſh at her ſervant, though with as little ſucceſs; which ſo enraged her, that ſhe got him ſent into priſon, where he expounded the buttler and the baker's dream. Here he continued confined nine whole years, after which he was fetched out to interpret *Pharaoh*'s dream, which he did ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he was made ſuperintendant of all his finances.

Mohammed goes on afterwards with the ſtory of his brethren coming to buy corn; of his ſtopping his brother *Benjamin*, and of his diſcovering himſelf to them; and adds, that *Joſeph* hearing that his father had wept ſo much for him, that he had loſt his ſight, he gave them one of his ſhirts, and bid them go home, and lay it over his face, and he would recover his ſight; after which he charged them to come back to him with their whole family.

By that time the Caravan was got half way homewards, *Jacob* told thoſe that were with him, that he ſmelt the ſmell of his ſon *Joſeph*, deſiring them not to laugh at him, for he was ſure of what he ſaid. Accordingly a few days after one of his ſons brought him *Joſeph*'s ſhirt, and as ſoon as he laid it over his face, his ſight came to him again: he made all the haſte he could to go down into *Egypt* with his family, and all he had; where *Joſeph* met him, and taking him by the hand, deſired him not to be afraid of coming into *Egypt*. He then made him ſit down, whilſt his brethren did fall proſtrate before him, which made him take notice to his father that now his dream was fulfilled. Thus far *Mohammed*, whoſe followers further add, that *Joſeph* was 17 years old when he was ſold; that the king who then reigned was *Rian* the ſon of *Walid*; that he was likewiſe called *Pharaoh*, which ſignifies a deſpotic monarch; that *Joſeph* did afterwards inſtruct him in the knowledge of the true GOD; but that his ſucceſſor, named *Rabous*, the ſon of *Maſſaab*, proved a wicked prince: that the *Iſraelites* continued 430 years in *Egypt*, from the time of *Jacob*'s firſt coming down,

great wiſdom and merit had raiſed him. However, he had the pleaſure to ſee of his offspring to the third generation, which none of his fathers did, *viz.* *Shuthelah* and *Tahan*, the ſons of *Ephraim*, and *Eran* the ſon of *Shuthelah*; as likewiſe *Machir* the ſon of *Manaſſeh*, and *Gilead Machir*'s ſon. Theſe five are thoſe whom the *Septuagint* verſion adds to the number of the ſeventy that came down into *Egypt* though 'tis plain they were not born 'till ſome time after *.

How the *Iſraelites*, after the death of their great patron and protector, became by degrees as dreadful and odious to the *Egyptians*, as they grew numerous and powerful, 'till they were at length brought under moſt cruel ſlavery, will be ſeen in the next ſection. In the mean time we hope, our readers will not be diſpleaſed, if we make a ſhort retroſpection on their forefathers, and add ſome few obſervations on the ſimplicity of their religion and manner of living, which were neither ſo obvious, nor could be interſperſed in their hiſtory, without too frequently interrupting the thread of it. Sure it is, that if we examine them impartially, compare them with thoſe of the moſt polite and celebrated nations of antiquity, ſuch as were the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and many others, and make a candid allowance for the diſtances of time, place, and other obvious circumſtances, they will appear to be the moſt natural and perfect pattern of civil ſociety, and of a happy life. If therefore their poſterity, after they became poſſeſſors of that happy land, did ſo ſtrangely deviate from them, as it will appear by the ſequel of this hiſtory that they did, it can be attributed down, to their being delivered out of it by *Moſes*, who took care to carry away the bones and coffin of *Joſeph*, which had lain buried in the bottom of the *Nile*.

* See before, p. 431, (B).

Ebn Batrik, otherwiſe called *Eutychius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, tells us, that *Joſeph* married *Azimah*, the daughter of the *Kahen* of *Aen Shem*, that is, the *prieſt*, or *diviner of the fountain of the ſun*, which was the name of the city of *On*, called alſo by the *Greeks*, *Heliopolis*. He aſſures us likewiſe, that the *Nilometer*, which is in the city of *Memphis*, the deſcription of which has been given before, *Vol. I. p.* 392, *&c.* and the canal in the city of *Cairo*, for the diſcharge of the waters of that river, were *Joſeph*'s own works. In a word they attribute to him all the curious wells, ciſterns, aqueducts, and public granaries, as well as ſome obeliſks, pyramids, and other antient monuments, all which are ſtill called by his name, and pretend, that he had ſomething ſhining like a ſtar upon one of his ſhoulders, which was an indelible character of the gift of propheſy, and a ſure token of his future grandeur. to

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to nothing but to that unavoidable degeneracy, which their long and horrid thraldom had cauſed in them, which took ſuch deep root, that neither their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, during which time a new generation was, as it were, ſprung up, nor the wholeſome laws, which providence had calculated for their welfare, nor the example of their forefathers, which *Moſes* had ſet before them in ſuch lively colours; nor, laſtly, all the heavy judgments, which their invincible obſtinacy brought upon them, could effectually cure.

IT muſt be owned, however, that unleſs we can diveſt ourſelves of that fond partiality which we have for the cuſtoms of our own times and country, we ſhall be apt to condemn, not only thoſe of the antient patriarchs, and of the many nations who have cloſely followed them, but likewiſe all thoſe who have commended them for it: that part of their religion which conſiſted in the butchering of a number of living creatures; their plainneſs and ſimplicity; their wandering and laborious life; their ſeeming contempt of arts and ſciences; their real one of eaſe, luxury and high titles; all theſe and many more, will be apt to be cenſured by the lump, and every deviation from it will be looked upon as an improvement in ſociety, and a refinement of their dull inſipid taſte, which ſome will be apt to attribute to the increaſe of arts and ſciences, and others more abſurdly to religion. But it is not to ſuch partial judges that we appeal, for the juſtneſs of theſe remarks, but to the more thinking and unprejudiced ſort, whoſe judgment is not warped by emulation, cuſtom, and example.

AND here we need remount no higher, than where we began our hiſtory, that is, to *Abraham*. He had converſed with ſome of the antediluvian patriarchs, and was well acquainted with their way of living; or rather he had been educated in it, and was ſo great an admirer of it, that he preferred it to that of thoſe nations he lived amongſt, and brought up his children the ſame way. For here we muſt remember that in thoſe days every family did as it were compoſe a kingdom or free eſtate, of which the chief was in all reſpects, if we except the name and a few needleſs and troubleſome ceremonies, ſupreme and abſolute monarch, and as ſuch made either war or peace, and alliances offenſive or defenſive with his neighbouring kings, as he thought fit[a]: if there was any difference between them, it was only this, that the latter did begin betimes to live in walled and fe-

[a] Gen. xiii. 18. xiv. 18. & ſeq.

tified towns, whereas the former chose to live more at large, and after the primitive way. In other respects it is plain, they were inferior to none of the contemporary princes, though they despised those pompous titles, and other marks of royal grandeur, which their neighbours so much affected.

THEIR riches consisting chiefly, in a prodigious quantity of cattle [b], such as sheep, oxen, camels, and asses (horses we read of none), they were obliged to have a proportionable number of servants and slaves to look after them. Accordingly we find, that *Abraham* was able to arm upwards of three hundred of his men-servants to *Lot*'s rescue, besides those he left behind to guard his substance, and his old men, women, and children [c]. As for gold, silver, jewels, and such like valuable things, we do not find, that he was possessed of any, 'till after his return from *Egypt*, where *Pharaoh* had heaped those rich presents on him, though they might probably barter some of the wool of their flocks for bullion, which was already current in those days; but neither this, nor his other kinds of riches, did exempt him or his posterity from a laborious life, to which their choosing to live in tents for the benefit of often shifting their habitations for the sake of their numerous herds, did unavoidably oblige them. To this pastoral life they likewise joined agriculture, as often as the fruitfulness of the country, the time of their sojourning in it, and other concurring circumstances permitted it. Thus we find *Isaac* sowing his land in the country of *Gerar*, where the situation and the king's friendship invited him to make a considerable stay [d]; but it is plain, they always gave the preference to the former, whenever the two kinds proved incompatible; and how laborious that was in those hot countries where water was scarce, and where it rains so seldom, may be gathered from the complaint which *Jacob* made to his father-in-law [e]. Neither was the fair sex exempt from bearing their share in it; and though *Abraham*'s posterity doth not afford us any instance of it in his own family, where we meet but with one female, *viz. Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter, and she only remembered for her fatal curiosity; yet if we look back into those of his kindred, whom he left in *Padan-aram*, we shall find, that neither their birth, youth or beauty, exempted them from going to the well with their pitchers, and watering their

[b] Gen. xiii. 6. & seq. ibid. xxxii. 16, & seq. [c] Gen. xiv. 14, &c. [d] Gen. xxvi. 11, 12, & seq. [e] Gen. xxxi — 40, & seq. vid. supr. p. 403.

flocks

flocks at proper ſeaſons. This we find to have been the caſe of *Rebekah*, *Rachel*, and other fair damſels of that country, and of *Jethro*'s daughters ſome hundred years after them. And how diſtaſteful ſoever this primitive ſimplicity may appear to our preſent age, yet *Homer* [f] will tell us how much, and how long, it was imitated by the *Greeks*, whoſe politeneſs is to this day ſo juſtly admired; inſomuch, that the chief employment of the ſeven ſons of *Eetion*, king of the *Cilicians*, was the keeping of their father's flocks [g]; and we find that kind of life extolled, not only in *Sicily* and *Greece*, but likewiſe in *Syria*, and other countries above 1500 years after *Abraham*, in ſome of the moſt beautiful paſtorals of antiquity.

THIS laborious life ſeldom failed to keep both men and women in a good ſtate of health; and as they never wanted a good appetite, nor a good digeſtion, ſo they were the more ſimple in their way of living: the milk of their kine, the fruits of the earth were their common diet; a kid, a fatted calf, or a diſh of veniſon, was reckoned a rich feaſt; and one would think, that *Homer* had drawn the pictures of his Heroes in his *Odyſſes*, after that of the patriarchs, ſo far was he from thinking ſuch a life unworthy of the greateſt men. Whoever conſiders that *Jacob* had been his mother's favourite, and conſequently more tenderly brought up than his brother *Eſau*, will no doubt wonder at his being ſuffered, at the age of forty, to take a journey of above 500 miles, for ſo far it was at leaſt from *Beerſheba* to *Padan-aram*, without a ſervant, or any other conveniency for travelling than his bare ſtaff; but yet it appears, that he had been ſo well enured to that laborious life, that he made no difficulty of laying himſelf down in the open field, as ſoon as night came upon him, and taking the firſt ſtone that came to hand to ſerve him for a pillow [h]. That he took care to breed up his ſons in the ſame hardy way, is plain by his ſending his favourite *Joſeph* at the age of 16 as far as *Hebron*, to enquire after his brethren, which was above 80 miles from *Mamre*, where he dwelt. Neither did *Joſeph*'s hearing, that they were removed about 30 miles farther, diſcourage him from continuing his journey 'till he had met with them [i].

THIS laborious life did not only contribute very much to their health and vigour, but was likewiſe an effectual means to lengthen their days, and to make their deaths ſweet and eaſy. If we except *Iſaac*, who is deſcribed rather as a con-

[f] HOMER. Iliad Δ. [g] Idem. Iliad Ζ. [h] Gen. xxviii, 11. [i] Ibid. xxxvii. 17.

templative than a laborious man [k], and began to fail in his ſtrength much ſooner than the reſt; we read of no diſeaſes they were ſubject to, nor of any phyſicians they needed, except to embalm their dead bodies. All thoſe, whoſe age is ſet down by *Moſes*, lived to above 150 years, except *Joſeph*, whoſe courtly way of living may probably have ſhortened his days [l].

THEIR conjugal temperance was in no ways inferior to their other virtues, how far otherwiſe ſoever it may appear at firſt ſight: *Abraham* lived in a country where polygamy was allowed, and a numerous offspring eſteemed one of the greateſt earthly bleſſings; he ſaw himſelf unfortunately yoked to a barren woman, and though maſter of vaſt poſſeſſions, yet choſe to make his ſervant his heir, rather than to marry another; neither doth he take *Hagar* to his bed 'till he is promiſed an heir that ſhould come out of his loins, and is perſuaded to it by his wife [m]. The children he had of *Ketturah*, after *Sarah*'s death, ſhew that his continence was far from being the effect of old age and impotency. *Iſaac* and his promiſed poſterity had the nobleſt title to all the bleſſings that were denounced to *Abraham*; *Rebekah* proves barren for a conſiderable time, and had but two ſons at laſt, and yet we do not find, that ever he expreſſed a deſire of taking another wife [n]. *Jacob* indeed was unwarily drawn in to marry two ſiſters, and afterwards to take their maids to be his concubines; but whoever conſiders how contented he would have been with *Rachel*; alone that *Leah* was, as it were, forced upon him; that *Rachel*'s barrenneſs, and deſire of children, and his fondneſs for her, made him accept of her handmaid; that when he had once done it for one ſiſter, he could not decently refuſe it to the other [o]; that it was the cuſtom of the country for the wives to adopt their handmaids children, and that it was looked upon as conſiſtent with the laws of conjugal fidelity; whoever, I ſay, conſiders all theſe, will not lightly tax him with incontinency upon that account: however, it is plain, that the jealouſies and diſcords between the two ſiſters, and probably between the miſtreſſes and their handmaids, gave but little encouragement to his ſons to follow his example, ſince we do not read of one that did not reſt contented with one wife. *Judah* indeed is juſtly taxed with incontinency, but it muſt be remembered, that his adventure with *Tamar* was wholly accidental, and unſought

[k] Ibid xxiv. 63. xxvii. 1 & ſeq. [l] Gen. xlix. 26. [m] Gen. xv 3. ibid xvi. 2. [n] Ibid. xxv. 21, & ſeq. [o] Ibid xxix, & xxx. paſſim.

for

for by him, and that he did not give himſelf that liberty, 'till after his wife's death [p]. However, we are far from undertaking to vindicate all their actions, much leſs do we intend to write panegyrics upon them; for which reaſon we ſhall forbear expatiating upon their extraordinary hoſpitality to ſtrangers, their faithfulneſs to their allies, and many other eminent virtues they were conſpicuous for; and ſhall content ourſelves with adding a few words concerning their religion, and ſhewing that that joined to their primitive ſimplicity, afforded an excellent pattern for a civil and a happy life; and that every deviation of theirs from it doth indeed give us a lively inſtance of the early depravity of mankind, but caſts no reflexion on their excellent and admirable rule of life, which gave every head a full and abſolute ſway over his whole family, obliged him to breed them up in the knowledge and fear of the true GOD, and a ſtrict obſervance to his laws, which was the moſt effectual means to make them live in that peace and plenty, that eaſe and tranquillity, for which they are ſo juſtly admired.

As for their religion, it was not only the freeſt from idolatry and ſuperſtition, but the ſimpleſt and pureſt in the world, or, at leaſt, that the world was then capable of. It conſiſted chiefly in a ready obedience to GOD's commands, under whoſe immediate guidance they continually were, in a firm reliance on his promiſes under all dangers and difficulties, and in a thankful remembrance and acknowledgment for all his bleſſings and deliverances. This laſt part ſeems to have introduced the religious cuſtom of tithes, if they were not of a much older date: accordingly we find *Abraham* giving the tenths of all the ſpoils of his late gotten victory to *Melchizedek* [q], and *Jacob* vowed the like portion of all his poſſeſſions to GOD, if he would bleſs and bring him back ſafe to his father's houſe [r]. How theſe were at firſt paid, or to whom, is not eaſy to gueſs, whether to *Shem* or *Eber*, or any of their deſcendants, who ſtill held the high prieſthood; or, as is moſt likely, by conſecrating a tenth part to religious uſes, ſuch as building of altars, rearing of pillars and monuments, and offering of ſacrifices to GOD, ſince ſuch things as are conſecrated to GOD's worſhip are, in the language of ſcripture, ſaid to be given to GOD. Theſe ſacrifices have indeed ſomething in them that is ſhocking and unnatural, as we obſerved before, and when we conſider how ſoon they began, and how univerſally they ſpread themſelves, reaſon will be at a loſs how to account for their introduction and progreſs, any

[p] Ibid. xxxviii. 12 & ſeq. [q] Gen. xiv. 20. [r] Ibid. xxviii. ult.

other

other way than by ſuppoſing them to be of GOD's own inſtituting, as types of that grand ſacrifice which CHRIST was to offer up for the ſins of the world : but this is rather a point of divinity than hiſtory, and ſo out of our ſphere. In all other caſes, it is plain, their religion was pure, ſimple, and uniform, and might have continued ſuch after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, had not their degeneracy and ſtubborneſs obliged their divine law-giver to clog it with a numerous train of rites and ceremonies, in order to prevent their intermixing thoſe of other nations with their own, as the ſequel of their hiſtory will ſhew. We ſhall only add, that as other nations ſeem to have received from the antient patriarchs the ceremony of ſacrificing beaſts to their gods ; that is, of ſubſtituting an innocent lamb, ſheep, *&c.* in their guilty ſtead, without retaining the notion of the deſign, or typical inſtitution of them ; ſo it is very probable, that the intended ſacrifice of *Iſaac*, by the father of the faithful, by which he gave ſuch a glorious teſtimony of his faith, and reliance on GOD's promiſes, may have given birth to the bloody cuſtom of ſacrificing of children, which became afterwards ſo univerſal, not only among all other nations, but even among the *Iſraelites* themſelves. The notion of its being enjoined to that patriarch, only as a trial of his faith, might wear off by degrees, and nothing more be remembered of it than the great applauſe and bleſſings he received upon that account ; from which they might conclude as it were *a fortiori*, that if his bare intention proved ſo meritorious, much more would the real ſacrificing of their own children be ; and when they had once imbibed the notion, that the main merit of ſuch a bloody ceremony conſiſted chiefly in the ſtifling all ſenſe of humanity and natural affection, it was eaſy for them to infer, that the more they did ſo by the cruel torments they put the poor infants to, the more it would enhance the value of the ſacrifice ; but this we ſubmit to the reader's judgment.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of the Jews *from their* Egyptian *bondage, to their entrance into the land of* Canaan.

The great increaſe of the Iſraelites *in* Egypt.

WE return now to the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, who did ſo prodigiouſly increaſe both in number and in ſtrength, during the 215 years of their abode there [a], (A) that the jealous *Egyptians* had already long ago looked upon them as a dangerous, if not formidable people. And indeed if we conſider to what a prodigious multitude theſe ſeventy ſouls, which came down with *Jacob*, were increaſed, inſomuch that *Moſes* tells us, they amounted to 600,000 men, from twenty years and upwards [b], all able to bear arms; beſides thoſe under 20 years of age, old men from ſixty to a hundred and upwards, for they lived even much longer than that, and women, which may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been much more numerous than the men, who were allowed a plurality of wives. I ſay, if we conſider this wonderful increaſe (which in a proportionate and moderate computation, allowing them to have brought 70 wives with them, (which is the utmoſt that can be ſuppoſed) will be as 140 to 280,000, that is as 20,000 to one) we ſhall not wonder at *Egypt*'s fearing, leſt they ſhould in a ſhort time cover the whole face of it. Neither need we have recourſe to miracles, as the *Jews* do [c], for this prodigious increaſe (B). We have

[a] Exod. i. 7. [b] Numb. i. 46. [c] Vid. ABEN-EZRAH, & MUNSTER in loc.

(A) *Moſes* was ſo ſurprized at this wonderful increaſe of his people, when he came to take an account of them, that he makes uſe of four of the ſtrongeſt verbs in the whole *Hebrew* tongue to expreſs it, *viz.* פרו *pharù*, *they fructified*, or *multiplied like the fruit of trees*; ישרצו *jiſrezzù*, *they multiplied like fiſhes*; רבו *rabbù*, *they daily increaſed in number*; יעצמו *jabatzmù*, *they grew ſtronger and ſtronger* (1). Had their hard bondage ſuffered them to have increaſed as much in wiſdom and greatneſs of mind, they had not given him ſo much trouble, as we find they did, both in *Egypt* and in the wilderneſs.

(B) St. *Auſtin* (2) thinks, that this prodigious increaſe of the *Iſraelites* was altogether miraculous, in which many of the *Jews* agree with him. *Aben-Ezra* tells us, that they brought forth 3 or

(1) *Exod. i. 7.* (2) Aug. *de civit. lib. xviii. cap. 7.*

have already given in the first volume some tables * of the probable increase of mankind in any number of years; and if this seems to out-do that calculation, it must be remembered, that they had a peculiar promise for it, and a peculiar blessing from God attending them. Neither was their cou-

The sons of Ephraim's incursion on the Gathites.

rage or strength less to be feared than their number. The sons of *Ephraim* had already given a proof of it to the *Egyptians*, when they made that bold, tho' unsuccessful, attempt upon the *Gathites*, in one of the cantons of the land of *Canaan*, even before their father's death, who, as we hinted before, lived upwards of 90 years in *Egypt*. This adventure, though not recorded by *Moses*, has been preserved to us by the author of the first book of *Chronicles* [d], and might easily let the *Egyptians* see, what the united force of twelve such fructifying tribes might do in process of time, when one single one, of so short a standing, could venture upon such a hazardous enterprize. However that be, it is not easy to fix the time when their bondage began, nor how long they had groaned under it, when *Moses* was born; sure it is, that from, or even before, that time they began to be more and

* Vid. Vol. I. p. 223. [d] 1 Chron. vii. 21. Osiand in loc.

4 at every birth; and affirms that a woman may bring forth as far as seven children at once (3). This he seems to have taken from *Aristotle* (4), or from *Trogus*, who says, that in *Egypt* the women were sometimes delivered of 7 children at once: but, without having recourse to such prodigious births, which happen but seldom, we need but suppose, that the *Israelites*, both men and women, were very fruitful, that they began soon, and continued long in begetting, which has been shewn in the former section to have been the fact. We see no impossibility for 70 males, in the compass of 215 years, to have multiplied to this degree, even at the rate of one child every year; for, according to *Simler*'s computation, 70 persons, if they beget a child every year, will in 30 years time have above 2000 children; of which admit that one third part only did come to procreate, in thirty years more they will amount to 9000; the third part of it will in 30 years more be multiplied to 45,000: according to which moderate calculation, in 210 years, the whole amount will be at least 2,760,000. If therefore there was any thing miraculous or extraordinary in all this, it was, that they should be able to multiply at that rate, notwithstanding their hard labours and cruel bondage.

(3) Aben. Ezra. *ap.* Munst *in loc.* Pelican & *al.* (4) *Histor. animal. lib. vii. c.* 4.

more cruelly oppreſſed by the *Egyptians*, whoſe unheard of treatment towards that oppreſſed people, might be owing to more cauſes than one; ſuch as their contempt of all nations but their own; their hatred of the *Iſraelites*, both as ſhepherds and as *Hebrews*, who killed and lived upon thoſe beaſts that were worſhipped in *Egypt*; the great difference of religion; envy to ſee them ſo ſucceſsful and the like; but the main, and indeed ſufficient motive mentioned in the text, was, their being grown more mighty than the *Egyptians*, and the danger there was, leſt upon any war they ſhould join with their enemies, and drive them out of the land [c]. This laſt made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that though they were reſolved to cruſh them as much as poſſible, if not totally to deſtroy them; yet they did not dare to come to an open rupture with them, but made it their chief endeavours to weaken them by degrees, by hard labours, taxes (C), and all kinds of oppreſſion, as the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſoon ſhew.

They are hated by the Egyptians.

THIS

[c] Exod. i. 9, 10.

(C) It is to be obſerved, that the original words שָׂרֵי מִסִּים *Sarè Maſſim*, which we tranſlate *taſk-maſters*, do properly ſignify *tax-gatherers*; the burthens are mentioned afterwards under another name; ſo that they laid heavy tributes upon them to impoveriſh, and heavy burthens to weaken them. *Philo* tells us (5), that they were made to carry burthens above their ſtrength, and to work night and day; that they were forced to be workers and ſervers; that they were employed in brick-making, digging and building: that if any of them dropped dead under their burthens, they were not ſuffered to bury them. *Joſephus* tells us moreover (6), that they were made to dig trenches and ditches; to drain rivers into channels; to wall whole towns, caſting up dikes and banks to keep off inundations; nay to erect phantaſtical pyramids; that they obliged them to learn ſeveral laborious trades, and confined them to perpetual reſtleſs labour. Another author tells us (7), that, in order to render them more odious to the *Egyptians*, they made them go differently apparelled. But, without troubling ourſelves further than with what *Moſes* tells us, we ſhall find their work hard enough (8); they were forced to work in clay and brick, and compelled at length to go and ſeek out for ſtubble inſtead of ſtraw, without the leaſt diminution of their taſks, of which if they chanced to come ſhort, which could not poſſibly be avoided, their overſeers were ſeverely beaten for it (9). Thus they tried by theſe three ways to bring them under, *viz.* by ex-

(5) Philo *in vit.* Moſis, lem. *apud* Euſeb. *præp.*

(6) *Antiq. l. ii. c.* 9.

(8) *Exod i.* 14.

(7) Eupo-

(9) *Exod. v.*

Their cruel bondage. THIS terrible perſecution, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, began under the reign of a new king [f], who knew not *Joſeph* (D), or had forgot the great ſervices which that

[f] Ibid. ver. 8.

acting a tribute to leſſen their wealth, laying heavy burthens on them to weaken their bodies, and thereby to prevent their generating and increaſing.

(D) There was nothing extraordinary in this forgetfulneſs, taking the words of *Moſes* in their literal ſenſe, if we conſider, that kings were then only elective, and all the ſubjects looked upon as their ſlaves (10). Archbiſhop *Uſher* mentions ſeven kings between *Joſeph*'s death and this who knew not *Joſeph*, *i. e.* in about 60 years, which was more than ſufficient to obliterate all his ſignal ſervices. Some indeed thinking this impoſſible, there being ſtill ſo many monuments extant of them, have underſtood *Moſes*'s words in a leſs ſtrict ſenſe, as if he had not forgot, but refuſed to acknowledge them. Thus St. *Paul* is made to ſay (11), that he knew not that it was the high-prieſt that cauſed him to be ſmitten, when every child might have known him both by his particular dreſs, and the place where he ſat: whereas it is thought, that he meant, he did not acknowledge him to be the high-prieſt, becauſe he had obtained the mitre by bribery (12); but as *Moſes* calls this a new king, probably becauſe he was of another family, if not a ſtranger, there will be no reaſon to depart from the literal ſenſe. Who this new king was is not ſo eaſily agreed. *Cajetan* thinks him to have been an *Aſſyrian* born, from the words of the prophet (13) *My people went down into* Egypt *to ſojourn there, and an* Aſſyrian *oppreſſed them* But we don't find, in the *Egyptian* chronicles, any *Aſſyrian* kings either before *Moſes*, or for above 1000 years after. Neither could it be *Mephres*, in whoſe ninth year *Joſeph* is ſuppoſed to have died, and the bondage to have begun (14), becauſe *Levi* outlived *Joſeph* above 23 years (15); whereas the thraldom did not commence 'till all the patriarchs were dead. Some therefore ſuppoſe, that it was *Amenophis*, becauſe *Euſebius* thinks, that *Moſes* was born in the 18th year of his reign, and ſo doth St. *Jerom* (16). This king is alſo called *Memnon*, the ſpeaking ſtone, whoſe ſtatue did uſe to ſpeak at the ſun-riſing, and is thought by ſome to have continued 'till our ſaviour's time (17). Archbiſhop *Uſher*, after *Mercator*, thinks, is was *Rameſes Miamun*, the latter part of whoſe ſurname ſeems to have been deduced from the forepart of *Amen-Ophis*, by which name ſundry of his predeceſ-

(10) Diod. Sicul *l. ii. c. i. Gen. xlviii.* 19, 20. (11) *Act. xxiii.* 5. (12) Le Scene *Eſſay d' une nouvelle verſion & al.* (13) *Iſai. lii.* 4. (14) Vincent *in loc.* (15) *Exod. vi.* 16. (16) Euſeb. Hieron. *in Chron.* (17) Perrer. Simler. *& al.*

ſors,

that glorious miniſter had done, both to the crown and nation of *Egypt*. This we need not wonder at after ſo many years, when *Ahaſuerus* could ſo ſoon forget *Mordecai*, who had ſo lately ſaved his life [g]. Though it muſt be owned, that had *Joſeph*'s merit been never ſo freſh in their memory, yet that prince's conduct, if politically conſidered, had nothing ſtrange or uncommon; ſince it would rather have been a prodigy, if his gratitude to a man, that had been dead above fifty years, had prevented his taking all the cautious meaſures to ſecure his own kingdom, againſt the danger it ſeemed threatened with from a people, who from an indigent family were become ſuch a numerous and formidable hoſt. The religion of the *Iſraelites* ſo oppoſite to *Egyptian* idolatry; their ſtrict union among themſelves; the great riches they had heaped up during *Joſeph*'s life; their indefatigable induſtry in feeding their numberleſs herds, in trade and agriculture; their bodily ſtrength and warlike temper; in all which and many other reſpects, they ſeem to have been far ſuperior to the *Egyptians*: all theſe I ſay, did ſufficiently juſtify *Pharaoh*'s fears, if not

[g] Eſther vi. 1, 3.

ſors, as well as his ſon after him, were called. This king the above mentioned Primate affirms to have reigned 62 years and 2 months; during which, being frighted at the number and ſtrength of the *Iſraelites*, he began to oppreſs them with a cruel bondage, laying upon them, beſides their continual labour and tillage of the ground, the building alſo of royal magazines, ſtorehouſes, and the whole cities of *Raamſes*, or *Rameſes*, and *Pithom*; the former of which took its name from the king, and the latter probably from the queen (18), but we ſhall find a great difficulty here, *viz.* how to reconcile that learned prelate with what *Pliny* ſays (19), that this *Rameſes* reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, that is, about 300 years after the death of *Moſes*. Upon the whole the reader is deſired to remember, what we ſaid in the hiſtory of *Egypt* concerning the difficulty of adjuſting their chronology, and particularly who thoſe kings were under whom the *Iſraelites* ſuffered this ſlavery †. As for thoſe who pretend, that the *Iſraelites* continued above 400 years in *Egypt*, as *Genebrard* (20), or that they groaned under that ſlavery all that time, as *Joſephus* (21), they'll ſend us ſtill farther to ſeek for a king that will fit them; but we hope, we have ſufficiently proved their error in our notes in the former ſection, *p.* 363. *not.* K, and made it more than probable, that they did not continue there above 215 years.

(18) Uſher's *annal. p.* 12. (19) Plin. *lib. xxxvi. c. viii.*
† *Vid. ſup. p.* 30. *not.* (I). (20) Genebrard *chronogr. p.* 11. *ſub. An. M.* 2660. (21) *Antiq. l. ii. c. ix.*

in some measure to authorise those violent measures which he took against them (E). We have seen in our days christian princes take as cruel and inhuman precautions against their own natural subjects, of whose fidelity and loyal attachment they had much greater proofs, than ever the kings of *Egypt* had from the children of *Israel*; and yet these persecutions have been justified, nay canonized, whilst *Pharaoh*'s have been branded with the worst of epithets, and are not mentioned without horror.

HAD indeed the *Egyptian* court been less a stranger to the *Israelites*, they would have had little cause to fear being driven out of their own country, against which these were so far from designing any attempt of that nature, that they never looked upon themselves but as sojourners for a while, still waiting for the happy day when GOD should call them out of it, to go and conquer another land. But perhaps they wisely concealed this secret from the *Egyptians*, who would be too loath to lose the service of such a numerous people, not to prevent their going by all possible means. Besides, had it been known, there was still that danger of their joining with their enemies, upon any war or invasion, in order to facilitate their escape. *Pharaoh* indeed makes the great advantage of their servitude a pretence for not letting them go where *Moses* desired [h]; but had that been all, it is not likely, he would have taken such effectual methods of depriving himself of it, by totally destroying them: for when he found, by the experience of at least ten years, that neither the hardships he laid upon them, nor all the cruelties which his officers and people used towards them, could prevent their multiplying as fast as, if not faster, than ever [i], he

[h] Exod. xiv. 5. [i] Ibid. c. i. 12.

(E) *Josephus*, not thinking all these sufficient to alarm the king of *Egypt*, tells us (22), that there was a certain scribe famous for his predictions, who went and told him, that there was a *Hebrew* child to be born about that very time, that would prove a scourge to the *Egyptians*, and advance the glory of his nation, and that, if he lived to grow up, he would be eminent for his virtue and courage, and make his name famous to posterity: that *Pharaoh* was so startled at this prediction, that he ordered the *Egyptian* midwives, under pain of death, carefully to attend the labour of all the *Hebrew* women, and to destroy all their males. But, as *Moses* doth not hint any thing like it, the reader may as safely reject as admit it.

(22) *Ibid.*

sent

ſent for the two chief *Hebrew* midwives, *Shiphrah*, and *Puah*, (F) and ſtrictly charged them, that when they performed

Pharaoh's *cruel orders to the* Hebrew *midwives.*

(F) Though *Moſes* mentions but two midwives, yet we muſt not ſuppoſe, that they could ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt number of women. Some therefore think, that theſe two only attended on the nobler ſort of *Hebrew* women, whoſe children *Pharaoh* chiefly intended to cut off (23), whereas his charge was to kill all the males, none excepted. Others think that the *Hebrew women being ſtrong and eaſily delivered* (24), might probably ſhift with two midwives; but it is to be conſidered, that this was not ſo much the real fact, as an excuſe of the midwives for not obeying the king's orders. It is therefore more probable that theſe two were the chief ones, who had the charge and direction of all the reſt (25); and that there was ſuch a precedency or ſuperiority among the midwives, whatever *Cajetan* ſays to the contrary, appears very probable at leaſt from what *Plutarch* tells us, that among the *Grecians*, there were ſome, to whom the care of that buſineſs was committed, and that public ſchools were kept for that purpoſe (26). Several learned expoſitors, eſpecially among the *Romiſh* (27), following the *Septuagint* and *vulgate* verſions, which read המילדות העבריות *Hamialedoth haghibrioth, the midwives of the* Hebrew *women*, inſtead of the *Hebrew midwives*, as the grammatical conſtruction rather requires, have fancied, after *Joſephus* (28), that they were *Egyptian* midwives, as being moſt likely to obey the king's bloody command, and that the *Iſraelites* had no midwives among them. This laſt is wholly improbable, and contrary to ſeveral places of ſcripture; beſides, their being influenced by the fear of GOD to diſobey the king's order, is more applicable to the *Hebrew* than to the *Egyptian* midwives. Laſtly, their names, which were wholly *Hebrew*, ſhews them to have been ſuch; for the word *Shiphrah* comes from שפר *Shaphar*, which ſignifies *to be*, or *to make beautiful*; and therefore the *Jewiſh* etymologiſt gives us this reaſon for her being called ſo, *viz.* becauſe שמשפרת את היולד *ſhe ſhaped the babe into form.* The other was called *Puah*, from פעה *to cry out*, either becauſe they generally make the women to cry out luſtily, that they may be the ſooner rid of their burthen; or becauſe they are moſt accuſtomed to the cries of the mothers and the children. And whereas *Joſephus* ſays, that *Hebrew* women would have been too partial to their people, the ſame reaſon did hold againſt *Pharaoh*'s ſetting up *Hebrew* taſk-maſters over them, which yet we find he did, and the fear of death might as eaſily influence the one as the other nation to obey the king (29). As for thoſe who think,

(23) Cajet. *in loc.* (24) *Exod. i.* 19. (25) Pelican. Vatabl. Outran. & *al.* (26) *Vid.* Jun. *in analys.* Villet & *al* (27) Perrer. Aret. Simler. *&c.* (28) *Ant. l. ii c. ix.* (29) S. Aug. *lib. contr. mendac. cap. xv, xvi.*

with

performed their office to the *Hebrew* women, they ſhould deſtroy all the males, and let the females take their chance. But theſe women, who feared GOD and abhorred ſuch a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and ſaved all the children that were born, males as well as females. *Pharaoh*, being extremely provoked at it, commanded them to be brought before him, and in a threatening tone aſked them, how they dared to diſobey his orders? The women had not their anſwer to ſeek, for they readily told his majeſty, that the *Hebrew* women did not, like the *Egyptian* ones, want a midwife to deliver them, being luſty and ſtrong, and bringing forth more like the beaſts of the foreſt than like women (G); ſo that their children were born before they could come to them. *Moſes* tells us, that their piety and mercy did not go unrewarded, and that GOD bleſſed them with a numerous poſterity [k] (H): not becauſe their having told a lye

They are reproved for their diſobedience,

and rewarded by GOD *for their piety.*

[k] Ibid. ver. 21.

with ſome *Hebrew* rabbies (30), that theſe two midwives were *Jochebed, Moſes*'s mother, and *Miriam* her daughter, and that they are here only ſurnamed in alluſion to their office; they are not worth confuting, ſince *Miriam* could not be above ſix or ſeven years old when this order was given, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

(G) The word חיות *chaioth*, which we tranſlate *lively*, doth likewiſe ſignify wild beaſts, and may be taken in that ſenſe in this place, ſeeing the midwives wanted to throw the fault upon the pregnant women, who, like the beaſts of the field, needed no help to be delivered. A great deal of learned duſt has been raiſed about this anſwer of the midwives; as, 1. Whether it was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a lye. 2. Whether, and how far, it was excuſable in them. 3. Whether the reward mentioned by *Moſes* was given them for the lye, or for their mercy, or both. It is plain, this anſwer of theirs was the effect of their fear of the king's diſpleaſure, and not of that merciful diſpoſition which they ſhewed towards the poor children: this laſt was the virtue here rewarded, whatever betided them for the lye they told, if it was really ſuch; for it is very probable, that the *Hebrew* women, who were kept more ſtrictly than the looſe and maſterly *Egyptian* dames, might have much eaſier labours than they, and ſo have leſs need of midwives. Their anſwer might therefore be true in part, though not in the whole, and as to their ſtretching the truth a little beyond its due bounds, upon a good deſign, they had the examples of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, who made their wives paſs for their ſiſters, though they were only ſo in a far fetched ſenſe.

(H) Our *Engliſh*, and ſeveral other verſions, having followed the *Hebrew* too literally, have rendered this place, *the lord made*

(30) Rab. Abr. Sepharad. & *al.*

them

lye to the king, made them worthy of no better than a temporal reward, excluſive of any other, as ſome antient fathers have thought [1]. But *Moſes* records this temporal recompence, as

[1] GREGOR. lib. viii. moral.

them houſes; which though it may imply the ſame ſenſe we have given it, yet it is too obſcurely expreſſed, and has led ſome expoſitors, for want of attending to the *Hebrew* idiom, into ſome abſurd notions. Thus St. *Jerom* underſtands it of houſes in heaven (31); others of ſtrong houſes built by the *Iſraelites*, to defend them againſt the rage of *Pharaoh* (32); others, thinking them to have been *Jochebed* and *Miriam*, have underſtood it of the kingdom and prieſthood, which was afterwards ſettled upon their poſterity; becauſe *Jochebed* was mother to *Aaron*, and *Miriam* to *Caleb* (33); but, beſides that *Miriam* was too young for ſuch an office, it is not certain ſhe was *Caleb*'s mother; on the contrary, *Joſephus* tells us (34), that ſhe was the wife of *Hur*. Some again taking them to have been *Egyptians*, have underſtood it of their being incorporated into the common-wealth of *Iſrael* (35), as *Rahab* afterwards was. Others think that their families were enriched by a particular bleſſing (36); but the trueſt ſenſe is, that their houſes or families were greatly increaſed. For the word בֵּן *Ben*, a ſon in the *Hebrew*, comes from בָּנָה *Banah*, to *build*, becauſe he is as it were the builder of the houſe or family: in this ſenſe *Sarah* gives her maid to *Abraham*, that ſhe might be built, that is be made a mother by her (37). Accordingly the *Pſalmiſt* (38) ſays, *who maketh the barren woman* to become *a houſe* or family, and to be *a joyful mother of children* (39).

There is ſtill one difficulty more in the text, which is, that the word לָהֶם *lahem*, *to them*, is of the maſculine gender; whereas if it had related to the midwives, it ſhould have been לָהֵן *lahen*, from which ſome have imagined, that it refers to the *Egyptians* who built themſelves ſtrong houſes to put the pregnant *Hebrews* in, that they might not elude the king's deſign: but if that had been the caſe, he muſt rather have built large cities to have ſufficed the vaſt multitude of *Hebrew* women. Others think that it was the *Iſraelites*, and not the midwives, that were ſo multiplied; becauſe, ſay they, women cannot be ſaid to build families, but men (40); but the contrary of this is plain, by the bleſſing which was given to *Ruth* (41), that *ſhe might prove like* Rachel *and* Leah, *which two did build the houſe, or family of* Iſrael. We rather therefore think it more probable, that the *Mem* is put for the *Nun*, which very often happens, and the maſculine for the feminine,

(31) Hieron. *in cap. lxv Iſai.* (32) Sepharadi *in loc.* (33) R. Salom. & *al.* (34) *Ant. l iii. c.* 9 (35) Vatabl. Pined. &c. (36) Auguſt. Theodor. (37) *Gen. xvi* 2. (38) *Pſ. cxiii.* 9. (39) D. Kimchi, Perrer, Le Scene, &c. (40) Simler. Jun. Villet *in loc.* (41) *Ruth. iv.* 11.

nine,

as beſt ſuiting the carnal people he had to do with, who ſeem to have had little thought of another life, if they could but make themſelves comfortably happy in this.

The Iſraelites commanded to drown all their male-children.

However, *Pharaoh*, finding that theſe underhand ſtratagems proved ineffectual, reſolved to act more openly againſt the *Iſraelites*, and to make the parents become the executioners of their own children. To this end he iſſues out an order, under the ſevereſt penalties, that every *Hebrew* male-child that was born, ſhould be caſt into the *Nile*, and that none but the females ſhould be ſuffered to live; by which the people ſaw themſelves obliged either to drown their own children, or to ſee it done by the *Egyptians*, as ſoon as they were diſcovered, and themſelves ſeverely puniſhed for not obeying the king's edict. Such a bloody command could not but cauſe the greateſt conſternation in the afflicted *Iſraelites*, too prone naturally to deſpond and deſpair of God's promiſes. They thought themſelves on the eve of their deliverance from the hardeſt of ſlaveries; a glorious deliverer was promiſed to them, whom they now ſee condemned to die as ſoon as born. But God, whoſe deſigns could not be fruſtrated either by the private artifices or open violence of the king of *Egypt*, made him the inſtrument of bringing up that very child whom he took ſuch pains to deſtroy.

Amram, the ſon of *Kohath* and grandſon of *Levi*, had married *Jochebed*, the daughter of *Levi*, his own aunt (I), by

nine, as we find it in the next chapter (42), where the maſculine relative is applied to *Jethro*'s ſeven daughters, and many other places beſides (43); and that the maſculine pronoun is given to the midwives by way of excellency, which is no uncommon thing in the ſacred tongue.

(I) We have ventured to call *Jochebed Amram*'s aunt, though the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and after them many learned expoſitors, both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, have thought, that ſhe was no more than his uncle *Kohath*'s daughter, and conſequently his couſin-german, becauſe the marriage of an aunt was afterwards forbidden in the *Levitical* law (1). For though the word דוד *Dod* in the original, doth ſometimes ſignify an uncle's ſon(2), and דודה *Dodah*, an uncle's daughter or couſin-german; yet, ſeeing *Moſes* tells us (3), that ſhe was born unto *Levi*, and accordingly calls her *Amram*'s aunt (4), in another place, we thought we might ſafely give her that name

(42) *Exod. ii.* 17. (43) Vatabl. Piſcat. Munſt. & *al. in loc.*
(1) Nic. de Lyr. Moutan. Cajetan. Perrer. Caſtal. & *al. in loc.*
(2) *Jerem. xxxii.* 12. (3) *Numb. xxvi.* 59. (4) *Exod. vi.* 20.

after

by whom he had had two children before the king's edict, *viz.* *Miriam* and *Aaron* (K); but *Moſes* not being born till ſome time after the promulgation of it, and he proving a lovely and beautiful child, GOD inſpired them with a more than ordinary reluctancy to obey it; ſo that they ventured to keep him privately during the ſpace of three months (L), till after many learned men (5). And here we cannot forbear taking notice of a miſtake, which *Calmet* muſt have been led into by ſome *Amanuenſis*, who mentions the learned *Uſher* in the number of thoſe who think, that ſhe was but firſt-couſin to *Amram*; whereas the contrary appears by the very place quoted by him, where that prelate calls her *Levi's daughter, and Amram's aunt and wife.* Some *Hebrew* writers (6) pretend, that ſhe was born about the time that *Jacob* came down to *Egypt*; at which rate ſhe muſt have been 135 years old when *Moſes* was born, that is, above 40 years older than *Sarah* was when ſhe bore *Iſaac*: but had *Moſes*'s birth been ſo miraculous, we need not doubt, but he would have recorded it as well as that of *Iſaac*. It is therefore more likely, that *Levi* begot her in *Egypt* in the 100th year of his age, which was nothing wonderful, ſeeing *Abraham* begot ſeveral children of *Keturah* after the 137th of his; and *Jacob* begot *Benjamin* when he was 107; and as for *Jochebed*, ſhe may be ſafely ſuppoſed to have bore *Moſes* when ſhe was 68 years old, nothing being more common than for the *Hebrew* women in thoſe days to bear children at, and even after, that age (7); and then we need not to go ſeek for another *Jochebed*, to make her coincide with the time of *Moſes*'s birth, as ſome have done, ſince whatever other of that name were found, ſhe muſt be *Amram*'s aunt, as the text calls her in the places above quoted.

Moſes *is born*, Year of the Flood, 1428. Year before Chriſt 1571.

and concealed three months.

(K) Though *Moſes* doth mention nothing of the age of his ſiſter, either when ſhe was born, or when ſhe died, yet it is plain, ſhe was the eldeſt of the three, becauſe ſhe was old enough to watch *Moſes* when he was expoſed; whereas *Aaron* was but three years older than he; but that ſhe ſhould be ſo old as the *Jews* make her, *viz.* to have been one of the two midwives mentioned in a former note, is both improbable, and contrary to the opinion of our chronologers and expoſitors, who make her but ten years old at moſt when *Moſes* was born.

(L) This pious concealment is ſufficiently juſtified by St. *Stephen*, and the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* (8), not only on the account of the child's beauty, which is alſo mentioned by *Juſtin* out of *Trogus*, but alſo upon the account of their faith, they looking upon him as the future deliverer of their nation. However, *Joſephus* (9) tells us, that *Amram*, finding his wife with child, and being ſolicitous about

(5) *Chald. Paraph.* Jun. Munſt. Pagnin. Simler. Uſſer. & *al.* (6) Calm. *Hiſt. V. T. lib. ii p.* 296. *not. b.* Uſſer. *Annal. ad An. Mund* 2385. (7) Vatabl. *in loc.* (8) *Act. vii.* 20. *Hebr. xi.* 13. (9) *Ant. lib. ii. c. ix.*

at laſt, fearing the extreme danger of a diſcovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themſelves, they were forced, though with the utmoſt regret, to expoſe him like the reſt. However, nature, ſhrinking at the thoughts of his immediate death, made them contrive to make him a ſmall ark of bull-ruſhes, or rather of the flags of the tree of which the *Egyptians* made their paper [m], which was ſtrong e-

and expoſed to the common fate,

nough to hold out the water, and ſmooth enough to receive the pitch and tar with which it was beſmeared, and by its lightneſs fitteſt to ſwim with the child's weight. This ark being daubed with pitch within and without, they put the child in it, and, committing him to the mercy of the waves, or rather to the care of providence, they left *Miriam* his ſiſter, who was then about eight years of age, at a convenient diſtance to watch and ſee what would become of him. The reeds and flags, with which that river abounds [n], ſoon

[m] Joseph. Ant. l. ii. c. 9. [n] Iſai. xviii. 2. Herodot. lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. & al.

the king's edict, prayed earneſtly to God to put an end to this dreadful perſecution, and that God appeared to him and told him, that he would ſhortly free his people from it, and that the ſon, that ſhould ſhortly be born to him, ſhould prove the happy inſtrument of their glorious deliverance, and eterniſe his own name thereby; —— that this made them conceal him as long as they could, but fearing a diſcovery, they reſolved to truſt him to the care of providence, ——— who accordingly conducted *Pharaoh*'s daughter to the river's ſide, and inſpired her with ſuch ſentiments of pity, that ſhe adopted him for her ſon. He calls that princeſs *Thermuthis*, and after him *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, and others: *Artaphanes* (10), *Meris*, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle *Myrrina*. *Joſephus* adds further (11), that *Thermuthis* having ſent for ſeveral wet nurſes one after another, the child did ſcornfully turn away his head from their breaſt; and that *Miriam*, who was then preſent, told that princeſs, that if the nurſe and the child were of different nations, her milk would never agree with it, but that if an *Hebrew* woman was fetched, he would probably take the breaſt from her. Upon which ſhe was bid to go for one, and quickly brought the child's mother, whom he fell a ſucking moſt heartily, to the admiration of the princeſs and all the by-ſtanders. Thus far *Joſephus*. The *Jews* obſerve further, that the word river here uſed, is not נהר *Nahar*, which ſignifies a great river ſuch as the *Nile* was, but יאור *Jeor*, which ſignifies a river, or rather canal, that is drawn from the great one to water the country (12); and as the land of *Egypt* abounded every where with the latter, the *Iſraelites* needed not to go far for a place to drown their children in.

(10) *Ap.* Euſeb. *præp. lib. ix. cap. iv.* (11) *Ant. loc. cit.* (12) *Ibid.*

ſtopped

ſtopped the cradle from being carried by the current, and here it was that GOD ſent him a happy deliverance from all future dangers on account of the king's edict.

WHILST his ſorrowful mother was retiring from him, providence directed thither the princeſs, whom he had made choice of to breed him up as her own. It was *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who, being come to the river with deſign to bathe herſelf, ſpied the ark as ſhe was walking along the ſhore. Her curioſity ſoon made her ſend one of her retinue to fetch it to her. It was not long before her ſurprize at the ſight of ſo beautiful a child, was ſucceeded by an irreſiſtible love and pity for him, whoſe cries and tears would have reached a heart leſs gentle and pitiful than hers. She immediately concluded, that it was the child of ſome of thoſe unfortunate *Hebrews*, who groaned under her father's heavy thraldom; her pity told her, that ſo lovely a boy deſerved a better fate, and that it was her duty, ſince chance had thus thrown him in her way, at any rate to ſave him from the common ruin.

and taken up,

PROVIDENCE, which conducted all this ſcene, put it into her heart to have him educated as her own ſon, and into young *Miriam*'s head to approach the princeſs, and to offer herſelf to fetch her an *Hebrew* nurſe to ſuckle him. She was no ſooner bid to go, but ſhe flew with all imaginable joy to call the mournful *Jochebed*, who did not make them wait long, before ſhe came and received the dear infant from the hands of the princeſs, and with him an expreſs order, to take the ſame care of him as if it had been her own. At the ſame time ſhe told her, that as ſhe did not know the boy's name, ſhe would give him that of *Moſes*, ſeeing ſhe had drawn him out of the water (M); and having promiſed her

and brought him up by Pharaoh's *daughter.*

an

(M) *Moſes* is here thought to have *Hebraized* his name, in order to expreſs the ſenſe of the *Egyptian* one, which had been given him by *Pharaoh*'s daughter †. The word *Mo*, or *Moy*, in the *Egyptian* tongue, according to *Joſephus* *, ſignifies water; and *Yſes* or *Iſes* ſignifies preſerved, and ſo *Mo-yſes*, one preſerved out of the water. But *Aben Ezra* tells us, out of an *Arabic* book, entituled עבודת האדמה, or, *the cultivation of land*; that *Moſes* was called מוניום *Monios*, or *Monious*, which in the *Egyptian* tongue ſignifies drawn out (13); but it is very likely, that if his name had differed ſo much, and had been altogether *Egyptian*, *Moſes*

† *Vid. Vol. I. p.* 339. (H). * *Ant. loc. citat.* (13) Aben Ezra, *in loc.*

an ample reward for her care of him, ſhe returned to the palace, without acquainting any one with the adventure, whilſt the joyful mother went home to impart to her huſband the news of this happy accident.

THIS ſignal care of providence failed not to make them look upon *Moſes* as a child deſigned for ſome glorious purpoſe, and to give him an education ſuitable to the idea they had conceived of him, whilſt he ſtayed with them. They brought him in due time to *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who adopted him for her ſon, and had him brought up in all the kinds of learning which that country was famous for [q] (N). However,

His education.

would have taken notice of it, as he doth of the new name that was given to *Joſeph*, or as *Daniel* doth his own, and that of his three friends. It is therefore moſt likely, that the word *Moſeh* is derived from the verb משה *Maſſah*, which ſignifies to draw out, and is taken in that ſenſe by the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſalm* xviii. ver. 17. ימשני ממים רבים *he ſhall draw me out of many waters*. Which verb might probably be common both to the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* tongues, both in ſound and ſignification (14), only with this difference perhaps, that in the *Egyptian* it may be in the paſſive, and ſignify drawn out; whereas in the *Hebrew*, it is the participle active, drawing out, and may allude to his bringing the *Iſraelites* out of their bondage.

(N) *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us (15), that *Moſes* was taught arithmetic, geometry, phyſic, muſic, and hieroglyphics, otherwiſe called enigmatical philoſophy: to which *Philo* adds (16) aſtronomy, which he learned from the *Chaldeans*, and the *Aſſyrian* characters, from the *Aſſyrians*; and that they ſent for the beſt maſters from *Greece*, to inſtruct him in all liberal arts and ſciences: but that was not a time for the *Egyptians*, who excelled the reſt of the world in all ſorts of learning, to ſend for maſters from *Greece*, which rather ſtood in need of *Egyptian* teachers; ſo that when *Moſes* is ſaid to have been inſtructed in all the learning of *Egypt*, it plainly implies, that he had the beſt and moſt learned education, that the whole world could then give him. If it be aſked how the *Egyptians* came by all thoſe ſciences, as we can affirm nothing certain or new concerning it, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring the reader to what has been ſaid of it, in the deſcription of that country in a former chapter. An antient author, quoted by *Clement* biſhop of *Alexandria*, and by *Euſebius* (17), calls *Moſes* the firſt of all the ſages or wiſe-men, and ſays, that he was the firſt in-

[q] Act. vii. 22.

(14) Simler. Oſiander. *in loc.* Villet *in Exod. ch. ii. quæſt.* 17. (15) Clem. Alex. *lib. i.* (16) Philo *in vit.* Moſis. (17) Eupolem. *ap.* Clem. Alexandr. *ſtrom. lib. i. & ap.* Euſeb. *præp. lib. ix. cap. xxvi.*

ever, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that his parents had ſo well inſtructed him in their religion, and taken ſuch care to let him know both what relation they bore to him, and what hopes they had conceived of his being deſigned by heaven to be the deliverer of his nation, that he made no other uſe of the education which the princeſs gave him, but to confirm himſelf more and more againſt the ſuperſtitions and idolatry of the *Egyptians*, and to make himſelf fit to anſwer thoſe ends, for which he ſeemed deſigned by providence. It was this noble motive, which made him ſympathize with the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, and prefer the reproachful and deſpiſed name of *Iſraelite*, to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh*'s court [r]. It was this generous love to his people, which made him venture to viſit and commiſerate them, and, where it was in his power, to relieve them from their intolerable oppreſſion, though at the hazard of his own life. For having obſerved one day an *Egyptian* uſing an *Hebrew* with ſome uncommon barbarity, being perhaps one of thoſe cruel taſk-maſters, whom *Pharaoh* had ſet over the *Hebrew* ones, and who uſed to beat them, upon the leaſt default of thoſe that were under their inſpection; *Moſes* was ſo exaſperated at it, that he had only patience enough to look about and ſee that the coaſt was clear, before he fell upon him, killed him, and buried his carcaſs in the ſand. If what *Joſephus* tells us [s] be true, that he had before this time been at the head of *Pharaoh*'s troops, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful campaigns againſt the *Ethiopians*, who had ravaged and plundered ſome provinces of *Egypt* (O), we ſhall not wonder

He kills an Egyptian.

[r] Hebr. xi, 24, &c. [s] Ant. lib. ii. c. x.

venter of the art of grammar, which he taught to the *Iſraelites*, from whom the *Phœnicians* received it, and the *Greeks* from them.

(O) A great deal of pains has been taken to find *Moſes* ſuitable employment for thoſe forty years of his abode in *Egypt*. *Joſephus* has given us ſeveral remarkable particulars of his life during that time, which having nothing contrary to the text, but ſeeming rather to have been univerſally known and believed by the *Jews* of his time, the reader may perhaps be glad of an abſtract of them. He tells us, that the princeſs *Thermuthis*, having no children of her own, and having adopted *Moſes* on the account of the ſingular beauties of his body and mind, brought him to her father who took him into his arms, and received him with great tenderneſs, and taking his crown off his head, laid it on that of the boy's; but *Moſes*, inſtead of being pleaſed with it, took it off, flung it to the ground, and ſet his foot upon it: whereupon the ſame prieſt, who had foretold his birth, cried

wonder at his martial temper ſhewing itſelf upon ſuch an occaſion as this; but, as we are not ſure, that what this hiſtorian ſays is really fact, ſeeing *Philo*, who had purpoſely wrote *Moſes*'s life, and had as great opportunities of being informed of

cried out, that he ought to be put to death immediately, and that *Egypt* could not be ſafe otherwiſe. But *Thermuthis* ſoon ſnatched him away, the king no ways oppoſing it, and left the old prophet to rave at his leiſure, who ceaſed not to contrive means to be rid of a perſon ſo dangerous to the kingdom.

After this *Moſes*, being grown to man's eſtate, had an opportunity offered him of ſhewing his courage and conduct. The *Ethiopians*, who inhabited the upper lands, on the ſouth ſide of *Egypt*, had made many dreadful incurſions, plundered, and ravaged all the neighbouring parts of the country, and beat the *Egyptian* army, which *Pharaoh* had ſent to oppoſe them, in a ſet battle, and were become ſo proud of their ſucceſs, that they began to march towards the capital of *Egypt*. In this diſtreſs the *Egyptians* had recourſe to the oracle, which anſwered, that they muſt get an *Hebrew* general at their head. As none was more promiſing than *Moſes*, the king deſired his daughter to conſent, that he ſhould go and head his army; but ſhe, after having firſt expoſtulated with her father, how unreaſonable it was for the *Egyptians* to implore the aſſiſtance of a man, whom they had been ſo long plotting againſt, did not give her conſent, 'till ſhe had his promiſe and oath, that no attempt ſhould be hatched againſt her ſon. *Moſes*'s firſt care, as ſoon as he was at the head of the *Egyptian* army, was to reach the enemy as ſoon as poſſible, and inſtead of going up the *Nile*, as was uſual before, he choſe to croſs the country, and thereby ſhorten the way, and ſurprize the *Ethiopians*, who could not expect him to come by that way, becauſe that whole country was infeſted by flying, and other poiſonous ſerpents, which did even poiſon the very air; but *Moſes* found out a method to rid his army of that danger, by carrying with him a vaſt number of birds called *Ibis* in iron cages, whoſe nature is to devour all ſorts of ſerpents, and to be friendly to all other creatures. His project ſucceeded to admiration, and the birds being once let looſe, made a ſpeedy end of all thoſe venemous creatures, and opend to him a quick and ſafe paſſage to the enemies army, which having taken at unawares, he cut it all in pieces. He afterwards entered their country, took ſeveral of their cities, and obliged them to retire into the city of *Saba*, called afterwards *Meroe* by *Cambyſes*, where he cloſely beſieged them. The place being ſtrongly fortified, and ſituated in the middle of an iſland, kept him employed ſome conſiderable time, and the ſiege would in all probability have laſted much longer, had not *Tharbis*, the king of *Æthiopia*'s daughter, fallen in love with him, as ſhe ſaw him fighting, with the utmoſt gallantry and valour, from the top of the city wall. She therefore ſent privately to him to let

of all the particulars of it as *Joſephus* had, is altogether ſilent about it, and *Moſes* himſelf is ſo far from mentioning any ſuch warlike proweſs, that he rather deſcribes himſelf as a man of the utmoſt meekneſs and patience; we ſhall be forced to ſuppoſe, that he was ſtirred up by ſome divine impulſe, as being the perſon choſen by heaven to be the deliverer of *Iſrael.* This ſeems to be hinted at by St. *Stephen* *, and we may probably ſuppoſe, that the injury done to the *Hebrew* was of ſuch a nature, that it deſerved death; or that it could not be prevented but by the death of the *Egyptian.* However that be, *Moſes* was not ſo ſafe as he thought himſelf, for endeavouring ſoon after to compoſe a difference between two *Hebrews*, whoſe cruel ſlavery could not hinder them from injuring one another, the moſt guilty of the two gave him a very ſaucy anſwer, aſking him, whether he deſigned to kill him as he had done the *Egyptian* (P)? Finding, therefore, that

* Acts vii. 35.

let him know, that the city ſhould be ſurrendered to him, upon condition that he ſhould marry her immediately after. *Moſes* conſented to the conditions, and, having taken poſſeſſion of the place and of the princeſs, returned with his victorious army to *Egypt*, where, inſtead of reaping the fruits of his lawrels, the ungrateful *Egyptians* accuſed him of murder to the king, who, having already taken ſome umbrage at his valour and great reputation, was reſolving to rid himſelf of him. *Moſes*, having ſome ſuſpicion of it, made his eſcape, and, not daring to go by the common roads for fear of being ſtopped by the king's guards, was forced to go through a great deſert to reach the land of *Midian* *. Thus far *Joſephus*, from whoſe account we may gather, that there were three motives why *Pharaoh* and his people ſought *Moſes*'s death. Namely, 1. their envy at his great ſucceſs and conſummate wiſdom in this warlike expedition. 2 Their jealouſy leſt he ſhould attempt to make ſome dangerous inſurrection in *Egypt*. And laſtly, the propheſies which that country was threatened with from an *Hebrew*. To which *Philo* (18) adds a fourth, namely, his being too great a friend and favourer of the *Hebrews*, whom *Pharaoh* did already look upon as his moſt dangerous enemies.

(P) A jeſuit, who has lately writ the hiſtory of the people of GOD, thinks it highly probable, that theſe two quarrelling *Hebrews* were that *Jannes* and *Jambres*, mentioned by the apoſtle (19) to have withſtood *Moſes*, becauſe they would not acknowledge him to have been a proper judge of their quarrel, though GOD had

* *Ant. lib. ii. cap. x. & xi.* (18) Philo *in vit.* Moſis. (19) 2 *Tim. iii.* 8.

made

that the fact was known, and fearing, leſt, if it ſhould come to *Pharaoh*'s knowledge, he would ſuſpect him of being too much in the intereſt of the *Iſraelites*, and puniſh him for the death of the *Egyptian*, he was forced to fly into the land of *Midian*; not daring to rely too much upon the protection of his adoptive mother, or having perhaps already diſclaimed her adoption, as ſome are inclined to think. It is ſuppoſed, however that he had made uſe of that princeſs's intereſt long before, to get that bloody edict againſt the *Hebrew* male children recalled, ſince the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhews, that that order had not been put in force for ſome time. It was well for him, however, he left *Egypt* ſo ſoon; for the news of the ſlain *Egyptian* was brought to the king, and in all likelihood aggravated with the blackeſt circumſtances by the courtiers, who could not but hate a man in ſo high eſteem as he was; ſo that if *Pharaoh* could have caught him, he would infallibly have put him to death: but *Moſes* was out of his reach, having paſt thoſe great deſerts that lay between *Egypt* and *Midian* (Q), and being ſafely got near hoſpitable *Jethro*'s made him the judge of all his people (20). What induces him to think ſo is, that their names are *Hebrew* ones; for which reaſon he thinks, that they could not be the *Egyptian* magicians whom *Pharaoh* made uſe of in oppoſition to *Moſes*. But in order to make theſe names *Hebrew*, he muſt with ſome *Jews* call them *Jochanan* and *Mambri*, or *Jonah* and *Jambri* (21); but we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this hiſtory, that theſe two men, let their right names be what they will, were the magicians who mimicked ſeveral of *Moſes*'s miracles, though they could not follow him throughout.

(Q) We muſt remember not to confound this land of *Midian*, of which an account has been already given *, with another of that name, whoſe chief city was alſo called *Midian*, and might be a colony of the other, which was ſituate by *Arnon* and *Areopolis*, according to St. *Jerom*, who tells us, the ruins of it were ſtill to be ſeen in his days (22). Whereas this, which *Moſes* went to, was in *Arabia Petræa*, whoſe metropolis was called *Petra*, not far from mount *Horeb*, where he kept *Jethro*'s flocks (23); which mountain was either near that of *Sinai*, or more probably *Sinai* and *Horeb* were two tops of the ſame mountain (24); the former of which St. *Paul* places in *Arabia* (25); though it is more probable, that

(20) Berruyer *Hiſtoire du people de Dieu. Tom. ii. p.* 25. (21) Buxtorf. *Lexic. Talmudic.* Fabric. *de Apocryph. Vet Teſt.*
* *Vide ſup. p.* 110. *& ſeq.* (22) Hieron. *loc. Hæbraic.*
(23) *Exod. iii.* 1. (24) Joſ. *Antiq. l. ii. c. xii.* (25) *Galat. iv.* 25.

Horeb

thro's habitation. At his arrival in that country he met with much ſuch another adventure as *Jacob* had in *Padan-Haram* *, at the well where the damſels uſed to come to water their flocks. An account of which, and of his forty years abode there, has been given in the hiſtory of the *Midianites* [t].

and is forced to fly into Midian.

How he ſpent his time in thoſe forty years retirement, ſave that he kept *Jethro*'s flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Thoſe who ſuppoſe that he wrote the book of *Job* during this interval, have certainly this ſtrong argument on their ſide, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*; otherwiſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that either *Job* or his friends, conſidering what kindred and country they were of, could be

* Gen. xxix. 9. [t] Exod ii. paſſ. Vid. ſup. p. 114 & ſeq.

Horeb was the common name of the whole ridge of mountains on which *Sinai* was ſituated; and that it was called *Horeb*, or as the original has it *Choreb*, from the exceſſive drineſs of it (26). *Philo* adds (27), that it was full of buſhes, and that at the bottom of the mountain grew that in which GOD appeared to *Moſes*, which the original calls סנה *Sinah*, which ſignifies a buſh or ſhrub, that is ſo full of thorns, that the birds cannot pearch in it without being ſtripped of their feathers. The *Hebrews* ſay, that mount *Sinai* had that name from it (28). However that be, this mount is alſo called the *Mount of* GOD, not from any religious worſhip that had been performed there before that time, as *Joſephus* thinks (29), or becauſe of its height and ſupereminency, as ſuch things are frequently ſo called in ſcripture, as the cedars of GOD, &c. (30), but it is ſo named by anticipation, as it became famous upon many accounts; ſuch as 1. GOD appearing to *Moſes* in the buſh. 2. His being afterwards worſhipped there, and ſhewing himſelf by the moſt wonderful viſible ſigns at the delivery of the law (31), 3. The ſtriking the rock with *Moſes*'s rod (32). 4. *Moſes* lifting up his hands to make *Joſhua* prevail againſt the *Amalekites* (33). 5. The law being given to *Moſes* there (34). 6. His faſting twice forty days and nights (35). 7. Bringing the two tables of ſtone from thence (36). 8. The noble viſion which the prophet *Elijah* had there (37), and ſome others of leſs conſequence.

(26) Cajetan. Villet. Jun. *in loc.* & *al.* (27) Philo. *In vit.* Moſis. (28) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (29) *Ant. lib. ii. c. xii.* (30) *Pſal. civ.* 16. (31) *Exod. iii.* 2. & *cap. xix.* & *xx. paſſ.* (32) *Numb. xx.* 11. (33) *Exod. xvii.* 11. (34) *Exod. xxiv.* & *ſeq. paſſ.* (35) *Ibid. xxxiv.* 28. *Deut. ix.* 9. (36) *Exod. xxxij.* 15, 16, & *alib.* (37) 1 *Kings xix.*

either so ignorant of the wonders which God had wrought in favour of that oppressed people, or so forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the strongest terms, during their long and intricate controversy about the various dispensations of providence. And indeed, were not *Job* so often mentioned by *Ezekiel* † with *Noah* and *Daniel*, much might be said for those who look upon this history as a parable, or rather a dramatic piece, written on purpose to comfort the afflicted *Israelites* under their heavy bondage. But the words of the prophet will not admit of such a supposition.

We have already taken notice in the history of *Edom* [u] ‡, how uncertain and unsatisfactory every thing is that relates to the genealogy of this holy man, or the author of his history; but as some of our readers have expressed a desire to know all the probable particulars that can be gathered on that subject, we shall beg leave to subjoin them here in few words.

A digression concerning Job.

The most antient monument we have concerning the genealogy of *Job*, and which has been received and allowed by *Aristeus*, *Philo*, *Polyhistor* [w], and several antient fathers of the *Greek* and *Latin* church [x], is an addition to that history, which is to be met with at the end of the *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Vulgate* versions, and affirmed to have been taken from the antient *Syriac* one, to this purpose; that *Job* dwelt upon the confines of *Idumæa* and *Arabia*; that his first name was *Jobab*, and that he married an *Arabian*, by whom he had a son named *Ennon*. As for *Job* he was the son of *Zerah*, and the fifth in descent from *Abraham* by *Esau*, and reigned in *Idumæa*. The order of the kings, that reigned before and after him, is as follows; *Balac* the son of *Beor* reigned in the city of *Denebah*; after him reigned *Job*, called also *Jobab*; who was succeeded by *Asom* prince of *Teman*. His successor *Hadad* the son of *Bedad* was he, who overthrew the *Midianites* in the plains of *Moab*; the name of his city was *Jethem*. *Job*'s friends, who came to visit him, were *Eliphaz* king of *Teman*, of *Esau*'s posterity; *Bildad* king of the *Zeucheans*, and *Zophas* king of the *Mineans*. Thus far the additions, which have been preserved by *Theodotion*, in his version of the book of *Job* [y]. If this genealogy be admitted,

† Ezek. xiv. 14. 20. [u] ‡ Gen. xxxvi. 33, 34. Vid. sup. p. 137. [w] Apud Euseb. præp. l. ix. c. xxv. [x] Vid. Fred. Spanheim in vit. Job. c. iv. Mercer, Pineda, Dieg. de Stunica & al. comm. in Job. [y] Vid. Calm. dissert. in Job.

and

and that *Job* is the ſame with *Jobab*, mentioned in *Geneſis* [z], and *Chronicles* [a], it will follow, that he and *Moſes* were cotemporary, being both but three generations removed from *Iſaac*, thus;

Iſaac,

Jacob	*Eſau*,
Levi,	*Reuel*,
Amram,	*Zerah*,
Moſes,	*Jobab* or *Job*.

IT will likewiſe be plain, that he reigned in the city of *Denebah* or *Dinhabah*; for ſo the author of the firſt book of the *Chronicles* expreſly affirms; but how to find ſuch a city in the land of *Uz*, ſeeing *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* place *Denebah* in the land of *Moab*, between *Areopolis* and *Heſhbon* [c]: whereas they affirm the land of *Uz*, or the place where *Job* dwelt, to have been according to the antient tradition of the inhabitants of *Paleſtine*, the city of *Aſtaroth Kernaim* on the other ſide *Jordan*, upon the brook *Jabbok*, between *Mahanaim* and *Edreis* [d], is not ſo eaſy to determine. However that be, thoſe who embrace the notion, that *Job* is the *Jobab* mentioned in thoſe two places of ſcripture above quoted, and conſequently, that he was cotemporary with *Moſes*, have with much ſtraining pumped out two paſſages in his hiſtory, which, they pretend, do make expreſs mention of *Pharaoh*'s pride and overthrow, and of the *Iſraelites* paſſing through the *Red-ſea*. The firſt is, where *Eliphaz* ſays of the wicked, that *trouble and anguiſh ſhall make him afraid, and prevail againſt him, as a king ready to the battle* [e]. Which words they apply to *Pharaoh*'s pride and hardneſs of heart, though 'tis plain, by what goes before and after thoſe two verſes, that *Job*'s friends ſpeak only of the wicked in general, ſuch as he ſuppoſed him to be from the afflictions which had befallen him. The other text is, where *Job* ſays, that GOD *divideth the ſea with his power, and by his underſtanding ſmiteth through the proud* [f]. And this they think to allude to the paſſing of the *Red-ſea*, and to *Pharaoh*'s overthrow in it. But here, beſides that the word in the original doth more properly ſignify to *ſtill* than to *divide*, it is plain from the tenor of the whole chapter, that *Job* ſpeaks only of the wonderful power and

[z] Gen. xxxvi. 33, 34. [a] 1 Chron. i. 43, 44. [b] Ibid.
[c] Loc. Hæbr. [d] Id. ibid. [e] Job. xv. 24, 25. [f] Ibid. xxvi. 12.

providence of GOD in general, and not of this miracle in particular. Besides, it is hardly probable, as we observed a little before, that had this conference between *Job* and his friends happened after so remarkable a deliverance as that of the *Israelites*, a more ample and express mention should not have been made throughout the book, than we find in these two obscure passages; especially if we consider, that *Job*'s desire of vindicating his own integrity, did naturally lead him to it; and that the afflictions, as well as the deliverance, of the *Israelites*, were a full confutation of what his friends alledged against him, that if he had not been guilty of some great crimes, GOD would never have inflicted such heavy punishments on him [g]. Neither do we see any necessity for making *Job* to have lived since this miraculous deliverance of the *Israelites*, in order to adjust the genealogy abovementioned, since it will be sufficient to suppose, that those four generations on *Esau*'s side, were by some few years shorter than those on *Jacob*'s, which is not at all improbable, seeing the latter were remarkable for their long lives [h], and then it will be possible enough for *Job* to have seen an end of all his sufferings before *Moses* left the land of *Midian*; in which case, he being justly supposed to be the most antient writer, he has been likewise thought the author of his history, by the majority of writers. That his poetic genius was equal to this excellent performance, those few *Canticles*, which he has left us in the *Pentateuch* [i], will not permit us to doubt of. However, there is one main objection against this notion, which is, that if *Jobab* be the same with *Job*, and he cotemporary with *Moses*, it will be impossible for the latter to have outlived him by so many years as to be able to give us an account of his death, and of his numerous posterity; for it is said, that *Job* lived an hundred and forty years after his sufferings were ended, and that he saw his son's children to the fourth generation: whereas *Moses* lived but forty years in the land of *Midian*, and forty more after he was come out of it. This difficulty therefore cannot be removed, but by supposing, that the three or four last verses of the book were added afterwards by some inspired person, in order to make the history complete; in the same manner as *Joshua*, or some other, added the account of *Moses*'s death and burial at the end of *Deuteronomy*: but how far this supposition may be allowed, we choose to submit to our reader's judgment.

[g] Vid. particularly cap. xxii. 25, & alib. pass. [h] Vid. sup. p. 459. [i] Vid. Exod. xv. Deut. xxviii. 31.

BEFORE

BEFORE we cloſe this digreſſion, we ſhall beg leave to ſay ſomething of the book itſelf. Though ſome learned men have thought it to have been writ originally in *Syriac* or *Arabic*, either by *Job* himſelf, or by one of his friends[k]; yet it is now univerſally allowed to have been written in *Hebrew*. What has given birth to the former notion is, its being ſo blended with *Syriac* and *Arabic* expreſſions and idioms, as makes it very difficult to be rightly underſtood[l]. It is juſtly ſuppoſed to be written in verſe, from the loftineſs of the ſtile, the ſublimeneſs of the thoughts, the livelineſs and energy of expreſſion, the grandeur of its imagery, and variety of characters; though the metre and cadence of it be altogether looſe and unconfined. Thoſe who have been moſt converſant with it, will readily allow, that antiquity cannot produce a more lofty and magnificent, a more florid, eloquent, pathetic, and learned performance, whoever the author of it was. A bold critic indeed[m] has not ſcrupled to tax him with oſtentation, and with making a vain ſhow of prophane learning and poetic fiction, and for putting ſuch expreſſions in the mouth of that holy man, as are not only incompatible with his character, but even of a dangerous nature, being in his opinion, more fitted to corrupt than to edify his readers. But it is certain, that that learned author was only acquainted with the *Greek* verſion of it, which abounds, it muſt be owned, with expreſſions that allude too much to the fables and fictions of the poets. Had he been acquainted with the original, he would eaſily have acquitted it of ſuch an unjuſt imputation. Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that the eaſtern nations had a much more lively, ſtrong, and paſſionate way of expreſſing their thoughts than we; ſo that it is impoſſible to come at their true meaning, or to make a right judgment of thoſe hyperbolical expreſſions, without lowering them very much from their literal ſignification. The *Jews* have added ſeveral particulars to the hiſtory of *Job*, ſuch as that he was a king and high prieſt in *Idumæa*, and that he had married *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter[n]; which latter can hardly be credited, unleſs we ſuppoſe him to have been of much older date than *Moſes*. The *Eaſtern* writers, eſpecially the *Arabians*, have very much improved upon them, according to cuſtom; but we need not trouble our readers with a further detail of them,

[k] Vid. CALM. Diſſ. in Job. [l] HIERON. præfat in Job. [m] THEOD. MOPSUEST. Vid. Synod. V. Oecum. Collat. iv. art. 63. [n] Chald. Par. il MAIM more Nevoch. & al.

thoſe

thoſe who are deſirous to be informed in that particular, may conſult *Herbelot*'s *Bibliotheca Orientalis* °.

We return now to our *Jewiſh* Law-giver in the land of *Midian*, whom we may reaſonably ſuppoſe to have had ſuch convincing reaſons to look upon himſelf as the deliverer of his afflicted people, that he could not but have many anxious thoughts about them during that long interval, and think the time long, till he ſaw that glorious promiſed deliverance happily fulfilled. Nay, this long delay ſeems to have made him conceive quite other notions, as if God had either made choice of ſome other inſtrument to work out their deliverance, or had been provoked by their ſins to ſuſpend it for ſome longer time. For when God was pleaſed to appear to him at the end of forty years, in a burning buſh, upon mount *Horeb*, and by his own voice, as well as by the miracle of the buſh not having one leaf conſumed, though all over in a bright flame (R), evidences that it was the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, that ſpoke to him, and commanded him to go into *Egypt*, and to execute his deſigns there; *Moſes* did not leave one plea untried to be excuſed from the difficult

God appears to him in the burning buſh.

° Bibl. orient. Sub Art. Ajub.

(R) The word flame in this place is לבת *Labath*, and not *Lahebab*, which is the common word for the flame; and though ſome *Jews* do think with us, that it ſignifies the ſame thing, yet others will have it, that it is put for לב *Leb*, or לבב *Lebaf*, which ſignifies the heart or middle of any thing, and that it is here uſed to expreſs, that it was only the centre of the buſh that appeared inflamed. The large comment on *Exodus* adds, that God was pleaſed to appear in that manner at this time, to convince *Moſes* (who was afraid leſt the *Iſraelites* ſhould one time or other be deſtroyed by the *Egyptians*, if they were not ſo already during his forty years abſence), that as the buſh remained unconſumed in the midſt of the flames, ſo ſhould *Iſrael* in the midſt of all their fiery trials (38). As to the time when this viſion was ſeen by *Moſes*, St. *Stephen* (39) tells us, it was about forty years after his flight out of *Egypt*; that is, in the eightieth year of his age; for ſo old he was when he came and ſtood before *Pharaoh* (40); and it was in the fortieth year of his age, that going to viſit his brethren, he committed the fact which obliged him to fly the kingdom, and to go *ab aulâ ad caulam*, from the court to the cart. It was in this retirement that he is ſuppoſed to have wrote the books of *Job* and *Geneſis*, for a comfort to his afflicted brethren (41).

(38) Eliſchemoth Rab *in loc.* Philo. *loc. citat.* (39) *Acts* vii. 23. (40) *Exod.* vii. 7. (41) Perrer. *ex* Philon. Villet & *al.*

task,

taſk, whilſt GOD was graciouſly pleaſed to diſpel all his fears, to clear all his doubts, and to give him ſuch promiſes of his miraculous aſſiſtance, as would have emboldened the moſt fearful, which was not *Moſes*'s caſe.

THE divine viſion (S) began with telling him, that the afflictions, under which the *Iſraelites* groaned, were grown to ſuch a height, and the cruelties of their enemies ſo enormous, that the time was now come both for their deliverance, and for their receiving that happy promiſed land, as a recompence for their long patience and ſufferings; bidding him at the ſame time to go to *Pharaoh*, and in his name to demand

Commands him to return into Egypt.

(S) We need not repeat here what has been ſaid before about theſe apparitions, whether they were angels ſpeaking in the perſon of GOD, which we think we have ſufficiently confuted, or GOD himſelf, or, as the moſt received opinion is, CHRIST the SON of GOD. All that need be added here is, that this, which appears now in the buſh, is the ſame who was afterwards to be the captain and guide of the *Iſraelites* in the deſert; that is, not an angel, or GOD the FATHER, but CHRIST himſelf, as St. *Paul* affirms (42); for neither the FATHER nor HOLY GHOST are ever called by the name of angel, *i. e.* a meſſenger or perſon ſent: whereas the SON is called the *Angel of the Covenant* by the prophet *Malachy* (43), as a title of his office, though not of his nature (44). As for thoſe who think not only that it was an angel (45), but pretend to gueſs, that it was *Michael* that appeared here, as he did afterwards to *Joſhua* (46), and to *Daniel* (47); it is plain their conjecture is not only contrary to what we have quoted out of the apoſtle, but even abſurd, if not impious. For can they prove that *Michael* was a created angel, ſeeing that name ſignifies one like unto GOD, and can only be applicable to CHRIST? can a created angel be ſtiled the captain of the LORD's hoſts, as he is called in *Joſhua*, or the prince of the people of GOD, as he is in *Daniel*, which office and title the apoſtle tells us (48), belong only to CHRIST, who is the captain or prince of our ſalvation? did ever any angel ſuffer himſelf to be worſhipped, as that which appeared to *Joſhua* did? ſuppoſing, therefore, that it was the ſame that appeared to *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *Daniel*, as *Perrerius* thinks 49, yet it will be far from following, that he was a created angel or miniſtring ſpirit; on the contrary it will be plain, that it was CHRIST the king of men and angels, bleſſed for ever (50).

(42) 1 *Cor. x.* 4. (43) *Malach. iii.* 1. (44) Theodor. Oti- and. Simler, & *al.* (45) Aug. *de Trinit lib. iii c. xi.* & *Tract. 3 in Johan N.* 17. 18. Hieron. *epiſt. ad Galat. iii.* Greg. *moral. lib. xxviii. cap. i.* (46) *Joſh. v. paſſ.* (47) *Dan x. paſſ.* (48) *Hebr. ii.* 10. (49) Perrer. & *al.* (50) Villet *in cap. iii, Exod. quæſt.* 6.

their

their diſmiſſion, and aſſuring him, that thoſe who ſought his life were now all dead, and that he had now nothing to fear from the *Egyptians*. In vain did *Moſes* plead his weakneſs and inſufficiency for ſuch a work, GOD told him, that it was not to be performed by an arm of fleſh, but by his own irreſiſtible power, which ſhould manifeſt himſelf in ſuch miraculous deeds, that not only *Egypt*, but all the world ſhould be aſtoniſhed at them. Here *Moſes* objected further, that he very much doubted, whether the *Iſraelites* had not ſo far forgot the GOD of their fathers, that when he came to acquaint them with his Commiſſion from him, they would be apt to aſk what his name was, in which caſe he would be at a loſs what anſwer to make to them (T). Here GOD was pleaſed to anſwer

(T) The Cabaliſtical *Jews*, and after them *Joſephus* (51) and ſome *Romaniſts* (52) think, that *Moſes* did not ask for the name of GOD, but for the true pronunciation of it, which they think had been loſt through the wickedneſs of mankind: for which reaſon the former affirm, that the word עלם *Holam*, uſed by GOD preſently after (53), being written without a ו *Vau*, ſhould not be rendered *for ever*, but *hid*, from the root עלם *halam, to hide*, not conſidering, that if that was the caſe, it ſhould be written עלום *Halum*, and not *Holam*. Upon this account the name יהוה is by all the *Jews* called *Shem Hamphoraſh*, the unutterable name, which *Joſephus* in the place juſt now quoted ſays, was never known or heard of before GOD told it to *Moſes*, and adds, that he dares not ſo much as mention it: for which reaſon they never pronounce it, but uſe the word *Adonai*, or *Elohim*, or plainly the word *Haſhem*, *the name*, to expreſs it. Thus in their letters and common diſcourſe, inſtead of ſaying, the LORD bleſs or protect you, they ſay, *the Name bleſs you*, &c. and they think, that the words uſed by *Daniel* in his prayer (54) למען אדני *Lemaghan Adonai*, do not mean, as we underſtand them, for the ſake of the LORD or the MESSIAH, or, as we expreſs it, for CHRIST's ſake, but for the ſake of the word *Adonai*, which they were obliged to uſe 'till the MESSIAH came, and taught them the true pronunciation of the name יהוה: not but their high-prieſt did pronounce it *Jehovah* once a year on the day of expiation, from the time of their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity to the laſt deſtruction of the temple; but they had but few diſciples near them that could learn its pronunciation, and during the time of the bleſſing in which this name was repeated, the prieſts and levites did ſing louder than ordinary, that none elſe might hear it. But even then they were very far from thinking

(51) *Ant. lib ii. c* 12. (52) Genebrard. Bellarmin. Berruyer *Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu. Tom.* 2. *p.* 36. (53) *Exod. iii.* 15. (54) *Dan. ix.* 17.

it

anſwer a queſtion which he had formerly refuſed to *Jacob* *, though

* Gen- xxxii. 29.

it the right pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton* ; for they think, that any man that could once attain it, might ſhake heaven and earth with it, work the greateſt miracles, and dive into the deepeſt ſecrets of the Deity. They tell us, that *Moſes* had it engraven upon his rod, and by virtue of that ineffable word wrought all thoſe mighty wonders in favour of his people : that *Noah* could ſteer the ark which way he pleaſed by it, and that JESUS CHRIST having ſtolen it out of the temple, or, as others affirm, brought it with him from *Egypt*, and clapped it between the skin and the fleſh of his thigh, had obtained the power of working all his miracles, which they ſay any man elſe might do, that could pronounce that name right (55).

They add, that *Simon* ſirnamed the *Juſt*, one of their high Prieſts, who flouriſhed about the year of the world 3702, and died 3711, *i. e* about 289 years before CHRIST, was the laſt that knew it ; but that the number of prophane people encreaſing, they thought it beſt to ſubſtitute another name to it, conſiſting of twelve letters, which the high prieſt made uſe of when he bleſſed the people (56). *Tarpho*, a noted Rabbi, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Trypho* of *Juſtin* martyr, tells us, that being got one day near the high prieſt, to hear this bleſſing, he found, that he only muttered the name of GOD in an articulate manner, whilſt the *Levites* did drown his voice with their ſinging, that it might not be learned, and abuſed by the wicked. But ſince *Simon Juſtus* it has been wholly loſt, not to be recovered again, 'till the MESSIAH come. In the mean time the *Talmud* has left a moſt horrid curſe againſt thoſe that ſhall dare to utter it, becauſe they think the very angels themſelves are not allowed to pronounce it.

The truth is, thoſe who think that *Jehovah* is the right pronunciation are far enough from being ſure of it. It is plain that the antients did write it very differently from them. *Sanchoniatho* ſpells it *Jevo* (1) ; *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Macrobius* (3), *Clement* of *Alexandria* (4), St. *Jerom* (5), and *Origen* (6) pronounced it *Jao*. The *Samaritans*, and after them *Epiphanius* (7) and *Theodoret* (8), *Jave*, or *Jabe*. Others of the antients write it, *Jaboh*, *Jaho*, *Jaon*, *Jabo*, and *Jabod*. Among the moderns, *Capellus* is for pronouncing it *Javo* ; *Druſius*, *Jave* ; *Hottinger*, *Jehva* ; *Mercer*,

(55) *Vid.* Midras Tehileim in *Pſal. xii.* Druſ. *de nomine Tetragrammat.* (56) Maimonid. *More Nevochim. Part I. c. lxii.*
(1) Sanchoniat. *ap.* Euſeb. *præp. lib. x. c.* 9. (2) Diod. Sic. *Bibliot. lib. ii.* (3) Macrob. *Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xviii.* (4) Clem. Alex. *Stromat. lib. v.* (5) Hieron. *or ſome other under his name, in Pſal viii.* (6) Orig. *contr. Celſ. lib. vi.* (7) Epiph. *Hæreſ.* 40. (8) Theodoret. *in Exod. quæſt.* 15.

though in ſuch terms as might eaſily make him ſenſible of the irregularity

Jehovah; *Caſtalio*, *Jovah*, and *Le Clerc*, *Javoh* or *Javoh*. Something like theſe the *Romans* had in their *Jovis*, to which *Varro* ſeems to allude when he ſays, *Deum Judæorum eſſe Jovem*, that *Jove was the God of the* Jews, as St. *Auſtin* alledges out of him in the firſt book of his defence of the goſpel, c xxii. The *Moors* likewiſe call GOD *Juba*, or *Jubah*, and the *Mohammedans Hou* (9), which with them ſignifies the ſame as *Jehovah*, *i. e.* he who is; which name they write at the beginning of all their patents, paſſes, and the like, and do often repeat in their prayers. Some of their devotees will ſometimes repeat that word ſo often, and with ſuch quickneſs and vehemence, that they drop down with giddineſs. However, it is plain, that the four letters of which that great name conſiſts may be pronounced in all the above-mentioned ways, and ſeveral others, according to the vowels that are joined with them. Thus much for the pronunciation of יהוה.

As to the uttering of it, beſides what we have already obſerved out of the *Talmud* and *Joſephus*, we have ſtill another witneſs of the *Jewiſh* exceſſive and even ſuperſtitious reſpect for that word, *viz. Philo*, who affirms (10), that, after the ſtoning of the blaſphemer to death in the wilderneſs (11), GOD commanded *Moſes* to publiſh a new law, that *whoſoever ſhould curſe the* LORD *ſhould be guilty of ſin, and whoſoever ſhould pronounce the name of* GOD *ſhould be put to death*; which is the verſion which the *Septuagint* and *Theodoret* have gaven us of the 15th and 16th verſes of the above-quoted chapter: whereas in the original it is, *whoſever curſeth* אלהיו *his* GOD, *or* GODS, *ſhall bear his own ſin*; *and whoſoever ſhall blaſpheme the name of* יהוה *the* LORD *ſhall ſurely be put to death*. This Law, continues *Philo*, is full of the profoundeſt wiſdom, the firſt part of which forbids the curſing or blaſpheming the falſe gods of the *Gentiles*; and the ſecond the uttering of the name of GOD in a vain or looſe manner, or by way of ornament to our ſpeech; which he thinks deſerves the worſt of puniſhments. But as to the firſt part of this law, according to *Philo*'s expoſition, that author ſeems to have forgot, that *Jeremiah* commands the *Jews* (12), a little before they were carried into the *Babyloniſh* captivity, that, when they came thither, they ſhould not only ſpeak againſt the gods of *Babylon*, but even denounce death and deſtruction againſt them all, as being no gods; and that not in their native *Hebrew*, which was not underſtood there, but in plain downright *Chaldee*, the language of that country. And it is obſervable, that this verſe is the only one in that prophet, that is written in the *Chaldee*, all the reſt being in *Hebrew*. But to return from this di-

(9) Herbelot. *Bibliot Orient. p.* 460 *ſub. voc.* Hou & *p.* 336. *ſub.* Eſma. (10) Philo *in vit.* Moſis. (11) *Levit. xxiv.* 11, & *ſeq.* (12) *Jerem x.* 11.

greſſion:

irregularity and unreaſonableneſs of it; for, as *Juſtin Martyr*

greſſion: it is not eaſy to determine, whether the ſeventy had loſt the right pronunciation of the name יהוה; whether they purpoſely concealed it under the name of Κύριος LORD, or whether they did make uſe of that *Greek* word at all. For firſt, they could not but be ſenſible, that the word יהוה was no relative word as Κύριος, or LORD, is; for though we can properly ſay, Κύριός μου, Κύριος ὑμῶν &c *i. e. my* LORD, *our* LORD, &c. yet יהוה has never any pronoun affixed to it: whereas *Elohim* and *Adonai* have as *Elohai*, *Elohenù*, &c. for which reaſon, even St. *Jerom* chooſes to render it by *Adonai*, in *Exod* vi. 3 and *nomen meum* Adonai *non indicavi eis*, where it is in the *Hebrew* ובשמי יהוה לא נודעתי להם *but by my name* Jehovah *was I not known to them* Thoſe verſions therefore, which have rendered that word by *Dominus*, as the *Vulgate*, or LORD, as our own, don't ſeem to have ſufficiently attended to what we have juſt now obſerved; for יהוה not being a relative, one ought not to have been rendered by one that is ſo. The *French Geneva* tranſlation has made uſe of a much better word to expreſs it, *viz. L'Eternel*, the eternal Being; which name in the firſt place is not relative. for we cannot properly ſay, *Mon Eternel, vôtre Eternel*, &c.; and ſecondly, expreſſes the etymon of *Jehovah* far better than Κύριος, *Dominus*, or LORD, as we ſhall ſhew by and by. But ſecondly, it is very probable, that the *Septuagint* left this, as well as ſome other names of GOD, ſuch as *Jah*, *Sadai*, *Zabaoth*, &c untranſlated, 'till the ſecond reviſion of that verſion; and that they concealed the true reading of יהוה under the *Samaritan* characters (as being leſs underſtood by the reſt of the world than the *Hebrew* or *Aſſyrian* ones were), or under the *Greek* capitals Π I Π I which bore a reſemblance to the four letters of יהוה, and yet had a ſound ſo different from it, that they would never lead the *Heathen* reader to the true pronunciation of it. St. *Jerom* (13), *Origen* (14), and *Euſebius* (15), aſſure us, that they had ſeen copies of the *Septuagint* written in the two above-mentioned ways, and that, even in their time, the *Jews* choſe to write that name, as often as it occurred, in the old *Samaritan* letters; their reaſon for which was, leſt that venerable name ſhould be abuſed by the *Heathen* to ill purpoſes: though *Origen* adds, that theſe precautions did not prove ſo effectual; but that they made uſe of it in their exorciſms, in their charms againſt diſeaſes, and other ſuperſtitious rites (16). And *Clement* of *Alexandria* informs us (17), that thoſe *Egyptians*, who were allowed to enter into the temple of the *Sun*, did wear the name *Jaou* about their middle. We find likewiſe in ſome magic

(13) Jerom. *præfat in lib Reg.* & *in Ezek. ix.* (14) Orig. *Fragm. in palæograph. Græc lib. ii. c. i* (15) Euſeb. *in Chronic ad an.* 4740. (16) Orig. *cont. Celſum lib. i.* (17) Clem. Alex. *Stromat. lib. v.*

tyr rightly obſerves, names are given only to ſhew the difference

verſes againſt the gout mentioned by *Trallian* the names *Jas* or *Jaath*. Something like this we meet with in *Pythagoras*'s golden verſes, where there is an oath by Τετρακτὺς, *i. e.* by him whoſe name is ſpelt with four letters (18); as alſo the inſcription, *Tu es*, in that famous frontiſpiece of the temple of *Delphos*, mentioned by *Euſebius* (19), which alludes to the *Hebrew* name of GOD. Such was alſo that of the *Egyptians*, I AM, written over one of theirs (20). *Cicero* gives an inſtance (21) of ſome names of the heathen gods which they did not dare to pronounce, to which *Lucan* adds that the very naming of them would have ſhook the earth (22).

There remains, that we enquire into the ſignification of the name יְהוָה, in which we ſhall not find ſuch a diſſonancy among expoſitors, as we did about the pronunciation of it. For firſt, they are all agreed, that it is derived from the root הָיָה *hajah*, he has been, and denotes GOD's ſelf-exiſtence and eternal nature. Accordingly in the place we are annotating upon, he calls himſelf אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה *Ehjeh Aſher, Ehjeh*, I am that I am, or rather I am becauſe I am. Where the verb, though it be in the future, yet, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, is applicable to the preſent or perfect tenſe, and implies his immutability as continuing the ſame that he has been, and is to all eternity (23). It is likewiſe more than probable, that GOD chooſes to expreſs himſelf in the future tenſe, to ſhew that he is the only Being that can truly ſay, I ſhall or will be what I am, &c. (24). *Aretius* makes the two words *Ehjeh* to be proper names (25); but it ſeems to be only in the firſt *Ehjeh* in the ſenſe in which it is taken in the latter part of the verſe. *I am Ehjeh*, has ſent me, and the ſecond *Ehjeh* to be aſſigned as the cauſe of the firſt; namely, I am becauſe I am (26). Neither was this name unknown to the wiſer ſort of heathens, as we have ſeen by ſome of their inſcriptions, to which we ſhall add one more mentioned by *Egubinus*, written on the doors of the *Egyptian* temples, and exactly agreeing with this wonderful name of GOD, *viz. I am whatſoever was, is, and ſhall be.* According to which *Thales* of *Mileſium*, being asked what GOD was, replied, *that which always is, and has neither beginning nor end.* Thus *Plato* truly ſays (27), that nothing really exiſts but that which is immutable; for which,

(18) *Vid.* Selden *de Diis Syr. Synagog. ii. c. i.* (19) Euſeb. *præpar. lib. xi. c. x.* (20) Plutarch *Tract. de* εἰ *inſcript. forib. Temp. Delph. cap. ii.* (21) Cic. *de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.* (22) Lucan. *l. vi. ver.* 744, 745. *ap.* Calmet *ſub. voc. Jehovah.* Villet. *c. vi. in Exod. & al.* (23) Greg. Nazianz. *Homeil. in loc. S.* Auguſt. *in loc. Revel. i.* 8. (24) Simler, Villet. & *al.* (25) Aret. *in loc.* (26) Simler. Jun. Pined. Munſt. & *al.* (27) Plato *in Timæo.*

and

ence of things: whereas GOD being one, and there being none

and ſome other of his wiſe ſayings, he is ſuppoſed to have read *Moſes*'s books, or converſed with ſome of his diſciples when he was in *Egypt*; which is not improbable, ſeeing *Ariſtobulus*, who flouriſhed in the *Maccabees* time, writes to *Ptolemy Philometer*, that *Moſes*'s books having been tranſlated into *Greek* in *Alexander*'s time, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* had taken many things from them (28). Some divines, and in particular our learned *Ainſworth*, think, that *Jehovah* is the participle of *hajah* in *piel*, and that it doth not only ſignify to be, but to cauſe to be, or to give being; by which not only his omnipotence, but likewiſe his faithfulneſs and truth are plainly intimated and implied, as being alone able and ſure to make good his promiſes (29). Upon all theſe accounts therefore *Jehovah* is looked upon to be the incommunicable name of GOD, there being no created beings unto whom it can be properly, or indeed at all, applied in any of theſe ſenſes; whereas thoſe of *Elohim*, *Adonai*, *Gibbor*, &c. have been given to angels and men (30).

We ſhall not trouble our readers with all the myſtical notions, which cabaliſts have raiſed from the letters that compoſe this awful name, nor with the preference they give to it, above all the other names of GOD, as being, as it were a monarch upon his throne, and the others only as guards or officers under him (31); but conclude this note with a ſhort enquiry, why the word *Jehovah* is thought ineffable, not only by the *Jews*, but alſo by ſome Chriſtians. Firſt, *Genebrard* confidently affirms, it is neither a *Hebrew* nor Chriſtian word or name; that it is neither received by the fathers, nor by the rabbies, nor ever known or uſed by CHRIST or his apoſtles. But to this it may be anſwered, that they all were forced to uſe the *Septuagint* verſion then in vogue, which every where tranſlates that word by Κύριος LORD, as has been already obſerved. Secondly, *Bellarmin* pretends, that becauſe St. *Jerom*, and *Origen* in his *Hexapala* after him, read it *Adonai*, and that the vowel points are the ſame in both; therefore it ought to be read and pronounced *Adonai*, and not *Jehovah*. But had theſe gentlemen conſidered, that theſe two words are of different originals and ſignifications, and written with different letters; that the one is relative, and the other not; that the one is communicable and the other incommunicable; that the points, or vowels, being almoſt univerſally acknowledged to be of human invention, can be of no authority here; and that their likeneſs, though not ſameneſs, in both theſe names was owing to a ſuperſtitious reſpect which the *Mazorites* had for one of them; that St. *Jerom* might be too much influenced by his *Jewiſh* maſter in this, as well as in many other caſes; and that both he and *Origen* have not ſcrupled to pronounce

(28) *Ap.* Perrer. Villet. & *al.* (29) Simler, Outran, Burratus, Ainſworth, & *al.* (30) Perrer. Jun. Munſt &c. (31) Perrer. & *al.*

it

none other but him, there needs no name to diſtinguiſh him*. GOD therefore ſaid to him I AM THAT I AM, and bid him tell his brethren, that I AM had ſent him to them, that he was

* Dial cont. Tryph.

it *Jao*, as we have hinted above; that their writing it by *Adonai* might be more owing to a ſuperſtitious fear, than to any judgment or conviction of the unlawfulneſs of pronouncing that name; and laſtly, that they have no where ſaid that it was ineffable; had they, I ſay, conſidered theſe things, they could never have fallen into that *Jewiſh* ſuperſtition. As for the general reaſon that is given on all hands by thoſe of that ſide of the queſtion, *viz.* that the right pronunciation having been loſt, whether during the captivity, or at any other time or place, it is unlawful to ſubſtitute any other inſtead of it, it may be ſafely anſwered, that the deſign of words or names being to convey ideas into the mind, of thoſe things of which they are but types, the differences will be very ſmall, whether the pronunciation be right or wrong, provided the idea it conveys be right. And we are much miſtaken, whatever theſe gentlemen ſay, if in this caſe the pronouncing the word *Jehovah*, which conveys the moſt perfect idea we can have of the Godhead, let the pronunciation be never ſo wrong, is not much ſafer than their pronouncing it *Adonai*, which being a word of a vaſtly inferior ſignification, and applicable to every man that has any maſtery or ſuperiority over another, conveys a much more imperfect idea of the Godhead, and is therefore liable to be uttered with leſs awe and reſpect. This is ſo true in fact, that one may obſerve thoſe ſcrupulous gentlemen, eſpecially of the *Jews*, who would be ready to ſwoon at the hearing the name *Jehovah*, pronounce that of *Adonai*, though carrying the ſame idea, with leſs ſeeming reverence than they would that of a king or lord mayor, and one would hardly think they can be in earneſt, when we find them branding their adverſaries with the epithet of *Jehovaiſts*. However, it muſt be owned, that though all the names of GOD ought to be uttered with the utmoſt awe, yet this, if poſſible, with a greater, and that we ought to be cautious not to uſe it without a warrantable occaſion. And when we converſe with *Jews*, or with ſuch chriſtians as are againſt pronouncing that name, if we make uſe of the word *Adonai* in complaiſance to them, it will be much better than to make them uneaſy, or break off converſation by pronouncing it in our own way. The main text which terrifies the *Jews* againſt uttering this ſacred name is that of *Leviticus* (32), where it is ſaid *he that blaſphemeth* (which they read *nameth*) *the name of* GOD *ſhall be ſtoned*: where the word נקב *Nakab*, which in its primitive meaning ſignifies *to pierce*, and is therefore often uſed for wri-

(32) *Levit. xxiv.* 16.

ting,

was the GOD of their fathers, of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob* (V), and that he would be remembered and acknowledged by

ting, engraving, or enrolling, doth more properly forbid the writing than the ſpeaking it: for *Nakab* never ſignifies *to utter*, unleſs it be in a bad ſenſe, as *curſing*, or *blaſpheming*; and therefore if the prohibition is to be ſtretched beyond that, it muſt be only againſt doing it irreverently or lightly, which is a lighter degree of propharing; but as they allow that the name may be lawfully writ, though the word *Nakab* doth ſignify alſo to write; nay, ſince they allow, that the high prieſt may and doth actually uſe it in that public bleſſing, which is preſcribed by GOD himſelf (33), Jehovah *bleſs thee and keep thee*, it is plain, the prohibition is not againſt naming, but againſt blaſpheming, or uſing it with contempt or diſdain, or to an ill purpoſe, as to curſe our neighbours and the like; as the word *Kallal*, uſed in the foregoing part of this prohibition, ſufficiently ſhews (34).

(V) It is aſked here why GOD calls himſelf ſo particularly the GOD of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, ſeeing he was the GOD of all the *Iſraelites*, as well as of thoſe three; for firſt, it could not be upon the account of their ſanctity, nor excellent virtues, ſeeing *Abel*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*, whoſe GOD he likewiſe was, were at leaſt as holy as they; nor ſecondly to hint unto *Moſes* the myſtery of the Trinity, as *Perrerius* imagines (1), becauſe the word of GOD is there thrice repeated; for it is rather repeated four times; *viz.* the GOD of thy father, that is of *Amram*, the GOD of *Abraham*, and ſo on. It is more probable therefore. that they are particularly mentioned, becauſe it was to them that the promiſe of a numerous poſterity, of their being ſtrangers in *Egypt*, and brought out of it, of their inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and eſpecially that of the MESSIAH, had been made.

And now we are upon this text, it will not be improper to enquire, why our SAVIOUR chooſes to alledge it againſt the *Sadducees*, rather than ſome others in the Old Teſtament, which do more fully prove the reſurrection of the body; to this it may be anſwered, that the objection, being made out of the *Pentateuch*, was more fitly anſwered by it, eſpecially to the *Sadducees*, who, as St. *Jerom* tells us (3), admitted of no other books of the Old Teſtament. The main queſtion therefore will be, how theſe words, *I am the* GOD *of* Abraham, *&c.* 2. which ſeem at moſt to prove only the immortality of the ſoul, can be urged here to prove the reſurrection of the body? to which ſome antient fathers anſwer (4), that theſe names being given to them, whilſt they conſiſted of ſoul

(33) *Numb. vi.* 24. (34) Simler, Villet. Munſt. *& al. in loc.*
(1) Perrer. *in loc.* (2) *Matth. xxii.* 31. *Mark xii.* 26. *Luke xx.* 37. (3) Hieron. *in Job. xix. & alib.* (4) Iren. *lib. iv. cap. xi.* Chryſoſt. *in Mat. xxii. & al.*

and

by that name throughout all generations, as their great redeemer and deliverer: not, continued he, that *Pharaoh* will let you go at your first or second asking, nor indeed at all, 'till I have convinced him both of my justice and power, by the terrible punishment I shall send upon him and his land, for their oppression of my people; neither shall the *Hebrews* come away altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel servitude; for I will inspire the *Egyptians* with such sentiments of pity and humanity towards them, that they shall part with their sumptuous raiments and choicest jewels to them, and

And to bring his people out of bondage.

and body, and the former of them being here plainly affirmed to be living with GOD, it follows, that the latter cannot be dead, but asleep for a time, and that they will re-united and live again, and both together enjoy the reward of their labour. Others say, that if the immortality of the soul be granted, the resurrection of the body must follow of consequence, by reason of the natural desire which the former has to the latter, without which it cannot be said to be perfectly happy; and this induced *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other philosophers, who held the immortality of the soul, to provide her with a constant supply of bodies, either by remigration or returning into its own body again, or transmigration or passing into some other body (5). But the best solution seems to be that of St. *Jerom* 6, that the *Sadducees* believing neither the immortality of the soul, nor retarrection of the body, both which were received by all the rest of the *Jews*, the most effectual way to remove the ground of their error was, to prove by this text the being and living of the soul after death (7).

As to those places where GOD commands *Moses* to put off his shoes, and of *Moses* covering his face, we hope, we need not acquaint the reader, that they were both marks of reverence used then, and since, by all the eastern nations. The first of these, *viz.* putting off the shoes, has a threefold signification in scripture, *viz.* first, it was common and usual to put them off in token of mourning and grief, as *David* is said to have gone from *Jerusalem* barefoot when he fled from *Absalom*; whilst his retinue went with their faces covered in token of respect (8). Secondly, it signified the yielding of one's right to another, and is so prescribed in *Deuteronomy* (9), and practised by *Boaz* (10); the third was in token of respect and reverence, as appears by this command of GOD to *Moses*, and the reason assigned for it, *viz.* that the ground whereon he stood was holy, or sanctified by GOD's immediate presence.

(5) Th. Aquin. *cont. Gent. cap lxxix.* (6) Hieron. *Com in Matt. xxii.* (7) Cajet. Villet. & *al.* (8) 2 *Sam.* xv. 30.
(9) *Deut. xxv. 9.* (10) *Ruth. iv. 7, 8.*

made

make them thus far amends for their paſt labours and hardſhips * (X).

AFTER ſuch ample aſſurances, one would hardly expect, that *Moſes* would have ſtarted any new difficulties, at leaſt without receiving ſome ſevere rebuke for it; nevertheleſs he freely owns, that his doubts were far from being wholly diſpelled; he knew the temper of the *Iſraelites* too well, not to foreſee, that they would moſt likely call his miſſion in queſtion. He therefore begged to be informed what he muſt do in ſuch a caſe, and GOD was pleaſed to clear this doubt alſo, by two miracles which he wrought in his preſence. The firſt was by turning his rod into a frightful ſerpent, and then into a rod again. The ſecond was by ſmiting one of his hands with leproſy upon his pulling it out of his boſom, and then healing it again by the ſame way; adding moreover, that if the working of theſe two miracles before the *Iſraelites* did not give a ſufficient ſanction to his meſſage, he ſhould then have liberty to try the ſucceſs of a third, by taking ſome water out of the *Nile* and ſpilling it upon the ground, which would immediately turn the river into blood †.

MOSES had ſtill, he thought, one material objection to make, namely, an impediment in his ſpeech, which, he ſaid, rendered him unfit to ſpeak, either before *Pharaoh* and his court, or even to the *Iſraelites*. He had probably raiſed many more, had not GOD removed this difficulty alſo by telling, that his brother *Aaron*, who was now by his appointment to meet him, ſhould be his interpreter both to *Pharaoh* and to the *Hebrews*, and commanded him immediately to prepare for his journey, and not ſpend any more time in raiſing new

* Exod. iii. † Exod. iv. 9.

(X) That ſome retaliation was due in ſtrict juſtice from the *Egyptians* to the *Hebrews*, for the great ſervices they had done to them, is what can hardly be denied; however, we do not pretend to anſwer all the objections which have been raiſed againſt this action. We think it ſufficient to ſay, that the former were ſpoiled with the ſame juſtice for their unheard of Oppreſſion to the latter, as the *Canaanites* and other nations were deſtroyed for their abominable wickedneſs. GOD indeed alone could appoint thoſe puniſhments, and make uſe of what inſtruments he pleaſed to inflict them; but, ſince *Moſes* gave ſufficient proof of his being authoriſed by GOD, we cannot ſee where the injuſtice is in either caſe, nor the pretended ill tendency of ſuch a precedent, ſince it is allowed on all hands, that it is in no caſe to be followed, unleſs it be evidently commanded by the ſame divine authority.

ſcruples and objections [u]. There was certainly ſomething very ſurpriſing in this reluctancy of *Moſes*, as well as in the patience with which God heard him; yet, when he found that he had removed all the obſtacles which his diffidence had ſuggeſted to him, he could not forbear having recourſe to prayers, earneſtly begging of God, who certainly knew many among the *Hebrews* more fit for the work than himſelf, to make choice of ſome other to execute his command, and leave him to ſpend the remainder of his days in ſolitude and obſcurity. Had *Moſes* been leſs ſincere, he would hardly have recorded this extreme weakneſs of his, ſo little to his credit; and which nothing could excuſe or extenuate, but this free and ingenuous confeſſion of it. Being therefore afraid, leſt he ſhould incur the divine diſpleaſure by a further refuſal, he made the beſt of his way towards *Midian*, reſolved for the future to be as ready, as he had before been backward, to obey the divine command.

Moſes begs to be excuſed.

Whether he acquainted *Jethro* with his commiſſion, or, as he tells us [x], only expreſſed a deſire to go and viſit his brethren in *Egypt*, he eaſily obtained his diſmiſſion from him, and taking his wife *Zipporah* (Y) and his two ſons with him, he

Obeys at laſt and leaves Midian.

[u] Ibid. ver. 13. ad 17. [x] Ibid. ver. 18.

(Y) This *Zipporah*, having afterwards a ſquabble with her ſiſter-in-law *Miriam*, in which *Aaron* took the latter's part, is by them called a *Cuſhite*, or *Ethiopian* (11), though it is plain ſhe was a *Midianite*, being one of *Jethro*'s daughters. To reconcile which, ſome have affirmed, that *Midian* was in the land of *Cuſh*, or at leaſt very near it, from the words of the prophet (12), *I ſaw the tents of* Cuſhan *in affliction*, and *the curtains of the land of* Midian *did tremble*. Others think, that it was not *Zipporah*, but *Tharbis* the *Ethiopian* princeſs, whom *Moſes* is affirmed by *Joſephus* to have married, and whom he would now have forſaken (13). But it ſeems more probable, that *Cuſhite* was a term of reproach or contempt, as *Gipſy* is with us; and that they called her by that name with no other view. The words therefore might be properly rendered thus; and *Miriam* and *Aaron* reflected upon *Moſes*, *upon the ſcore of his* Cuſhite, *becauſe he had taken a* Cuſhite *to wife*, there being nothing more frequent than ſuch repetitions in the Old Teſtament. As for the reaſon of this quarrel, 'tis likely, that *Zipporah* had ſpoken, as they thought, too much in praiſe of her huſband, upon the account of his having converſed ſo often with God, which made them

(11) *Numb. xii.* 1. (12) *Habak. iii.* 7. (13) Hieron. Perrer. Jun. & *al.*

the leaſt of which being too young to walk, he ſet upon an aſs; with this mean equipage, and the miraculous rod in his hand (Z), he marched directly to *Egypt*.

DURING

them reply, *has* GOD *ſpoken to him alone, has he not ſpoken to us alſo?* upon this GOD called them to the tabernacle, ſharply reproved *Miriam* and *Aaron*, and highly extolled *Moſes*'s merit, but not a word is mentioned about his wife.

(Z) Concerning this ſtaff, from which *Zipporah* had her name, the *Jews* tell us a wonderful ſtory; *viz* that it grew in *Jethro*'s garden, was called *Zaphir*, and had the *Tetragrammaton* written upon it: that it had been created in paradiſe on the ſixth day, and brought away by *Adam*, and had paſſed from him to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joſeph*, and from him to *Pharaoh*. That *Jethro* had been one of his mildeſt counſellers, and daily adviſed him to lighten the burthen of the *Iſraelites*, whilſt *Balaam*, courtier like, peſtered him with contrary counſels: that being forced to fly the court, and retire into the land of *Midian*, he had privately conveyed this miraculous rod away, and ſtuck it in his garden, where it took ſuch deep root, that no force could pluck it up. That when *Moſes* came firſt to him, and acquainted him with what happened to him in *Egypt*, *Jethro* cauſed him to be cloſely confined, intending to ſend him back to the king of *Egypt*. In the mean time *Zipporah* being fallen in love with him, and having acquainted her father with it, he conſented that he ſhould be ſet at liberty and marry her, if he could pluck up the *Zaphir* rod which grew in his garden, and at the ſame time iſſued out a proclamation, that the man that could pull up the plant ſhould have his daughter in marriage. That immediately a great number of luſty men came and tried their ſtrength in vain; for *Moſes* alone was the man that could perform the feat; which he did with wonderful eaſe by virtue of the name of GOD, with the true pronunciation of which he was perfectly acquainted, and ſo obtained *Jethro*'s daughter. They add, that he got the rod into the bargain, by which he afterwards wrought all his wonders in *Egypt* (14) Theſe abſurd fables would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to ſhew, into what monſtrous extremes of credulity men are apt to fall, who have once denied the plaineſt truths. Were thoſe reverend gentlemens heads as long as their beards, they could never think, that ſuch ſtories can be of any credit either to their great law-giver, or to the inventers of them. Neither have the *Arabians* been more ſparing of their curious, though fabulous, conceits of *Jethro* and his rod. As for *Jethro*, he was, they ſay, the ſon of *Taskir*, the ſon of *Midian*, whom they make the immediate ſon of *Iſhmael* (15), though *Moſes* men-

(14) R. R. Tanchum-Mechit. & Scip. Sgambat. *L. ii. Arch. Vet. Teſt.* (15) Herbelot's *Bibli. Orient. ſub. voc* Schoaib. *p.* 790.

Aaron's *children during his brother's abſence.*

During *Moſes*'s retreat in *Midian*, *Aaron* his brother had married *Eliſheba*, the ſiſter of *Naaſhon*, both deſcended from *Judah* by their father *Amminadab*, the ſon of *Ezron*. He had already had four ſons by her, *viz. Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar* [y], the firſt of whom had likewiſe a ſon named *Phineas*, by a daughter of *Putiel* [z]. This was the ſtate of *Aaron*'s family, when God commanded him to go to meet his brother [a]; but before he could reach to the mount of God (*Horeb*), a dreadful accident was like to have happened to *Moſes*, the particular occaſion and circumſtances of which we are left to gueſs at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. The account we have of it being but darkly expreſſed in the original, and having been miſunderſtood and miſtranſlated in moſt verſions, and particularly our own, we ſtill venture to depart from it, (where the original and the authority of thoſe, who, by their diligent application to it, have been able to give it a better light, will bear us out,) not forgetting to make our explication good by proper marginal notes.

He goes to meet him at Horeb.

Moses was upon his firſt day's journey, as is probably ſuppoſed by the ſmall diſtance between *Midian* and *Horeb*, where he afterwards met his brother, when God appeared again to him, and charged him to perform all thoſe wonders

[y] Exod. vi. 23. [z] Ibid ver. 25. [a] Ibid. cap. iv. 27.

tions no *Midian* among the ſons of *Iſhmael* *. They tell us that he made a preſent of this wonderful rod to his ſon in-law: that he had the gift of propheſy, and was ſent by God to preach the Unity of the Godhead to the *Midianites* (16), which as *Mohammed* tells us (17), he confirmed to them by miracles, and that when he went up to the top of a mountain to pray, it lowered its head to receive him. Another of his commentators adds, that *Jethro* made it his chief buſineſs to reprove the *Midianites* for their horrid robberies, falſe weights, and meaſures: but that thoſe incorrigible wretches, inſtead of taking his wholeſome counſels, threatened to drive him and his diſciples out of the country: that God provoked at their wickedneſs, ſent the angel *Gabriel* to deſtroy them by an earthquake, in which none were ſaved but *Jethro* and his diſciples, who went afterwards to meet his ſon-in-law in the wilderneſs (18), as we have it in the book of *Exodus* (19). They add, that the advice which he gave to *Moſes* there, got him the name of *preacher to the prophets* (20).

* *Gen. xxv. paſſ* (16) *Ex. lib. Arab.* Leb. Tarik. (17) Korin Araf. (18) *Comment. in ſupradict. cap.* (19) *Exod. xviii.* 1, *&* *ſeq.* (20) *Vid.* Calm. *ſub voc* Jethro.

which

which he had ſhewed him before the king of *Egypt*, and to demand of him the diſmiſſion of his people *Iſrael*, whom he calls here by way of excellency his firſt-born, aſſuring him, that he would be with him, and that in caſe of an obſtinate refuſal, which he foreſaw he would certainly meet with, he would ſlay all the firſt-born of *Egypt*. *Moſes* was by this time got to the end of his firſt day's journey and arrived at the inn, when GOD appeared to him again, but with an angry look, and ſtruck him with a terrible diſeaſe (A). *Moſes* doth not tell

Moſes *ſmitten by the angel in the inn.*

(A) The reader may remember, that we have already hinted ſomething concerning this adventure, in the hiſtory of *Midian* †, but reſerved the examination of the particulars of it to this place, to which they more properly belong. The greateſt part of commentators and expoſitors have ſuppoſed, that *Moſes* was troubled with a turbulent wife, which is the caſe of many a meek man, and that ſhe had conceived ſuch an averſion to the ceremony of circumciſion, that he had been forced for peace and quietneſs to neglect the performing it upon his youngeſt ſon, 'till the danger ſhe ſaw her husband or the child in (for the text is not plain which of the two it was) obliged her, not without great reluctancy and ill language, to perform the operation. We ſhall therefore endeavour to let this matter in a clearer light, and ſhew, that they have quite miſtaken the ſenſe of the original, and that there was neither quarrel nor ill language in the caſe, but that the ceremony was performed with all the decency and decorum that the ſolemnity of it, and their imminent danger, could poſſibly require.

Firſt then, as to the words, *the* LORD *met him at the inn and ſought to ſlay him*, which the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and ſome other verſions render (21), *the angel of the* LORD, *&c.* it is plain, that they relate to *Moſes*, and not to the child, as *Tertullian* thinks, becauſe if it had been the latter, *Moſes*, rather than his wife, would have performed the operation. This ſhews likewiſe, that the words import no more, than that GOD ſmote him with ſome grievous diſeaſe, which ſo diſabled him from circumciſing the child, that *Zipporah* was forced to do it herſelf, though otherwiſe unfit. Thoſe who are acquainted with the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue know, that the phraſe here uſed ſignifies no more. Some antient interpreters have indeed underſtood it in a different ſenſe, ſome thinking, that the angel appeared with a drawn ſword ready to kill *Moſes* (22). Others among the *Jews* telling us (23), that the viſion was a monſtrous large ſerpent which ſwallowed up *Moſes*'s body מיד ושוע ועד המילה from the head to the place of circumciſion, where he ſtuck, by which ſhe gueſſed at the cauſe of his danger, and having forthwith circumciſed the child with the uſual form of חתן דמים לי אתה

† *Vid ſupr. pag.* 116. (21) Pelican, Jun. & *al.* (22) Theodoret. *in loc.* (23) Elleſhemoth Rab. R. Sal & *al.*

tell us, whether the divine anger was occasioned by his incumbering

(which words we mistranslate *a bloody husband thou art to me*); she observed with joy her husband spued up again unhurt; upon which she began to exclaim in praise of circumcision, which she saw accompanied with such virtue. All that is worth observing from this *Jewish* comment is, that *Zipporah* expressed no passion against her husband during the whole action, much less in the words she spoke, seeing they were part of a form used in circumcision, as will appear in its proper place.

Secondly, As for the cause of GOD's anger against *Moses*, St. *Austin* and some others (24) supposed it to have been because he had taken his wife and children with him, the encumbernent of whom did not suit with the business he was sent about: for which reason, say they, he dismissed her as soon as he was delivered from his danger. But, unless there had been some indication of GOD's forbidding it, it is plain, it was his duty to take her and them with him, since man is to forsake all other relations to cleave to his wife (25). *Theodoret* thinks (26), that *Moses* was afraid to go on for fear of *Pharaoh*, but that doth not appear, seeing he was on his journey thither. The true reason therefore seems to be the neglect of circumcising the child, since *Moses* was delivered from the danger as soon as *Zipporah* had done it (27).

Thirdly, it is not easy to guess, how long, or why *Moses* deferred the circumcising of the child. Those who follow the *Jerusalem Targum*, which says, that *Jethro* and *Zipporah* took offence at it (28), seem to forget, that *Jethro* was a *Midianite*, descended from *Abraham* by *Keturah*, and consequently, that circumcision was most probably adopted by them, as it was by the *Ishmaelites* and all other descendants of that patriarch. Besides, they are fallen into this notion by mistaking the words and action of *Zipporah*, and thinking, that there was a sharp dispute between *Moses* and her about it, which we shall presently shew not to have been the case. Some think, that *Moses* did not suppose circumcision so necessary in a strange land, especially his children being only *Israelites* by the father's side (29). But the most learned of the *Jews* rather think most probably, that the child was not above eight days old, or so much, and that *Moses*, being in haste to fulfil GOD's commands, would not stay till she was brought to bed, and took her along with him, though ready to lie in (30). Neither is it plain from the text, that she went that first day's journey with a design to follow him quite to *Egypt*; for she might only accompany him thus far, thinking to have been back time enough to have lain in at her father's

(24) August. *Serm. de temp.* (25) *Genes. ii.* 24. (26) Theodoret. *in loc.* (27) D. Kimchi, Rupert, Tostat Perrer. Mand. Villet, & *al.* (28) Targ. Jeros. *in loc.* Jun. Simler, Pelican. Piscat. & *al.* (29) Feru & *al.* (30) Aben Ezra R. Tanchum.

house

bering himſelf with a wife and two children, when he was ſent

houſe. Though it fell out otherwiſe, and her labour came upon her ſooner than ſhe expected, being perhaps accelerated by the fatigue of the journey.

Fourthly, We come now to enquire into her behaviour and words after ſhe had performed the ceremony, which have proved the main ſtumbling-block of moſt tranſlations. For firſt, they have underſtood it, that ſhe flung the child's foreſkin at his (*Moſes*'s) feet, though the text doth not ſay whether it was at his, the child's, or the angel's feet, and the words be ſo far from ſignifying *flinging*, eſpecially in anger, that they rather imply a laying the prepuce down in a decent or humble manner: for the literal ſenſe is, *ſhe made it touch his feet.* This has made *Lud. Brugenſis* and ſome others think, that ſhe humbly laid it at the angel's feet, beſeeching him, that for the ſake of that circumciſion-blood ſhe had now drawn, her huſband's life might be ſpared: and that her prayer having been heard, and ſhe ſeeing *Moſes* free from the danger, congratulated him and herſelf with the words in the text, which he renders, *thou art now become, as it were, a new huſband or bridegroom to me by this child's blood* (31). But we are going to ſhew, that the words were neither ſpoken to *Moſes*, nor to the angel, but to the child. Only let it be obſerved here by the by, that it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſhe ſhould fling the child's fore-ſkin in anger at her huſband, who could not be blamed for the misfortune that had happened to him; much leſs likely is it, that ſhe would have dared to have flung it at the angel, if any ſuch had appeared to him at the inn; whereas, as we hinted before, the words do not imply an apparition, but *Moſes* being ſmitten with a deadly diſeaſe.

Fifthly, As to the words, *A bloody huſband art thou to me*, &c. one of our learned divines has fully proved them not to have been ſpoken to *Moſes* but the child (32). He very judiciouſly obſerves, firſt, that the word חתן *Chatan*, which we tranſlate *huſband*, ſignifies only a *bridegroom*, and it is not likely that *Zipporah* ſhould call him by that name after having been married ſo long, and having had two children by him, that appellative ceaſing immediately after the eight days of the nuptial ſolemnity were over. Another Obſervation he makes is, that this word *Chatan* doth properly ſignify a *ſon-in law*, and ſo expreſſes not the relation the man has to his wife, but to her parents; for which reaſon it never has any affixed pronoun, unleſs it be with relation to the latter. The ſame may likewiſe be ſaid of the word כלה *Calah*, *bride*, or rather *daughter-in-law*; it being uſed only with relation to the huſband's parents, who alone can properly call the married woman כלתי *Calathi*, *my daughter-in law*, but the bridegroom never calls her

(31) Lud. Brug. *in loc.* & *in Oper Criticor. Tom. iv.* (32) Jos. Med. *Sermon on the words*

by

sent upon so glorious and important a message, or because he had deferred to circumcise his youngest son, either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaisance to his wife, who might fear lest such an operation should make him unfit to travel for a while, if not endanger his life in that hot country. *Zipporah*, however, taking it in the latter sense, made what haste she could to get a sharp stone, with which she cut off the child's prepuce, and laid it at his feet, telling him at the same time, that *he was now become a joyful bridegroom to her by the blood of this circumcision.* The ceremony was no

Zipporah circumcises her son, and Moses is restored.

by that name to signify his bride; it being certain, that the *Hebrew* language has no word to express a bridegroom or bride, with respect to the relation they bear to one another. It would therefore have been nonsense in *Zipporah* to have called him by the name of *Chatan*, which neither expressed an old or a new husband; the question then will be, how it could be applied to the child? and herein the *Hebrew* doctors are best able to help us out, who tell us, that it was the custom of the women to call the circumcised child *Chatan*, הנשים לקרא לבן כאשר ישול חתן (33). *Kimchi* says, that it signifies originally *one that gives joy*, and is therefore used to express the joy that attends a wedding, or the circumcision of a child (34). Accordingly we find, that the *Arabians* called the circumcised מחתון *Machtun*, or one that is made a *Chatan*, in the same manner as we call a baptized child *christened*. The words then used by *Zipporah* ought to have been translated, *thou art* (now) *to me a joyful circumcised son.* To which if we add the last observation of the same learned author that the word לי *Li*, which we translate, *to me*, doth more properly signify *here by me*, as it doth in a great many other places of scripture, the sense will be still more plainly this; *thou art now here by me made a circumcised child*, which was the form of words used in the circumcision, and might be more properly rendered, *I do pronounce thee circumcised.* Neither is it at all improbable, that this word חתן was originally used in this form, not only to express the usual joy of a child's circumcision, but likewise his admission into the alliance made by GOD with *Abraham* and his posterity, or his spousal with the church of GOD; in both which senses that word is very fitly applied; from which it is most probable, that it was at the child's feet that she laid the foreskin, when she spake the words above-mentioned. This is so far from being a new or peculiar notion of Mr. *Mede*, that we find several antient versions expounding it after the very same manner (35); from all which it plainly appears, that there neither was any squabble between *Moses* and his wife, nor any indecency or ill language used by her.

(33) *Idem ibid.* Septuagint & *al.* (34) D. Kimchi *in Radic.* (35) Chald.

ſooner over, but *Moſes* was reſtored again, and able to purſue his journey towards mount *Horeb*, whilſt his wife took the two children back to her father *Jethro*, reſolved to wait there, 'till a more favourable opportunity offered to rejoin her huſband.

Joins his brother at mount Horeb.

IN the mean time *Moſes* and *Aaron* met at the foot of mount *Horeb*, and after the firſt embraces of two brothers who had not ſeen, or perhaps heard from, one another during the ſpace of forty years, *Moſes* acquainted him with the commiſſion he had received from GOD. *Aaron* expreſſed a ſenſible joy at the news, and was ſo far from conceiving the leaſt uneaſineſs to ſee his younger brother ſo far preferred before him, that he promiſed to be obedient in all things to the divine will. After this they continued their journey towards *Egypt*, and being happily arrived at the land of *Goſhen*, their firſt care was to aſſemble the elders or heads of the *Iſraelites*, and to impart to them the joyful news of their ſpeedy deliverance; whilſt *Moſes*, to confirm their heſitating belief, failed not to work thoſe miracles before them, by which GOD had commanded him to eſtabliſh his credit and authority among them. Theſe firſt eſſays were received with incredible joy by the whole aſſembly, every one of them bowing themſelves in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodneſs, which had at length taken pity of their miſerable ſlavery [b]. But this docile diſpoſition laſted no longer than they thought their deliverance would coſt nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon *Moſes* and *Aaron*; but when it came to touch them a little nearer, they became ſo reſty and deſponding, that *Moſes* found them as hard to be perſuaded to embrace their *freedom*, as *Pharaoh* was to grant it to them (B).

Declares his commiſſion to the Iſraelites.

[b] Exod. iv.

(B) Some hiſtorians have ventured to give us the name of this *Pharaoh*. *Apion* calls him *Amoſis*, or *Amaſis*; *Euſebius*, *Chremeris*; but archbiſhop *Uſher* thinks after *Manetho*, that is was *Amenophis* the ſon of *Rameſes-Miamun*, and father of *Seſothis*, called alſo after his grand-father *Rameſes*. He is alſo of opinion, that this *Amenophis* is the ſame monarch whom the *Grecks* call *Belus*, the father of *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, though the fable-writers have confounded him with *Belus* the *Aſſyrian* and father of *Ninus* (36); the truth is, that we have ſo little light from hiſtory as to this point, that it is very dangerous to affirm any thing about it *.

(36) Uſſer An. *p.* 13.

* *See Vol. I. p.* 503, *&c.*

Delivers his message to the king of Egypt.

MOSES and *Aaron*, however, did not delay to open their commission before the *Egyptian* king, but the preamble of it, *Thus said the* LORD GOD *of the* Hebrews, sounded so strangely in his ears, unused to such an expression, and perhaps to the naming of any other GOD besides himself, that he could not forbear wondering at their boldness, telling them that he knew no such GOD, and that as to the *Israelites*, they should not find him so easy to part with them. This was indeed what they were bid to expect; nevertheless they ventured to tell him, that they knew that great GOD of whom they spoke, though he did not; and that he had charged them, that they should all go three days journey to celebrate a festival to him, and that if they should omit complying with his command, he would soon punish their disobedience, either by pestilence or by the sword. *Moses* could not expect, that *Pharaoh* should concern himself about their danger upon that account; but he was not perhaps as yet commissioned to make use of more urgent motives. He was therefore dismissed with his brother *Aaron*, with a severe reprimand, for putting such idle notions into their people's heads, and debauching them from their work, bidding them to return to their own tasks, and they should soon know the success of this wise embassy. As this proved the beginning of that famous contest between *Moses*, or rather the GOD of *Israel*, and the king of *Egypt*, so it did likewise the fatal source of new sorrows and complaints to the *Israelites*. For *Pharaoh* fearing their excessive numbers, and thinking, or at least pretending, that idleness and wantonness were the cause of this rambling fit of religion, ordered their task-masters to harden their work still more, and, instead of giving them straw to dry their bricks with, to make them wander over the land, since they had such an inclination for a change of air, and to gather themselves stubble instead of it, without diminishing one tittle of their work. This was indeed expecting impossibilities from them, but their merciless task-masters, not regarding it, failed not to punish their overseers, whenever they found them come short of their appointed task. These therefore, not thinking perhaps, that *Pharaoh* could be the author of such a cruel and unreasonable order, went in a body to make their grievances known to him; but he, instead of minding their piteous complaints, only accused them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and dismissed them with the utmost unconcern. They were scarce got out of *Pharaoh*'s palace before *Moses* and *Aaron* met them, probably to enquire of their success, but if they had not read it in their

The Israelites *burthens encreased.*

their dejected looks, they could not fail of hearing of it; for the poor overſeers had no ſooner caſt their eyes on them, but they began to inveigh againſt them in the bittereſt terms, as the authors of this new addition of miſery, which could terminate in nothing but death and deſpair. It would have been in vain for *Moſes* to have offered any thing either in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time; he thought it more adviſeable to apply himſelf to GOD, and in the humbleſt terms to expoſtulate with him for the ill ſucceſs of this firſt meſſage.

MOSES had no ſooner made an end of his complaint, but GOD gave him freſh aſſurances of his love and compaſſion for his groaning people. He bid him go to them, and aſ- *Moſes is* ſure them from him, that he would ſpeedily let all *Egypt* *bid to go* ſee that he was their GOD, and would be their deliverer and *again to* conductor into that land, which he had promiſed to their Pharaoh. fathers, to whom he had indeed appeared, and been known heretofore by the name of *El Shaddai*, GOD Almighty or All-ſufficient, though never 'till now by his great name *Jehovah* (C). But, continued he, I will ſignalize their deliverance, by ſuch tokens of my juſtice on that obſtinate Monarch and his cruel people, that they ſhall be forced at laſt to

(C) Thoſe who conclude from this paſſage, that the name *Jehovah* (37), or the genuine meaning (38), or laſtly the true pronunciation of it (39), had been unknown to the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, &c. and that *Moſes* uſed it by way of anticipation, and ſpoke according to the time in which he wrote, when GOD had made it fully known to his people, ſeem to forget, that *Abraham* called the mountain on which he was to have ſacrificed his ſon *Jehovah jired*. However it muſt be owned, that there is a great obſcurity in the words of *Moſes*, out of which many *Hebrew* and Chriſtian commentators have endeavoured to bring out ſome myſteries, which we ſhould be loath to vend after them. The moſt natural expoſition is, that which renders the *Hebrew* word *Shem* by character inſtead of name, and then the ſenſe will be this; In my character of *El Shaddai*, or omnipotent, was I only known to them; that is, they only relied on my word and all-ſufficient power for the fulfilling my promiſes to them; but now I'll be known by the character of *Jehovah*, or performer of thoſe promiſes (40). *Vid.* our notes under the word *Jehovah*, page 488, not. T.

(37) Kimchi, Aben-ezra, Oleaſter, &c. (38) Paul Brug. Rupert. Lyra. Cajetan. Toſtat. (39) Oleaſt. Gloſs. Berruyer, &c. (40) Simler, Junius, & *al.*

acknowledge the divine hand that ſmiteth them, and diſmiſs my people, though never ſo much againſt their will. This was more than enough to give new life to *Moſes*, though all too little and inſufficient to adminiſter the leaſt comfort to his unhappy people, who, ſinking under the weight of their oppreſſion, did hardly give an ear to what he ſaid to them. *Moſes* was going away from them, grieved at his heart to behold their miſery and deſpair, when GOD commanded him to go immediately to *Pharaoh*, and to renew his demand in its name, not to detain his people any longer at his peril. But *Moſes* was ſo diſheartened at his ill ſucceſs, that he could not forbear ſhewing an exceſſive reluctancy to obey. Alas, ſaid he, if my words can find ſo little credit with thy own people, how can I expect, that they will be regarded by that faithleſs king, eſpecially conſidering with what difficulty I am forced to utter them. To which GOD was pleaſed to anſwer, behold *Moſes*, I give thee a miraculous, a divine power, over *Pharaoh*, and thy brother ſhall be as thy prophet and interpreter to him. And though I ſuffer his heart to continue hardened (D), 'till thou

(D) We have ventured to depart from our own, and almoſt all other verſions, which make GOD the chief hardner of *Pharaoh*'s heart, that he might inflict the more ſevere puniſhments on him. A notion, which however embraced by the Predeſtinarians, ſeems ſo ſhocking to reaſon, that one would ſooner chooſe to ſay with the fool there is no GOD, than to believe him capable of ſuch manifeſt injuſtice. We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject in the ſequel of this hiſtory upon another occaſion, and to ſhew, that the *Jews* have been the firſt broachers of this monſtrous doctrine, and, by their verſions and paraphraſes, have led the way to others to render theſe, and many other texts of the old teſtament, in a ſenſe, in which neither the original, nor the whole tenour of ſcripture, nor the notion of a deity, nor even the context in this particular caſe, could bear them out. For who can deny, but what GOD did to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, was much more proper to ſoften, than to harden, his heart, eſpecially when it is obſervable, that it was not 'til after ſeeing the miracles, and after the ceaſing of the plagues, that *his heart* is ſaid to be *hardened?* we think ourſelves therefore obliged to do juſtice to thoſe learned critics, who have been at the pains of clearing the ſcriptures from charging the great judge of heaven and earth with ſuch foul injuſtice, by proving, even againſt the *Jews*, that the verbs here uſed are in the conjugations *Piel* and *Hiphil*, as they are called by the grammarians, and ſignify often a bare permiſſion, of which they have given us very many unqueſtionable inſtances, which we ſhall not trouble our reader with here, ſeeing he may conſult the authors themſelves whoſe

thou haſt wrought all the miracles I have charged thee with; yet be aſſured, that I will bring *Iſrael* out of their bondage like a triumphant army, and the *Egyptians* ſhall know that I am the LORD. *Pharaoh* indeed will not conſent 'till he is forced to it. For, ſince he refuſed to acknowledge me and hardeneth himſelf againſt my commands, it is but juſt I ſhould ſo far forſake him, that, though my wonders are multiplied before him, and the whole land is aſtoniſhed at them, he alone ſhall continue obdurate and inſenſible of them. Go then, let your mighty works convince that proud tyrant at leaſt, that your meſſage is from a greater and more powerful monarch than he [d]. *Moſes* and *Aaron* did forthwith obey, and, having preſented themſelves before *Pharaoh*, confirmed their meſſage by the firſt miracle, and *Moſes* threw down his rod, which turned immediately into a ſerpent. *Pharaoh*, though ſomewhat ſurpriſed at it, yet failed not to try what his magicians could do, who were no ſooner come but their rods were likewiſe turned into ſerpents, ſo that all the ſuperiority which *Moſes* ſhewed over them at that time was, that, whilſt the king and court were applauding their ſkill, his rod ſwallowed up thoſe of the *Egyptians* (E), However, whoſe names he will find in the margin (41). From all theſe and many more authorities, it is plain, that the words ought to have been tranſlated, as we have, that GOD *ſuffered the heart of* Pharaoh *to be hardened*, as all thoſe who are never ſo little verſed in the *Hebrew* will readily own. As for thoſe places where it is ſaid, *for this cauſe have I ſet thee up, that I might ſhew my power*, &c. it is plain, they ought to have been rendered; for this cauſe have *I ſuffered thee to ſubſiſt or to ſtand*, &c. that is, I have forbore to cut thee off, or ſpared thee from the common ruin, &c. which bear quite another ſenſe, and only ſhew, that, though he had long ago deſerved to be deſtroyed, yet GOD thought fit to let him ſubſiſt, 'till he had by his many wonders delivered his people in ſpight of all his oppoſition.

First miracle. Moſes's *rod turned into a ſerpent.* *The Magicians do the ſame by theirs.*

[d] Exod vii.

(E) The *Talmud* has preſerved us a tradition of a proverbial taunt, with which the *Egyptians* flouted *Moſes*, when he began to work his miracles among them; *thou bringeſt ſtraw to* Aſſra, a

(41) Arr. Montan *de Idiom Hæbr. N.* 42. Fin. *Can Theol. Cent.* 2. Gerhard *de Provid* Calov. & Rung. *in Exod.* Hemmin. *qu. de Provid.* 57, 91. Meitzer. *diſp: Gieſſ. Tom. p.* 745. Meiner *Anthropol. dec.* 1. Pfeifer *dubia V. T. Cent.* 1. *l.* 87. Pelling & Whitby *againſt Predeſt.* Le Clerc *in loc.* Grot. Le Scene *Eſſay* & *al.*

place

ever this advantage made no great impreſſion on *Pharaoh*, who might attribute it only to his ſuperior ſkill in magic. This

place in *Egypt* where ſtraw abounded; meaning, that he had choſen the wrong place to play his conjuring tricks, in a country that was ſo well ſtocked with conjurers. *Origen* ſays, that they (the *Egyptians*) did not abſolutely deny the miracles of *Moſes*, but only pretended, that they were done by deluſion, and not by a divine power (1). And *Philo* introduces the *Egyptian* magicians ſpeaking to *Pharaoh* and his court to this purpoſe; *why are you frighted, we are not ignorant of ſuch things, ſeeing we profeſs the ſame ourſelves* (2)?

And here, ſince we are entering into a long ſcene of *Moſes*'s miracles, the greateſt part of which were imitated by the magicians of *Pharaoh*, it will not be amiſs to enquire, who the latter were, by what power they did perform thoſe wonders, and why they came ſhort of ſome of thoſe of *Moſes*. As to the firſt we promiſed in a former place to prove that they were *Jannes* and *Jambres* * mentioned by St. *Paul* to have withſtood *Moſes* (3), or as *Pliny* calls them *Jannæ*, and *Jotapha* (4), when ſpeaking of the ſect of the magicians, he ſays, that *Moſes*, *Jamne* and *Jotapha*, were the heads and founders of it. They are celebrated in the *Talmud* † under the names of יוחני וממבי *Jochani* and *Mamri*. The targum of *Jonathan* (5) affirms them to have been *Balaam*'s ſons, and that they went along with him to *Balak* king of *Moab*. Some *Jewiſh* authors call them *Jares* and *Jambres*; others *Jochanan* and *Mamre*, and others *Jonah* and *Jombres* (6), and pretend that they were drowned in the *Red ſea* with the *Egyptians*, though others think, that they were not deſtroyed 'till the war which *Phineas* waged againſt the *Midianites* (7). The apocryphal book entitled *Jannes* and *Jambres*, quoted by *Origen* (8), and by *Hilary* the deacon (9), affirm them to have been two brothers; and *Numenius* quoted by *Euſebius* (10) gives us this account of them. "*Jannes* and *Jam-*
"*bres*, interpreters of the myſteries of *Egypt*, were in great re-
"pute at the time when the *Hebrews* were driven out of *Egypt*,
"being in the opinion of all men inferior to none in the art of
"magic. For, by the general voice of the *Egyptians*, they two
"were choſen to oppoſe *Moſes*, ring-leader of the *Jews*, whoſe
"prayers were of all others, moſt prevalent with GOD; and they
"only were able to fruſtrate and undo all thoſe moſt grievous,

(1) Orig. *cont. Celſ. lib. iii* Warren *cont.* Burnet, *p.* 40. (2) Phil. *in vit.* Moſ. *vid.* * *Vid. ſup. Vol. I. p.* 477. (3) 2 *Tim. iii.* 8. (4) *Lib. xxx. c. i.* † Tract מנחות *cap. ix.* (5) *Targ in Num. xxii.* 22. (6) Buxtorf *Lexic. Talmud.* Fabric. *de Apocr. Vet. Teſt.* (7) *Num. xxv.* 7, 8. (8) Orig. *in Matth. Tract. xxxv.* (9) Ambroſiaſt. *in* 2 *Tim. iii.* 8. (10) *In* Aritob. *ap.* Euſeb. *prep Evang. lib. ix. c. viii.*

"plagues

This miracle therefore was ſoon followed by another, which was turning all the running and ſtanding waters of *Egypt* into *Second Miracle. The waters turned into blood.*

" plagues which *Moſes* brought upon *Egypt*, in the open view and " ſight of all the *Egyptians*." Thus much for the names and character of thoſe magicians.

The *Mohammedans*, however, have not failed, according to cuſtom, to ſtuff this part of *Moſes*'s hiſtory with ſome of their fables. We ſhall juſt give a ſhort ſketch of what they have writ of it. They tell us, that *Moſes* having wrought ſome miracles before the king of *Egypt*, and very much ſurpriſed him with them, he was adviſed by his council to amuſe him with fair hopes, 'till he had ſent for ſome of the moſt expert magicians from *Thebaide*. Accordingly *Sabour* and *Gadour*, two brothers renowned for their magic ſkill, were ſent for; but before they repaired to *Pharaoh*'s court, they went to conſult the *Manes* of their father about the ſucceſs of their journey, acquainting him withal, that the two magicians, whom they were ſent to oppoſe, had a rod which they turned into a ſerpent, and devoured all that made head againſt it. Their father's ghoſt anſwered, that if that rod turned itſelf into a ſerpent whilſt they were aſleep, they muſt never expect to prevail againſt them. Upon their arrival at *Memphis*, their firſt care was to inform themſelves about this material circumſtance, and found, that their rod did guard them in the ſhape of a ſerpent whilſt they ſlept, and let none come near them. However, this did not hinder them from appearing before *Pharaoh*, at the head of his other magicians, to the number, as ſome make it, of 70,000. Beſides theſe there were two other excellent ones with their diſciples, and laſtly, the *Egyptian* High-prieſt at the head of all the magicians of that country. All theſe had prepared rods, and cords filled with quick-ſilver, which, being heated by the ſun, imitated the winding of a ſerpent, but they were ſoon deſtroyed by that of *Moſes*, to the great ſurprize of all the beholders, but eſpecially of *Sabour* and *Gadour*, who thereupon renounced their profeſſion and embraced *Moſes*'s religion, and were put to death for it by order of the *Egyptian* king, as holding ſecret correſpondence with *Moſes* (11).

From this account it is plain, that the *Mohammedans* looked upon the wonders wrought by the *Egyptians* rather as *Hocus Pocus* tricks, than ſupernatural works. However, though this opinion has been likewiſe maintained by ſeveral eminent perſons, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (12); yet that of St *Auſtin* (13), that they were done by

(11) Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient*, p. 648, & *ſeq.* Monoſah *ap.* Calmet. *ſub. voc.* James. (12) Joſ. *Ant lib. ii. c. xiii.* Juſtin Mart. *quæſt Orthod. xvi.* Tertul. *lib. de anima.* Greg. Nyſſen. Ambroſ. Hieron. *cont. Jovin. lib ii. & al.* (13) Auguſt *lib. xxxvii. quæſt.* 79, 98, & *lib. iii. de Trinitate cap vii.* Theodoret. *in Exod. lib. xviii.* Aquin. Toſtat. Lyra. Brug. Cajet. Uller. *&c. &c.*

Hue

into blood; so that there was not a drop of water left in the whole land for the *Egyptians* to drink: how long they continued so *Moses* has not told us; for what is added afterwards in the last verse of this chapter, that seven days were compleated after the turning of the waters into blood, is rather the space between this miracle and that of the frogs, which they are bid to perform in the beginning of the next chapter. For as the division of the bible into chapters was of later invention, and introduced for the better conveniency of reading it, if we join the last verse of the seventh with the beginning of the eighth, it will run thus; *And seven days were fulfilled after the turning the waters into blood, and the* LORD *spake*, and so on, which is the same as if he had said, and seven days after the turning of the waters into blood GOD spake to *Moses*. However, this change continued long enough

the power of the devil, has been more universally received, and that for the two following reasons; first, because the scriptures of the old and new testament seem to attribute some such power to evil spirits; and secondly, because *Moses* expresses himself in such terms as manifestly shew, that they really imitated him in all those wonders they wrought. For in this case of their rods being turned into serpents he doth not say, that they made them appear to be such by a *deceptio visus*; but that וישליכו איש מטהו ויהיו לתנינם *they flung down every man his rod, and that they became serpents.* And in all the other cases wherein they imitated him, he expresses it thus; ויעשי כן חרטומים and יעשו גם הם *and the magicians did so likewise*; or, *and the magicians*, even they, *did so likewise*. If it be asked why GOD did suffer them to borrow this power from the devil to invalidate, if possible, those miracles, which his servant wrought by his divine power, the following reasons may be given for it; namely, first, it was necessary that these magicians should be suffered to exert the utmost of their power against *Moses*, in order to clear him from the imputation of magic or sorcery; for as the notion of such an extraordinary art was very rife, not only among the *Egyptians*, but all other nations, if they had not entered into this strenuous competition with him, and been at length overcome by him, both the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* would have been apter to have attributed all his miracles to his skill in magic, than to the divine power. Secondly, it was necessary in order to confirm the faith of the wavering and desponding *Israelites*, by making them see the difference between *Moses*'s acting by the power of GOD, and the sorcerers by that of *Satan*. And lastly, in order to preserve them afterwards from being seduced by any false miracles from the true worship of GOD (14).

(14) Rupert. Perrer. Simler, Ferus, Villet. Tremel. *& al. in loc.*

to kill all the fiſh, and oblige the *Egyptians* to dig round about the river for freſh water to drink, none of the reſt being fit for that or any other uſe. This miracle was likewiſe imitated by the magicians, but whether upon ſea-water, brought on purpoſe, or ſome freſh water fetched from the land of *Goſhen*, or ſome of that which they had drawn out of their new-digged wells, is not eaſy to gueſs; though it is more probable, that they ſtaid 'till the waters of the *Nile* and other places were reſtored to their former colour and taſte. However that be, *Pharaoh* was not one jot the nearer being convinced [c]; wherefore *Moſes* was again ſent to him to threaten him, that if he did not let *Iſrael* go, his whole kingdom ſhould be ſo filled with frogs, that their ovens, their beds, and tables ſhould ſwarm with them; but *Pharaoh* ſtill deſpiſing their threats, and bidding them defiance, was ſoon made ſenſible of his raſhneſs. His magicians indeed went on to perſuade him that *Moſes* was only ſuch another miracle-monger as they were, by imitating alſo this miracle and bringing a freſh ſwarm of frogs. They might indeed have ſhewed their ſkill to a better purpoſe, if they had tried to have removed thoſe inſects, of which the *Egyptians* did not want this freſh ſupply, but it ſeems they had not power enough to do that. Wherefore *Pharaoh* was reduced to ſend for *Moſes*, and to promiſe him, that he would let *Iſrael* go, if he would but deliver him and his country from that plaguy vermin. Whether there was any ſincerity in this promiſe, or whether it was only forced from him by the preſent calamity, *Moſes* took him at his word, and deſiring him to name the time when he ſhould rid the land of thoſe creatures, did preciſely perform his part; ſo that by the next day, the time appointed by the king, there was not one frog left alive in all the land. But whilſt his ſubjects were gathering them up in heaps, in order to carry them off, their ſtench being like to have bred an infection, *Pharaoh* was thinking how to elude his promiſe, not conſidering, that he only made way for another plague.

Third miracle, of Frogs.

FOR when *Moſes* found himſelf baffled, he touched the duſt with his rod, which was immediately turned into lice, or, as ſome think, into gnats, which ſmall inſect, they ſay, is more common, and their ſting more tormenting in *Egypt* than any where elſe. But our verſion ſeems to us more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of antient and

Fourth miracle, of the Lice.

[c] Exod. vii.

modern translations and expositors f. These infected man and beast in such quantities, that one would have imagined, that all the dust of *Egypt* had been turned into lice. *Pharaoh* sent for his magicians, and bid them try their skill; but in vain, for either their power proved too short, or was curtailed by a superior hand, so that they were forced to acknowledge, that the finger of GOD did plainly display itself in this miracle (F). However *Pharaoh* not regarding their words, *Moses* and *Aaron* met him the next morning, as he was going down to the river, and told him, that his obstinacy would only bring more and worse plagues upon him, the next of which would be such mixed swarms of flies as would darken the air; that GOD however, would put a difference between his people and the *Egyptians*, and that there should none be found in all the land of *Goshen*, though the rest of the kingdom did swarm with them; adding, that the next day should bring this new plague upon him. Accordingly, by the next morning, the air was filled with those insects, whose bite was so venemous and painful, that the mischief which they did to *Egypt* became intolerable g, and forced the king to send for *Moses* and *Aaron*, and to tell them, that he would give them leave to sacrifice to their GOD, provided it was done within his dominions. To this they answered, they could not comply with his command,

Fifth miracle, of swarms of flies.

f CHALD. TARG. JOSEPH. Ant. lii. c. xiv. RABBIN. MONTAN. MUNSTER VATABL. JUN. BOCHART. & al. g Vid. Psal. lxxviii. 45.

(F) What has been said under this head in the last note, will easily lead us to an answer to the next question, why the magicians could not go thorough stitch with all the miracles of *Moses*, and in particular in not being able to bring forth lice, when they had been able to bring swarms of frogs and other insects. For without having recourse to the common solution, that this was a new creation of a new kind of vermin, which therefore could not be imitated by the devil, for which we have no warrant from the text, which expressly calls them *lice*, it will be sufficient to say, that herein *Moses* shewed his superior power in tying their hands from working a miracle in all respects as easy as any they had done 'till then. For this was more than sufficient to extort this confession from them, that he acted by a superior power, and that the finger of GOD was in it (15). *

(15) *Exod. viii.* 19. * *Vid.* Lesley's *easy method with the Deists.*

without

without imminent danger of their lives, ſeeing they ſhould be obliged to ſacrifice ſuch creatures as the *Egyptians* worſhipped, who would therefore be ready to ſtone them as guilty of the moſt horrid and abominable ſacrilege. They therefore inſiſted upon going three days journey out of the land, that they might ſafely perform their GOD's command. This anſwer, which gave him juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that they had a mind to go away for good, put him to a terrible nonplus. On the one hand he was very unwilling to hazard the loſing of the *Iſraelites*, and on the other the flies did ſuch an incredible deal of harm, that he heard nothing but complaints on all ſides. At length, being become more ſeemingly flexible, he promiſed, that they ſhould go, provided that it was at no great diſtance from *Egypt*, and they promiſed him faithfully to return again in a little time, and he, to their great ſurpriſe, deſired that they would pray for him. He could not indeed have choſen a more powerful or a more ready interceſſor, had not the tokens of God's clemency, as well as thoſe of his ſeverity, been equally loſt upon him. However, *Moſes* aſſured him, that he would immediately go out, and intreat the LORD for him, and deſired him to keep his word; but no ſooner had his prayer obtained a reprieve, and delivered the kingdom from the plague of thoſe venemous inſects, than the king drew on another by his obſtinacy and breach of promiſe [h].

Sixth miracle, The cattle of the Egyptians *killed by murrain.*

THIS next judgment fell, according to *Moſes*'s word, on all the cattle of the *Egyptians*, the greateſt part of which died by the next day, whilſt that of the *Iſraelites* remained unhurt. But this not touching the king near enough, the next that followed was more effectually felt by him. It was a violent and painful boil which brake out upon man and beaſt, by *Aaron*'s throwing a handful of the aſhes of the furnace into the air. *Pharaoh*, according to cuſtom had recourſe to his magicians, who, being themſelves ſmitten with the boils, and being perhaps afraid of ſomething worſe, dared not appear before *Moſes*. Notwithſtanding this, *Pharaoh* continued obſtinate, and choſe rather to endure the ſmart of his boils, than the loſs of *Iſrael*. However it was not long before *Moſes* was ſent to threaten him with a more terrible one, in which the voice of the God of *Iſrael* ſhould be heard in thunder, and his vengeance felt in ſuch dreadful ſtorms of hail, as had not been known ſince the foundation of *Egypt*. He adviſed him likewiſe not to exalt himſelf againſt the

Seventh miracle, Boils upon man and beaſt.

Eighth miracle, of Hail-ſtorms and thunders.

[h] Exod. viii.

Iſraelites, ſeeing their God hath hitherto preſerved him from ruin, only to convince him of his almighty power by all theſe ſigns and wonders, and to perſuade him to confeſs and adore him, and prevent thereby the future effects of his wrath; for added he, if all theſe judgments will not humble thee, know, that God hath a great many in ſtore againſt thee, which ſhall force thee at laſt to ſubmit, tho' never ſo much againſt thy will. He, who alone did ſet thee on the throne, might indeed have cut thee off from thy firſt refuſal; but, ſince he hath ſpared thee hitherto, remember, it is either to force thee to glorify him by thy ſubmiſſion, or to be glorified by this and future ages, by the puniſhment which thy pride and obſtinacy do force from him, after ſo many gracious invitations and miraculous warnings (G). He gave him but that one day to conſider of it, aſſuring him, that the next day would prove a diſmal one to the *Egyptians*, unleſs he reſolved to diſmiſs the *Iſraelites* before that time, between whom and the *Egyptians* God would put ſuch a difference, that the land of *Goſhen* ſhould be entirely free from the terrible puniſhment, with which *Egypt* would be half undone. However, finding the king ſtill too hardened and incredulous to prevent this new judgment, he forewarned him and his court to ſend for ſuch cattle as they had left out in the fields, ſince all that was not under ſome ſtrong ſhelter would certainly be killed by the hail. *Moſes* was no ſooner gone from him, but thoſe who gave credit to his words ſent to have their ſervants and cattle ſafely lodged, whilſt the reſt, lightly regarding it, left them to periſh in the field. For no ſooner had *Moſes* lifted up his rod towards heaven on the next morning, but the thunders, lightnings, and hail followed one another ſo thick, that *Egypt* was half deſtroyed by them. The hail that then fell was of ſuch prodigious bigneſs, that it killed man and beaſt, broke all the trees, and deſtroyed all the barley and flax it chanced to fall upon. The wheat only and the rye eſcaped, becauſe they were not ſufficiently grown, for the barley harveſt in *Egypt* begins about the middle or latter end of *March*, whereas that of the wheat and rye doth not begin 'till ſix or ſeven weeks after. As for the land of *Goſhen*, it was found, upon enquiry, to have been as free from this, as it had been from all the former plagues.

(G) This verſion, wherein we have departed from all others and kept cloſe to the original, the reader may ſee juſtified in a former note †.

† *Vid. ſupra, p.* 508. *Not.* D.

These

THESE thunders and lightnings, but eſpecially the hail, which was the more extraordinary, becauſe it ſeldom or never rains in that part of *Egypt*, ſo frighted the proud king, that he ſent for *Moſes* and *Aaron* out of hand, and expreſſed himſelf in ſuch terms to them, as might have paſt for ſure tokens of a real converſion: he owned himſelf an obſtinate ſinner, juſtly puniſhed for his diſobedience, and begged, that they would but deliver him from the noiſe of thoſe dreadful thunders, after which he promiſed not to detain them one moment longer. *Moſes* was too well acquainted with him by this time, to depend upon this promiſe, which, he ſaw, was only extorted from him by his preſent dread. He made no ſcruple to tell him ſo. However, he promiſed him to obtain a ſpeedy ceſſation of them as ſoon as they were gone out, which he accordingly did, and gave the *Egyptians* an opportunity to examine the miſchief that had been done by the hail, which they found to be much greater than they had imagined. This inſpired many of them with a real fear of the GOD of *Iſrael*; but this was not the caſe of *Pharaoh* and his council, who no ſooner perceived that the ſtorm was over, but they returned to their old way[1]. *Moſes* therefore was ſent to ſignify to them what judgment they were to expect next, which was to be ſuch an infinite number of locuſts, as ſhould cover the face of the earth, and eat up what the hail had left undeſtroyed. There were ſome about the king then, who took the liberty to repreſent to him the inconceivable damage which his kingdom had already received; that *Egypt* was already deſtroyed, and that it was high time the *Hebrews* were ſent away to ſerve their God. *Pharaoh* was almoſt perſuaded to let them go, but having ſent for *Moſes* and *Aaron* back to enquire who of them were to go, and who were to ſtay, he was ſo highly provoked at their inſiſting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all that they had, that he could not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions, which, though concealed with ſo much art, and cloaked with the ſpecious pretence of religion and the ſervice of GOD, yet did but too plainly ſhew, that they had no mind ever to return into *Egypt* again. He warned them of the danger they ran themſelves into, and adviſed them to content themſelves with taking only the men with them, and leaving their wives and children behind; and, having threatened them ſeverely, cauſed them to be turned out of doors.

The great miſchief done by it.

MOSES was no ſooner got out, than he lifted up his rod over the land of *Egypt*. This was quickly followed by an eaſt

Ninth miracle. Locuſts.

[1] Exod. ix.

east wind, which blowed all the night, and brought such a numerous swarm of locusts by the next morning, as had never been seen before; and these, spreading themselves all over the land, did in a little time eat up every blade of grass, and every thing that had escaped the storm of hail. *Pharaoh* did not fail to send for *Moses*, to own his fault, and beg for one reprieve more; but having obtained it by means of a west wind, which blew all the locusts into the sea, he continued as inflexible as ever. This new provocation did not go long unpunished, and *Egypt* was presently after smitten with such horrid darkness, that *Moses* chooses to express it by a darkness that may be felt. During the three days it lasted the *Egyptians* did neither see one another, nor dare to stir out of their place, but continued fixed and immoveable, as if they had been thunder-struck, whilst the land of *Goshen* enjoyed its usual day-light. The horror of this obscurity, which could not be removed by the common methods then used to supply the absence of the sun, caused such dreadful apprehensions in the king and all his subjects, and was so heightened by the dismal outcries of men, women, and children, that their consternation may be much easier imagined than expressed. However, it made so deep an impression upon them, that, as soon as the light was restored to them, *Moses* and *Aaron* were immediately sent for, to prevent, if possible, some further and more terrible punishment. The king, according to custom, told them, that he was willing to grant their request, and that they might go with their wives and children, but insisted, that their flocks should be left behind. *Moses*, after having represented to him the unreasonableness of such a demand, seeing they only knew that they were to offer up a solemn sacrifice to GOD, but were not yet acquainted what kind of beasts he would choose to have sacrificed to him, observing *Pharaoh*'s unwillingness to consent, told him in express terms, that they would take all their cattle with them, and that not a single hoof should remain in *Egypt*. We need not to wonder, if so proud a king as *Pharaoh* was could not hear so bold a demand without the highest resentment. He caused him to be thrust from his presence with the utmost indignation, threatening him, that if he dared to come before him any more, it should certainly cost him his life. Such impotent threatenings had nothing in them that could frighten a man like *Moses*; who therefore contented himself with saying *Amen* to his never seeing him more [k]. However, it is reasonably supposed, that it was in this last interview, that he foretold the

Tenth miracle. Great darkness during three days.

[k] Exod. x.

king

king the finiſhing ſtroke of the divine vengeance, upon all the firſt-born of men and cattle throughout all *Egypt*, which ſhould cauſe ſuch a conſternation among all his ſubjects, that they ſhould come with bended knees to the *Iſraelites*, and beg of them in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms to depart out of their country [l]; whilſt GOD would ſtill ſhew ſuch regard to the latter, that they ſhould enjoy their uſual calmneſs and tranquillity, not a dog daring to open his mouth againſt any of them. *Moſes* had no ſooner finiſhed this laſt prediction, and promiſed him, that, according to his word, he would ſee his face no more, than he retired to his people into the land of *Goſhen*, where the *Iſraelites* celebrated the paſſover that very night [m], according to GOD's command. In this night alſo *Moſes* bid them to borrow what jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things they could, from their *Egyptian* neighbours, aſſuring them from GOD, that they ſhould find them very willing and forward to accommodate them with the beſt things they had [n] (H). How-

The paſſover celebrated.

[l] Exod. xi. 8. & ſeq. Vid. USSER. Annal. p. 14. [m] Idem ibid. VILLET, & al. [n] Exod. xi, & xii.

(H) Before we enter into the inſtitution of the paſſover, which was attended with the laſt and moſt dreadful plague, the death of all the firſt-born, it will not be amiſs to enquire, how long a time *Moſes* took in bringing all the plagues upon *Egypt*, eſpecially, becauſe ſome chronologiſts have ſpun it out to ten (16), and others to twelve months (17); but, beſides that their reaſons are very jejune, and unwarranted by ſcripture, it is more likely, that they happened all within the ſpace of one month; firſt, becauſe their following ſo thick one upon another, would both more viſibly diſplay the power of God, and more effectually work upon *Pharaoh* to diſmiſs the *Iſraelites*; and this ſeems to be hinted at by *Moſes* in a former chapter (18); 2. Theſe plagues were ſo grievous, that, if they had laſted much longer, the *Egyptians* could never have endured them; but, 3, we read that the *Iſraelites* continued full forty years in the wilderneſs (19), that *Moſes* was eighty years old before he appeared the firſt time before *Pharaoh* (20), and that he was 120 years old when he died, that is, at the end of their forty years travel (21), ſo that there could not be much time ſpent in bringing all theſe plagues. However, archbiſhop *Uſher* has included them all within the ſpace of one month, from *Moſes*'s own account, as follows (22).

(16) Boorh. *ap.* Villet. (17) *Judæi fere omnes. Vid.* Uſſer. *An. p.* 13. Genebrard, & *al.* (18) *Exod. vi.* 1. (19) *Joſh. v.* 6. (20) *Exod. vii.* 7. (21) *Deut. xxxiv.* 7. (22) *Annal. p.* 14. *Vid. etiam* Perrer. & Villet. *in loc.*

About

Its first institution.

HOWEVER, it must be observed, that this ceremony of eating the passover, as well as the method of doing it, had been prescribed by GOD to *Moses*, and by him communicated to the *Israelites*, during these transactions that passed between him

About the eighteenth day of the sixth month, which, in the year following, and after, was reckoned the twelfth month, was sent the plague of the waters turned into blood, which ended seven days after (23).

About the twenty fifth day came on the second plague of the frogs, which was removed the day following (24); and about the twenty seventh day came on the third plague of lice (25).

About the twenty eighth day *Moses* threatened them with a fourth plague of flies and other vermin, which came on the twenty ninth day, and were all taken away on the thirtieth (26).

About the first day of the next month, which was afterwards made the first month of the year, *Moses*, having foretold them of another plague to come, namely, the murrain upon the cattle, brought it upon them the day following (27).

About the third day the sixth plague of boils brake out upon man, and beast, and upon the magicians (28).

About the fourth day *Moses* foretold them a seventh plague, which he brought upon them on the fifth; which was of thunder, rain, and grievous hail, mixed with fire, with which their flax and barley were smitten (29), but their wheat and rye were not hurt; not being yet out of the ground. Whence *Nic. Fuller*, *lib.* 3. *miscel.* 1. rightly observes, p. 389, that this plague happened in the month *Abib*.

About the seventh day *Moses* threatened them with an eighth plague, and accordingly sent it the day following, that was, of locusts to devour all; which plague he removed about the ninth day (30).

The month *Abib*, which hitherto was the seventh month, was from this time forward made the first month of the whole year (31), for a memorial of their departure out of *Egypt*; from the beginning of which month the *Epocha* of the *Jewish* calendar is from thence forward deduced (32), though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month.

Upon the tenth day of this now first day of the month, *which was the thirtieth of* April *according to the* Julian *calendar upon* Thursday, was instituted the feast of the passover and sweet-bread, to

(23) *Exod. vii.* 25. (24) *Ib. viii.* 10. (25) *Ib. ver.* 17. (26) *Ib. ver.* 24 & 29. (27) *Exod. ix.* 3, 5, 6. (28) *Ib. ver.* 8. & *seq.* (29) *Ib. ver.* 18 *ad* 32. (30) *Ib. x.* 4 *ad* 19. (31) *Ib. xii.* 2. & *xiii.* 4. (32) *Num. ix.* 1, 2. *Coll. c. Exod. xl.* 17.

wit,

him and the king of *Egypt*, though they are poſtponed to the twelfth chapter, to prevent the breaking of the ſeries of thoſe wonders which GOD had wrought by him. The account, which he has given us of this inſtitution, is prefaced with a command from GOD, that that month, which was then the ſixth of the year, according to the common or civil computation, ſhould from thenceforth be the firſt month in the year in the ſacred calendar (K); and that all the other feaſts of the year, which were afterwards to be inſtituted, ſhould be regulated by that of the paſſover, the celebration of which was to be as follows. Upon the tenth of the month, which was four days before *Moſes*'s laſt meſſage to *Pharaoh*, every maſter of a family was to take a lamb or a kid, of the firſt year, a male without blemiſh, and keep it till the fourteenth of the ſame month. And in caſe his family was too ſmall for the lamb, he was to call in one or more families to the eating of it. It was to be killed and roaſted on the fourteenth day at evening, and eat with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; they were to eat with their loins girded, their ſhoes on their feet, and their ſtaff in their hand. They were to eat it in haſte, as people who are ready and impatient to be gone. The head and the feet were not to be ſevered from it, nor a bone of it to be broken: if any of it was left, it was not to

The order and manner of it.

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Moſes now brings upon them the ninth plague of three days darkneſs (34); and upon the 14th day *which was* May *the 4th, upon* Monday *with us*, which was the laſt time he ſpoke with *Pharaoh*, *Moſes* foretold him the tenth plague that ſhould come upon him, namely the deſtruction of all the firſt-born, which came to paſs the night following, and then, turning him about in great anger, departed from him (35). At the evening of this day was the paſſover celebrated (36).

(K) This month, which is called in the *Hebrew Abib*, and had been till then the ſeventh month, and continued ſo to be in the ſecular year, became from that day forward the firſt month of the ſacred year, in memory of this wonderful departure out of the land of *Egypt* (37); and from the beginning of this month the *Epocha* of the *Jewiſh* or ſacred Calendar was from thence-forward deduced, though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month (38).

(33) *Exod xii.* 3 *ad* 21. (34) *Ibid. x.* 21, *& ſeq.* (35) *Ib. ver.* 25 *ad* 29. *& c. xi.* 1, 4, 8. (36) *Ib. xii. ad ver.* 28. (37) *Exod xii* 2. *with xiii.* 4. (38) *Num ix.* 1, 2. *with Exod. xl.* 17. *Vid.* Uſſ. *Ann. p.* 14.

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be kept till the next day, but thrown into the fire and burnt to aſhes, though the eating of unleavened bread was to laſt ſeven days. This injunction about the paſſover was to be perpetual, but on this night they were moreover to ſave the blood of the lamb in a baſon, and ſprinkle the two ſide-poſts and croſs-poſt of their doors with it, that the deſtroying angel might leave their houſes untouched, when he paſſed by to deſtroy the firſt-born of *Egypt*, and execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether it were their princes, who in the language of ſcripture are often called gods, or thoſe animals which that ſuperſtitious nation did worſhip. This blood upon their door-poſts was to be their ſafe-guard, ſeeing all thoſe which were found unſprinkled with it were to be liable to the common calamity, as well as thoſe who ſhould be caught ſtragling out of their houſes during that whole night. In memory of which great deliverance, they were to keep this feaſt of unleavened bread ſeven days, that is, from the fourteenth day at even until the twenty firſt day at even; during which, whoſoever was found among them eating of leavened bread, whether he was an *Iſraelite* or a ſtranger, was to be cut off from *Iſrael*, that is, was either to be put to immediate death, or to be cut off by the hand of providence; or laſtly, be excommunicated, and thereby reſcinded from all the promiſes made to the ſeed of *Abraham*. The firſt and laſt of theſe ſeven days were to be kept holy and free from all manner of work. Laſtly, no ſtranger was to be admitted to eat of the paſſover, unleſs he conſented to be circumciſed. As for the *Iſraelites*, they were ſtrictly to remember this great and glorious night, and to inſtruct their children in the meaning of this inſtitution, that they might likewiſe perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

Unleavened bread.

The Iſraelites obey, and kill the paſſover.

THE people, whom ſo many dire judgments on the *Egyptians*, had rendered more tractable, received *Moſes*'s orders with the utmoſt reſpect; and, having paid their adoration to GOD, went to put themſelves in readineſs to execute them. Theſe commands may be properly reduced to three heads, *viz.* Firſt, To gather themſelves from all the corners of the kingdom into the land of *Goſhen*; it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a vaſt multitude, amounting to upwards of two millions and an half of ſouls, as we have elſewhere ſhewn *, could be all contained in that little ſpot of ground; ſo that it required no ſmall diſpatch to communicate the orders of their departure to them all. Secondly, To get all the rich things they could from the *Egyptians*; and this required

* Vid. ſup. p. 463. not. (B).

quired ſecrecy, ſince it is not probable, that the *Egyptians* would have proved ſo generous, if they had ſuſpected that this journey was any other than a religious one, that was to laſt but a few days. Thirdly, To eat the paſſover at the time, and with all the ceremonies, that had been preſcribed; and this was to take up ſome time, four days at leaſt. However, providence ſo ordered it, that they were all ready on that night. And the *Pſalmiſt* tells us [n], that, notwithſtanding the great number of their old men, women, and children, there was not one feeble perſon among all their tribes.

THE night, which was to prove ſo joyful to them, and ſo fatal to their enemies, being come, and GOD's commands being punctually obeyed, whilſt both ſides were in the extremeſt tranquillity, the *Egyptians* thinking now all the plagues paſt, and *Pharaoh* flattering himſelf that *Moſes*'s threatening againſt the firſt-born had proved abortive, becauſe four days were elapſed ſince it was denounced, whereas he uſed to give him but one day's warning in the former plagues; and on the other hand, the *Iſraelites* keeping themſelves in the profoundeſt ſilence, knowing what horrid ſlaughter was to be made among the *Egyptians*; in the middle, I ſay, of that very night, GOD ſent his deſtroying miniſters, who ſuddenly diſperſed themſelves all over the kingdom, and ſmote all the firſt-born with immediate death, from the firſt-born who ſat on *Pharaoh*'s throne, to the firſt-born of the impriſoned captive, and even to that of the meaneſt animal in the land. What tongue or pen can deſcribe the horror and amazement, the dreadful outcries, and mournful groans, of that unhappy nation, where every houſe, none excepted, had one or more dead, and, which was ſtill worſe, a firſt-born, the ſtay and hope of the family (L)! How much more diſmal

The firſt-born of the Egyptians ſlain by the deſtroying angel.

[n] Pſal. cv. 37.

(L) This at leaſt ſeems to have been the caſe, as well from *Moſes*'s own words, who tells us, that there was not one houſe in which there was not one dead (39), as from his command to all the families of the *Iſraelites* to ſprinkle their door-poſts with the blood of the paſchal lamb; but if it be aſked, how it can be ſuppoſed, that every houſe had a firſt-born, we anſwer, that the *Hebrew* בכור *Bechor* being often uſed to imply ſome excellency in perſons who were not really firſt-born, as in *Ephraim*, it will be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that where a family had no firſt born, the principal perſon was ſmitten with death (40), than to ſuppoſe with ſome *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, that *Moſes*'s words are only appli-

(39) *Exod.* xii. 30. (40) Cajet. Jun. Villet. & *al. in loc.*

 cable

mal muſt the proud monarch's condition be, who not only ſhared in the common affliction, but ſaw his palace beſieged by crowds of his unhappy ſubjects, who upbraided him with being the cauſe of all theſe dire calamities! The firſt expedient he could think of was, to ſend immediately for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who, being ſettled at *Rameſes* not far from his capital city, were ſoon brought to him, and found the frighted king, inſtead of his uſual threatening and upbraidings, urgent and preſſing for their departure out of his dominions, with their children, cattle, aud all they had, and to have them go, and ſacrifice to their GOD, and implore his mercy for him in their prayers. The *Egyptians* likewiſe were no leſs impatient to ſee their backs, fearing leſt every minute of their ſtay ſhould prove their laſt. The *Iſraelites* found them as ready to lend them the moſt valuable things they had, as themſelves were to borrow them; and *Moſes*, who was too well acquainted with *Pharaoh*'s changeable temper to ſtay till he relaxed, made all the haſte he could to put it out of his power; and, having ſettled the beſt order he could, among that vaſt multitude and in the general confuſion that then reigned, he gave the ſignal for their departure long before break of day. Leaving therefore the *Egyptians* to mourn for, and bury their dead, and loaden with their ſpoils, they began their march under the conduct of providence, and of his ſervant *Moſes*, being to the number of ſix hundred thouſand men able to bear arms, beſides old men, women and children, ſervants, and an innumerable multitude of ſtrangers, who joined themſelves to them, and followed them in their march. They had continued in *Egypt* from the time of *Jacob*'s firſt coming thither to this very day, which was the ſame day of the ſame month and week, *viz.* *Monday* °, the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, though *Moſes*, computing it from the firſt coming of *Abraham* into *Canaan*, reckons it four hundred and thirty years, as has been already ſhewn *. There was yet one main thing wanting, *viz.* the ſecuring of a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for all that multitude, and perhaps they expected to have had time enough to have got it before their march; but the *Egyptians* drove them away with

Moſes *and* Aaron *ſent for and ordered to depart.*

The number of the Iſraelites *that went out of* Egypt.

° USHER's Annal. p. 14. * Vid. ſupra, p. 363. not. K.

cable to every houſe that had a firſt born (41), or with St. *Auſtin*, that providence did ſo order it at this time, that every houſe had a firſt-born (42).

(41) Aben Ezra, Hug. S. Victor. (42) *Queſt.* 44 *in Exod.*

ſuch

ſuch deſperate fury, that the people were forced to carry their paſte with them unleavened, with which they baked themſelves cakes upon the coals; and what other proviſion they could get they took with them undreſſed, and marched from *Rameſes*, *Moſes*'s dwelling-place, to their firſt encampment at *Succoth* [p]. *Joſephus* tells us [q], that their dough and other proviſion, which they carried from *Egypt*, laſted them a whole month, but it is not likely, that they would load themſelves with ſuch luggage, which in all probability they knew not how to preſerve ſo long from ſtinking, when they had ſo much better things to carry out of the ſpoils of the *Egyptians*. As ſoon as they were arrived at *Succoth*, *Moſes* made them encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewiſe the order in which they had been directed to march. It is to be obſerved here, that the diſtance from *Rameſes* to the utmoſt borders of *Egypt*, on the ſide of the land of *Canaan*, was not much above threeſcore miles, ſo that *Moſes* could in a few days march have brought them out of *Pharaoh*'s territories, yet GOD did ſo order it, that they were full forty years before they ſet their foot upon the borders of the promiſed land. *Their firſt encampment.*

WHILST they continued at *Succoth*, *Moſes* was commanded by GOD to conſecrate the firſt-born of men and beaſts to him, to whom they did of right belong; the firſt-born of men were to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels, that is, of the ſanctuary, which was worth double the common one, that is, about two ſhillings and ſix pence; ſo that the whole ſum amounted to about twelve ſhillings and ſix pence; which money was afterwards to be given to the prieſts. This redemption was founded not only upon the right which GOD has over all his creatures, but more particularly upon the account of his having ſpared the firſt-born of the *Iſraelites*, when he ſmote thoſe of the *Egyptians*, which was, as it were the ſeal and finiſhing ſtroke of his wonderful judgments on that proud and cruel nation. This law concerning the firſt-born of men did not at all regard the women; for if the firſt-fruits of a marriage proved a female, no redemption was to be paid for her. Secondly, as to that of beaſts, it extended only to the clean, the unclean ones were to be either redeemed by a clean one, as an aſs by a lamb, or to be killed and flung away. They were ordered to teach the reaſon of this law of redemption to their children and grand- *The firſt-born of Iſrael conſecrated.* *The law concerning it.*

[p] Exod. xii. [q] Antiq lib. ii. c. 15. [*] Vid. ſupr. p. 363. Not. K.

[E] USHER's Ann. p. 14.

children,

children, that their posterity might never be at a loss to account for it, nor the wonders which were wrought in favour of them be forgot. Among all the cares which *Moses* and *Aaron* had, they did not forget to bring *Joseph*'s coffin and bones with them, pursuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted from them. The *Jews* tell us, they placed them in a new sumptuous cart, or open hearse, which they made to march under the guard and conduct of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* his two children [r]. They likewise affirm, that every tribe did bring the bones of the heads of their family with them; but though they are not always to be credited in matters of this nature (M), and *Josephus* doth not seem to have dreamed of such an act of filial piety, or else he would in all probability have recorded it; yet St. *Stephen* seems to allude to some such tradition among them, when he said, that *Jacob* and the fathers went down into *Egypt*, and were carried over into *Sychem*, and laid in the sepulchre which *Abraham* bought of the sons of *Emmor* [s]. However that were, *Moses* had still another care, which was to settle the order of their march in so regular a method, that there might be no confusion or squabble among that vast and mixed multitude, and that they might be ready to face about and stand in their own

Joseph's *bones carried out of* Egypt.

[r] Vid. ELLE SHEMOTH RABBAH. Sect. זאת הברכה & Rabbin. mult. [s] Acts vii. 15, 16.

(M) We have already given an account, out of the *Elle Shemoth Rabbah*, of the extraordinary care which the *Egyptians* took, by the advice of their magicians, to bury *Joseph*'s coffin, where the *Israelites* should never be able to come at it ‡. The same comment adds, that whilst these were taken up with spoiling the *Egyptians*, *Moses* had been three or four days seeking for it, and that at length, when he began to despair of finding it, an old woman, whom he met by the *Nile*'s side, told him, that it was in the bottom of the river, near the place where they stood; but that the heavy coffin was sunk so deep by that time, that it would be absolutely impossible for him to fish it out. Whereupon *Moses* having addressed himself to GOD in a short prayer, and then called aloud to the patriarch *Joseph*, reminding him of his prophesy, and the oath which he had exacted from them about his bones, the coffin swam to the shore, and *Moses* having tied a rope round the middle of it, and put his staff through it, threw it across his shoulder, and marched away to *Rameses* with it.

‡ *Vid supra*, p. 453. Not. W.

defence,

defence, in caſe of a purſuit (N), or of their meeting with any difficulty or obſtruction, from the nations through whoſe territories they were to paſs. However, to prevent theſe, or any other accidents which might make the people run reſty, and take it into their heads to return to *Egypt*, GOD was pleaſed to forbid *Moſes* to take the neareſt way to the land of *Canaan*, that is through that of the *Philiſtines*, and ordered him to wheel about along the coaſts of the *Red-ſea* towards *Arabia petræa*. He likewiſe made them march, not like run- *Order of their march.*

Second encampment.

(N) The word, which our verſion renders *harneſſed* in the text, and by *five in a rank* in the margin, in the original is חמושים *Chamuſhim*, which cannot well be rendered literally in *Engliſh*, it ſignifying properly five or fifty, diſpoſed in a fifth order or manner, or in ſome way that has relation to the number five, and has puzzled moſt expoſitors, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtians*. Some underſtanding it of their going πεμπλάζονλες, or five in a rank (43), which would have made it ſuch a defile in ſuch a numerous army, as would have taken up near an hundred miles in length, according to *Oleaſter*'s computation; others of their being armed with five different ſorts of weapons (44); which is monſtrous, ſince that were enough to have made them ſink under the weight of it. Beſides, it is not at all probable, that the *Egyptians* would have ſuffered them to carry more arms with them than they took by ſtealth; and therefore the vulgate verſion, which tranſlates it *armed*, cannot be maintained, much leſs that of the *Septuagint*, which renders it by πεμπλήγενες, the fifth generation, it neither being agreeable to the *Hebrew*, nor indeed true in fact. Thoſe who render it that they marched in five columns, four of which conſiſted of three tribes, whilſt *Moſes* and the elders marched in the fifth, and in the middle of all the reſt (45), are ſtill more out of the way, the thing being impracticable in thoſe mountainous parts. As for thoſe who tranſlate it in battle array (46), they muſt confine the word to the ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, for as for the women, children, and mixed multitude that went with them, which was at leaſt three times as numerous, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have marched in that regular military way. The beſt reading therefore ſeems to be that of *Kimchi* and *Pagninus*, that they went *accincti*, *girded* or *truſſed up*. The word *Chamuſhim* being moſt likely derived from *Chemeſh*, the fifth rib, which is the place of girding, and is often uſed in that ſenſe. But be the meaning of the word what it will, it is certain from *Moſes*'s account, that their march was more like that of a diſciplined army, than that of a band of fugitive ſlaves.

(43) Theodot. A. Montan. & *al.* (44) *Rabbin aliquot ap* Munſt. *in loc.* (45) R. Abr. Sepharad. (46) Jun. Simler, & *al.*

aways in confuſion and diſorder, but like a regular army in battle-array, in which order they went from *Succoth* to *Etham*, towards *Arabia-deſerta*, which is therefore called in the original the wilderneſs, near the borders of which *Etham* was ſituate, where they arrived on the ſecond day after their departure out of *Egypt*. This rout *Moſes* made them take, deſigning probably to get to mount *Sinai* by the point of the *Red-ſea*[t]; but GOD made him take another on the next day, and to turn towards *Pi-hahiroth*, which lies between the *Red-ſea* and *Migdol* and *Baal-zephon* (O). Herein GOD was

[t] Exod. xiii.

(O) We know but little of the geography of all theſe places. As for the *Succoth* here mentioned, we muſt not confound it with that which *Jacob* called by that name, when he came out of *Meſopotamia* (47); tho' the former may have been ſo called, in imitation of the latter, upon account of the booths or tents which the *Iſraelites* ſet up there. *Joſephus* calls it *Latopolis*; where he ſays *Babylon* was afterwards built, when *Cambyſes* invaded *Egypt* (48: it is thought by many to be that region which was called *Troglodytis*, by the *Red ſea* (49). As for *Rameſes*, tho' there ſeems to be mention made of two, and they differently pointed, yet if they differ, it is only that the one was a province, and the other the chief town of it (50). *Etham* is ſuppoſed to be *Buthee* of *Herodotus*. And *Pi hahiroth*, the city of *Heroum* on the extreme part of the *Arabic* gulph, or the *Phagroriopolis* placed by *Strabo* (51) near the ſame place. All that we know of *Migdol* is only that it ſignifies a tower; *Baal-zephon* ſeems wholly unknown to the antient geographers. The *Jewiſh* rabbies, and after them *Grotius*, believe it to have been an idol ſet up to guard the confines of *Egypt*. The former add, that it was a brazen dog, and that it diſcovered the flight of the *Iſraelites* by its barking. The truth is, they are too apt to give into etymologies, though they are known to be the moſt uncertain and fallacious helps; according to which *Baal-zephon* ſignifies either the *hidden Lord*, the *northern Lord*, the *centinel Lord*, or in a more figurative way, the LORD, or revealer of ſecrets. But who can depend upon ſuch wild fancies? *Euſebius* takes it, not for a ſtatue, but a town, and places it near (52) *Cyſma*, though St. *Jerom* has omitted it in his tranſlation. It ſtands upon the moſt northern point of the *Red-ſea*, where the antients, eſpecially the *Jews*, think the *Iſraelites* paſſed it, and where there ſtands to this day a *Chriſtian* monaſtery (53).

(47) *Gen. xxxiii.* 17. (48) *Ant. lib ii.* 15. (49) *Vid* Simler, Villet. (50) *Id. ibid.* (51) *Lib. xiv ap.* Calm. *Diſſert. in loc.* & Villet. *in loc.* (52) *Loc. Hebr.* (53) *Vid.* Calm *Hiſt. V. T. Comm. in Exod. xiv.* & *Diſſert. on the paſſage of the Red-ſea.*

pleaſed to ſhew his care for them in another miraculous manner; for though he might have notified to them when and whither to march, or where to halt and encamp, as he did his other commands, by the mouth of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, yet, conſidering the untractableneſs of their temper, and how apt they would be to murmur againſt them at every ſuppoſed wrong ſtep, he condeſcended to conduct them by a more viſible way, namely by a pillar of light in the night-ſeaſon, and by a column of ſmoke in the day-time. This column of fire, which ſerved to them inſtead of the light of the ſun, as well as that of ſmoke, never forſook them during their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs; on the contrary, it was their conductor throughout their forty two encampments, and directed them when and whither to march, according as they ſaw it move before them, and to halt when they perceived it to ſtop. But whether it was given to them at their firſt, ſecond, or third march, at *Succoth* or *Etham*, is not eaſy to gueſs at by the text [u].

The miraculous pillar of fire and ſmoke.

They are led by the miraculous pillar.

IT was natural for them, as we hinted before, to have gone from *Etham* round the cape of the *Red-ſea*, and marching a-croſs the wilderneſs, to have gained the eaſt border of *Jordan*, and ſo to have reached to mount *Sinai*; and this ſeems to have been what *Moſes* aimed at, probably with an intention to have offered up ſome ſacrifices there, agreeably to what GOD had formerly told him, when he was ſending him into *Egypt*; but GOD, who knew what was tranſacting at *Pharaoh*'s court, and what meaſures that monarch and his no leſs infatuated ſubjects were taking to purſue them, and bring them back by main force, commanded them to wheel about, and to march from *Etham* towards *Pi-hahiroth*; which is between the ſea and *Migdol*, over againſt *Baal zephon*; and to encamp before it. For by this time the *Egyptians* began to repent of their too great eaſineſs in parting with the *Iſraelites*, and loſing the benefit of their ſervitude; and thinking that they might eaſily catch them intangled between the mountains, and fatigued with their march, had prepared a conſiderable army, together with ſix hundred of the choiceſt chariots, beſides all the chariots of war that could be found in *Egypt*, and a vaſt multitude of officers and ſoldiers, who were all in full march after them. *Moſes* has not given us any further particulars concerning that army; but *Joſephus*, who ſeldom fails to improve the text, whenever it makes for the honour of his nation, makes it amount to ſix hundred chariots, fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred

GOD *makes them wheel about towards* Pihahiroth.

Pharaoh *purſues after,*

[u] Ibid. ver. ult.

thouſand foot *, and *Ezechiel* the poet, quoted by *Euſebius*, hath increaſed it to a million of men. But whatever the army was, *Pharaoh* put himſelf at the head of it, and lead it with ſuch ſpeed, that he overtook them at *Pi-hahiroth*, and incamped there in full ſight of the *Iſraelites*; but whether it were that his army was too much fatigued with their march, or that he thought himſelf ſure of them, there being no viſible way for them to eſcape him, unleſs they flung themſelves into the ſea; or laſtly, that providence prevented his immediate falling upon them; certain it is, that nothing hoſtile was undertaken againſt them that night. However, it is moſt likely that ſeeing them hemmed in, as it were by the ſea on one hand, by impaſſable mountains and his own army on the other, and for want of arms, as well as courage, as incapable of fighting as they were of flying, might think it more adviſeable to force them to yield themſelves priſoners by famine, than to cut them in pieces, as he might eaſily have done, ſince by the one he reduced them to their former ſlavery, but by the other he ran the riſque of loſing a conſiderable part of them.

and overtakes them.

On the other hand, the puſillanimous *Iſraelites* inured to bondage, and ſtrangers to the valuable bleſſings of freedom, could not behold the *Egyptian* army incamped ſo near, without the utmoſt conſternation and dread; and, inſtead of having recourſe to that mighty arm, that had ſo viſibly ſtretched itſelf in their favour, ran in a tumultuous manner to *Moſes*'s tent, and aſked him, whether he thought, that there were not graves enough in *Egypt*, ſeeing he had brought them to be butchered in the wilderneſs? and whether it would not have been much better for them to have continued under their *Egyptian* ſlavery, which how cruel ſoever, they had always told him, was preferable to the danger of falling into the hands of their cruel tyrants after their flight, ſince it was plain now that they had nothing to expect but the moſt cruel death, in that diſmal place. However, this ungrateful language, to which *Moſes* had already been uſed, tho' nothing ſo much as he was afterwards, rather moved his pity than his anger. He conſidered it as the effect of their extreme danger and cowardly temper, and, inſtead of upbraiding them with it, comforted them with the aſſurance, that this would be the laſt time of their ſeeing the *Egyptians*. He exhorted them to ſtand ſtill, and ſee the hand of God fight for them, inſtead of provoking him to withdraw it by their unreaſonable murmurings and deſpair.

Moſes *comforts the deſpairing* Iſraelites.

* Ant. l. ii. c. 15.

He

HE had no ſooner diſmiſſed them, than he went and made his application to GOD, who was immediately pleaſed to order the people to begin their march towards the ſea, directing him at the ſame time to ſtretch out his rod over it, and aſſuring him, that the waters of it would forthwith divide themſelves, and make way for them to go through it as on dry land; whilſt *Pharaoh* and his whole army, venturing to purſue them, ſhould be finally overwhelmed by its waves. *Moſes* obeyed, and whilſt a ſtrong eaſt wind was dividing that arm of the ſea to open a paſſage to them, and the *Iſraelites* were beginning their march towards it, the angel of the LORD, who conducted them in the pillar of fire, removed from the front to the rear of their army, and ſtood between them and that of the *Egyptians*, that *Pharaoh* might not be ſenſible of their moving, and prevent it by falling upon them too ſuddenly. The column of fire produced a double effect, giving light to the *Iſraelites* in their march, and caſting a darkneſs over *Pharaoh*'s camp, to prevent his perceiving what was doing in that of the *Hebrews*. Whilſt theſe were paſſing through the ſea, the ſacred hiſtorian tells us, that the waves aroſe in heaps and ſtood as a wall on each ſide of them (P). By this time the *Egyptians*, perceiving that the *Iſ-*

The Red-ſea is divided.

raelites

(P) Though it were needleſs, as well as endleſs, to trouble our readers with an enquiry into all the particulars, with which the generality of commentators have amuſed themſelves, with reſpect to this wonderful paſſage, concerning which *Moſes* has left us wholly in the dark; it will not be amiſs, we hope, to make a ſhort enquiry into the main and moſt material point, namely, whether it was really miraculous or not; that is, whether the ſea was really divided by a ſupernatural power, or whether *Moſes* and his hoſt did only coaſt ſome part of it, or at beſt croſs only a ſmall nook at low water, and timed it ſo well, that *Pharaoh*, endeavouring to do the like, did periſh in the attempt. This is ſo far from being a new queſtion, that *Artaphanes*, an antient writer (54), aſſures us, that both theſe opinions were held by the *Egyptian* prieſts; that is, the former by thoſe of *Heliopolis*, and the latter by thoſe of *Memphis*. The laſt of theſe has been alſo followed by many eminent men, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (55), who, without denying the main part of this tranſaction to be miraculous, have fallen into the notion of the *Iſraelites* not paſſing through the ſea, but only coaſting it along, and

(54) *Ap.* Euſeb. *l. ix. c.* 27. (55) Abenez. *& al. Rabbin. ap.* Fagium Gregor. Turon. *Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 10. T. Aquin. *in* 1 *Cor.* i. Toſtat. *qu in Exod. c. xiv.* 19. Lud. Brugens. *in loc.* Genebr. *in Chronic ad ann* 2239. Grot. *in Exod. xiv. ver.* 19. Vatabl. *in lib.* Le Clerc. *Diſſert de traject. Mar. Iſaum. & al. mult.*

raclites were marching off, and that the cloud which conducted them was removed towards the ſea, reſolved upon a cloſe

making as it were a ſemicircle round the ſea-ſhore at low ebb; or croſſing it only at one narrow point, whilſt the ſea was gone off, only to extricate themſelves from ſome difficulties which appeared to them inſurmountable; but which we ſhall forbear inſerting here becauſe they would lead us too far, and ſwell this note to an unreaſonable bulk. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that ſuch an opinion cannot be maintained without a manifeſt deviation, 1ſt, from the expreſs words of *Moſes*, and ſeveral other places of holy writ, where this tranſaction is mentioned: 2 from reaſon and experience, founded upon the knowledge we have of the ebbing and flowing of the *Red-ſea* and the impoſſibility of ſuch a numerous hoſt's performing ſuch a coaſting, or croſſing, in ſo little a time as that admits of: 3. from the known character of *Moſes* as a bare hiſtorian, and from ſome concurring teſtimonies of antiquity to his account: and laſtly, from the far greater majority of authors of all religions and ages, who have all along maintained, and ſome of them proved, the contrary opinion. As to the firſt, nothing is plainer, than that the whole tenor of *Moſes*'s account is point blank contrary to ſuch a notion. We need mention but ſome few paſſages of it; ſuch as, *that upon his ſtretching out his rod, by* God's *command over the waters, a mighty wind aroſe and divided them; that they ſtood up on heaps, and were as a wall on the right and left*; that *the bottom of the ſea was dried up, and that the* Iſraelites *marched through it as on dry land*, and the like (56). *That* God *divided the red-ſea into parts, or diviſions, and made* Iſrael *paſs through the midſt of it. That he led them by the right hand of* Moſes, *dividing the waters before them, to make himſelf an everlaſting name; and that he led them through the deep as an horſe in the wilderneſs.* That *he did walk, or rather cauſed* Iſrael *to walk, through the ſea* (57); and many more of the like nature, to ſay nothing of the apocryphal books, which abound with the ſame expreſſions. If it be objected, that the laſt quoted paſſages out of the pſalms and prophets are poetical, and conſequently not to be taken in their literal ſenſe, all that can be inferred from thence is, that they convey to us loftier ideas of this wonderful event, than *Moſes*, whoſe ſtile is far from being ſwoln, has done in his acount of it; but it would be unreaſonable to ſay, that they were only deſigned to expreſs a tranſaction ſo purely natural and eaſy, as the other ſide ſuppoſes it to have been. Upon the whole, the ſcriptures repreſenting this action, with all its circumſtances, as altogether miraculous, men muſt either reject their authority, or elſe allow, that this paſſage was more than a bare coaſting along ſome part of the ſea, or croſſing it at ſome narrow nook, when the waters were retired.

(56) *Exod. xiv & xv. paſſ. Num. Deuteron. &c.* (57) *Pſ. cxxxvi.* 13, 14. *& alib. Iſa.* lxiii. 12. 13. *Habak.* ii. 15.

Whether

cloſe purſuit after them; not conſidering, or perhaps dreaming, that they were launching into another element; much leſs

Whether *Joſephus* deſigned to leſſen the miracle, or to make it appear more credible, when he tells us (58), that *the Pamphylian ſea did open a way to* Alexander *in his expedition againſt the* Perſians, is not very material; for though we ſhould grant that to be the right meaning of his words, and that he might have met with that account in ſome book then extant; or even that *Q. Curtius* intimates ſomething like it, when he ſays (59), that that conqueror *had opened a new way by the ſea*; yet *Strabo* will ſoon ſet us right, who tells us, 'that there is a hill upon the *Pamphylian* ſea, called '*Climax*, by which there is a paſſage along the ſea-ſhore; the wa-'ters of it ſo abating, when the ſea is calm and ſtill, that the 'ground is left naked, which at the flowing of the waters is cover-'ed again; and that *Alexander*, coming that way ſet forward be-'fore the waters returned; but that, it happening then to be win-'ter, the waters recoiling before he had paſt it, he was forced to 'wade all that day through the waters up to his middle (60). 'Tis plain therefore, that there is no parity between the paſſage of the *Iſraelites*, and the coaſting of *Alexander*, whatever the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian's deſign might be in mentioning them together.

We come now 2dly, to ſhew, that the notion of *Moſes*'s leading them along the ſea-ſhore, or through a narrow point, is contrary to reaſon and experience. And here we do readily grant, that the *Red-ſea* doth ebb and flow like other ſeas that have a communication with the ocean; that is, that the waters of it riſe towards the ſhore during ſix hours, and after having continued about one quarter of an hour at high water, they ebb down again during another ſix hours. Thoſe who have examined it with the the greateſt exactneſs, do likewiſe aſſure us, that the greateſt diſtance that it falls from the place of high water, is about three hundred yards, and that during the time of low water one may ſafely travel it (61), as ſome have actually done (62). We purpoſely omit ſeveral other minute circumſtances urged on both ſides of this queſtion, to avoid prolixity. But from what is here premiſed, and allowed on all hands, it is evident, that theſe three hundred paces, which the ſea leaves uncovered, during the time of low water, can continue ſo but during the ſpace of half an hour at moſt; for during the firſt ſix hours the ſea doth only retire by degrees, and in leſs than half an hour it begins again to flow towards the ſhore. The moſt therefore that can be allowed both of time, and ſpace of paſſable ground, in a moderate computation, is about two hundred paces during ſix hours, or one hundred and fifty paces during eight hours. Now

(58) *Ant. l. ii. c.* 16. (59) *Lib. v.* (60) Strab. *lib.* xiv. *vid.* Villet. *in Exod.* xiv. *qu.* 17. (61) Bernier. Moriz on. *& al.* (62) Thevet. *chap.* 25.

it

leſs could they ſuppoſe, that it would prove as fatal to them, as it was friendly to thoſe whom they ſo eagerly followed after.

it is plain, that a multitude conſiſting at leaſt of upwards of two millions and a half of men, women, children, and ſlaves, as we have proved before †, encumbered beſides with great quantities of cattle, houſhold-ſtuff, and the ſpoils of the *Egyptians*, could never perform ſuch a march within ſo ſhort, we may ſay, within even double that ſpace, though we ſhould allow them alſo double the breadth of ground to do it on. This argument will hold equally good againſt thoſe who ſuppoſe that they only coaſted along ſome part of the ſea, and thoſe who maintain that they croſſed that ſmall arm or point of it, which is towards the farther end near the port of *Suez*, ſeeing that ſix or eight hours could not have ſufficed for the paſſage of ſo immenſe a multitude, allow them what breadth of room you will; much leſs for *Pharaoh* to have entered it with his whole hoſt.

It will not be amiſs here to obſerve, not only how improbable it is, that none of the *Egyptians* ſhould know any thing of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea; but how abſurd it is to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould all obſtinately perſiſt in purſuing the *Iſraelites* through it, when they ſaw it gradually returning upon them, till they were all ſwallowed up by it. Beſides, who can ſuppoſe, that the *Iſraelites* venturing into the ſea was a premeditated thing? or even that *Moſes* could entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the *Egyptians* would be ſo ſoon at their heels, they who had been ſo lately and ſo ſeverely plagued for detaining them, and were ſo urgent for their departure? Sure it is, that, if he had any ſuch thought, he acted moſt impoliticly, in bringing them into a place, where they were hemmed in by the ſea on one hand, and the mountains on the other; ſeeing, had *Pharaoh*, upon his arrival at *Pi hahiroth*, immediately fallen upon them, as it was natural to expect, they muſt have been obliged to flounce into the ſea long before the tide had opened a paſſage to them, if not at the very time of high water, in which caſe they muſt have been all either drowned, or cut in pieces.

And this brings us to our third obſervation, that ſuch a notion is repugnant to the known character of *Moſes*, even as a bare hiſtorian; and that it calls in queſtion, not only his avowed modeſty and veracity, but even his ſenſe, learning and experience. For on the one hand, who can imagine, that the maintainers of it can give any credit to his relation, when he tells them, that GOD alone, who knew what paſt in *Egypt*, did unexpectedly make them take this new rout? When he deſcribes his own ſurpriſe and the people's conſternation at the ſight of the *Egyptian* army? When he aſſures them, that GOD did interpoſe his miraculous power on their behalf,

† *Vid. ſupr.* 463.

and

after. For it doth not appear by the text, that the *Egyptians* were ſenſible, that they were entering into the ſea, and it is

and in a word, that he divided the ſea to make a free paſſage for them, and to overwhelm their enemies? What notion muſt they have of his ſincerity, when he makes all *Iſrael* reſound the praiſes of GOD, as the author of a deliverance which was entirely owing to his own cunning and policy. On the other hand, what muſt they think of his conduct and experience, that could be guilty of ſuch an overſight, as leading them into the very mouth of the extremeſt danger, and ſo weak as to betray it, though cloaked with the pretence of a miraculous power and direction? We ſhall only add, that he muſt have been the moſt imprudent, and withal the moſt conceited man alive, that could take it into his head, to make ſuch a vaſt, and not over-credulous, multitude believe, that their paſſage was altogether as miraculous as he affirms it to have been, when they could not but be well aſſured of the contrary; much leſs appoint a ſolemn feſtival of ſeven days, and enjoin it to be obſerved by them and their poſterity to all future ages, in memory of their pretended miraculous paſſing through the ſea; when the experience of a much ſhorter time, than they continued along that coaſt, could eaſily have convinced them, that there was nothing in it but what was natural, and what happened every day. Theſe abſurd conſequences, which naturally flow from that opinion, are ſo evident, and the ſyſtem itſelf has been ſo fully confuted long ago by the learned *Diodorus Tarſenſis*, *Chryſoſtom*'s maſter, that it hath met with few more advocates, than theſe we have mentioned in the margin. And even among theſe, we have already obſerved, that the greateſt part, eſpecially *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, do acknowledge ſtill, that a divine power interpoſed itſelf in raiſing and continuing that mighty wind, and cauſing thereby the waters to retire much farther than uſual, and to recoil with greater force upon the *Egyptians*.

We obſerved further on this head, that this opinion was contrary to ſeveral concurring teſtimonies of antiquity. We have already mentioned that of *Joſephus*, and of the *Heliopolites*, who acknowledge the miraculouſneſs of this tranſaction, and whoſe authority ought to be of greater weight than that of the *Memphites*, becauſe ſuch an acknowledgment of the divine interpoſing power can be aſcribed to nothing but the force of truth, and notoriety of the fact, whatever motives their brethren of *Memphis* might have to diſown it. We ſhall content ourſelves with juſt mentioning one more. *Diodorus Siculus* (63) tells us, that the *Ichthyophagi*, who inhabited along the coaſts of the *Red-ſea*, towards the farther end of it, had a conſtant tradition, that that ſea had formerly been divided by a ſtrong wind; and that the waves being parted into two heaps,

(63) *Lib. iii. c.* 3.

the

is more than probable, that they were too eager after their purſuit, and had too little light to perceive the danger they were running into, unleſs we will ſuppoſe with the *Jewiſh*

the bottom, which was left naked, had appeared full of verdure. This can hardly be applicable to any thing but to this tranſaction we are upon.

Having by this time dwelt ſo long upon theſe three heads, we hope the reader will eaſily excuſe us from enlarging on the laſt, by multiplying authorities on our ſide of the queſtion, ſeeing what has been alledged againſt the other is ſo full and ſtrong, that were the majority as much on their ſide, as it is on ours, yet would it not outweigh the arguments that have been brought to confute it.

We ſhall only add, that among thoſe, who acknowledge a divine power to have interpoſed in this ſignal tranſaction, ſome have endeavoured to reduce the miracle into a very narrow compaſs, whilſt others, ſetting no bounds to their zeal, have multiplied it even beyond all meaſure.

Of the former ſort are thoſe who have attributed the dividing of the ſea, and the ſtanding up of the waves, to a vehement cold wind, which froze them as faſt as it blew them up; after which a warmer one, being ſuffered to riſe, did both thaw and blow them into their former ſtation. Of this ſentiment were, 1. the ſeventy interpreters, who tranſlated the words of *Moſes*'s ſong (64) וַיִּקָּפְאוּ תְהֹמֹת *the waters were frozen*, or, as our verſion words it, *were congealed*. 2. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt. 3. The author of the book of *Judith* (65). 4 Some of the verſions of the ſeptuagint; and laſtly, amongſt the many moderns, father *Martinay*, in a ſpecimen he has given us of ſome curious diſcoveries which he had made in the ſacred text, mentions this as one of them, that the waters of the *Red-ſea* were frozen. A *Jewiſh* Rabbi has fancied, that the ſea was not divided but frozen hard enough for the *Iſraelites* to go over it, though it thawed under their purſuers (66). On the other hand, *Origen*, to magnify this great miracle, has preſerved us an antient tradition among the *Jews*, which affirms, that God opened the ſea in twelve different columns, that every tribe might paſs ſeparately; in which he has been followed by ſeveral antient and modern writers. This tradition ſeems to have been founded upon that verſe of the pſalm (67), which ſays, *that* God *divided the ſea into parts*, or diviſions; but we don't think ſuch wild notions worth confuting, any more than that of *Sadulius*, who goes ſo far as to think, that God did even overturn the rocks, and root up the plants that grew in the bottom of the ſea leſt they ſhould obſtruct the quick paſſage of the *Iſraelites*.

(64) *Exod.* xv. 8. (65) *Judith*, v. 13. (66) R Sam. Maroc. *lib. de Advent. Meſſiæ*, c. 15. (67) *Pſal.* cxxxvi. 13.

hiſtorian

hiſtorian [w], that, becauſe they ſaw the *Iſraelites* march ſafely through the ſea, they vainly hoped they might do ſo too, and and were not undeceived till it was too late. However that were, 'tis plain, that their inſolent conduct, after ſo many warnings, did juſtly deſerve the puniſhment they were ſhortly to undergo; for by the next morning watch, that is by break of day, which is about four in the morning with us, GOD looking upon them through the pillar of fire, ſoon let them feel, that ſuch a miraculous way was not opened in their favour, but for their deſtruction. They began to find their chariots go more and more heavily, and had ſo many indications of GOD's fighting againſt them, as made them reſolve upon turning about, and fleeing from thoſe whom they ſo eagerly purſued. But all their haſte could not ſave them, GOD commanded *Moſes* to ſtretch again his rod over the ſea, and he had no ſooner obeyed, but the waves, which had been till then miraculouſly ſuſpended, fell in again by their own weight, and overwhelmed *Pharaoh* and his hoſt, ſo that not one of them eſcaped from the common ruin; whilſt the *Iſraelites* beholding, with wonder and amazement, the carcaſſes and the rich ſpoils of their enemies thrown upon the ſea-ſhore, began, at leaſt ſeemingly, to fear the Lord, and to believe his ſervant *Moſes* [x].

They are all drowned.

The place where they croſſed the Red-ſea *uncertain.*

WE took notice in a former note, that the exact ſituation of the places, from which the *Iſraelites* ſet out at their entering into the ſea, and at which they came out are ſo much unknown to us, that it is next to impoſſible to deſcribe their rout with any tolerable certainty *. For ſhould we ſo far depend upon *Euſebius*, as to believe *Baal zephon* to have been *Cluſma*, and that the antient tradition were true, that it was at this latter that they paſſed the ſea; yet the generality of geographers differ ſo much in their placing it, that we are ſtill to ſeek for the ſide on which it ſtood, whether on the north, on the eaſt, or ſouth, or weſt ſhore of the *Arabic* gulph †. For which reaſon we hope, the reader will excuſe us from giving into uncertain conjectures. Thoſe who can give credit to the report of ſeveral grave travellers *, who affirm from their own knowledge, that the ruts of the chariot-

[w] Jos. Ant. lib. 2. c. 16. [x] Exod. xiv. per tot. * Vid. p. 528, note (O). † Compare EUSEB. loc Hæbr. ATHANAS. Hiſt. Arrianor. Tom. I. p. 385. PHILOSTORG. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 3. c. 6. COSMAS, lib. 5. p. 194. Tabul. PUTINGER. Itiner. ANTONIN. THEVENOT's Voyages, part 2. c. 33. and others * PAUL OROS. GELG. TURON. &c. al ap. CALM. Diſſert. in loc.

wheels are ſtill miraculouſly preſerved, not only upon the ſand, but even as far into the ſea as the eye can ſee through it, notwithſtanding all endeavours to deface them, which they attribute to a petrifying quality in the waters of the ſea; theſe, I ſay, need not be at a loſs where to ſet the boundaries of that paſſage. As for us, we are contented, with having proved in the laſt note, that they paſſed it ſomewhere, without troubling ourſelves with what is of leſs moment, and can never be known with any probability. We return to the *Iſraelites*, whom we left rejoicing and praiſing GOD for their happy eſcape.

HOWEVER, *Moſes* knew them too well to hope, that this religious fit would laſt longer than every thing went to their liking. He therefore took hold of this happy diſpoſition he obſerved in them, to celebrate this miraculous victory, and to inſpire them with the deepeſt ſentiments of gratitude to their almighty deliverer. To this end he compoſed a hymn, in which he extols the greatneſs of GOD's power diſplayed in this ſignal victory, and his amazing mercy towards his people. And having divided the *Iſraelites* into two great choirs, he placed himſelf and his brother *Aaron* at the head of the men, and his ſiſter *Miriam* at the head of the women, and whilſt the former did ſing the canticle, the women anſwered alternately to each verſe, with repeating the firſt words of it, *I will ſing to the Lord, for he has greatly triumphed, and has overthrown the horſe and its rider into the ſea.* Their muſic was likewiſe accompanied with dances, and the ſound of ſuch inſtruments as they had brought with them from *Egypt*. Thus was the ſeven days feſtival, which had been ordained in memory of this ſignal deliverance, joyfully concluded, and the firſt and laſt day of it, which were to be obſerved with more than uſual ſolemnity, ſignalized the one by the death of the *Egyptian* firſt-born, and the laſt by their miraculous paſſage through the *Red-ſea*, and the total overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his hoſt.

Moſes's ſong for this deliverance.

AND now the *Iſraelites* began to think themſelves freed indeed, and on the eve of their complete happineſs; a few days march would eaſily bring them into the borders of the promiſed land, and the conqueſt of it could not but appear eaſy to them, who had GOD for their protector, and *Moſes* for their guide. And indeed had the latter had no other difficulties to ſurmount, than the ruggedneſs of the way, and the irreconcileable hatred, and vigorous oppoſition of thoſe warlike nations that inhabited it, *Canaan* would ſoon have been in their poſſeſſion. But their ſtubborn and ungrateful temper, their continual murmurings and rebellions againſt their heaven-appointed chief, joined to an invincible fondneſs for idolatry

and

and ſuperſtition, proved not only a conſtant obſtacle to their hopes, but an endleſs ſource of misfortunes to them, and of grief and vexation to their leader, though otherwiſe famed above all men for his meek and gentle diſpoſition. It was not long before they began to give freſh marks of their untractableneſs. They had ſcarce travelled three days from the *Red-ſea* into the wilderneſs of *Shur*, before their exceſſive thirſt and want of water put them out of all patience; inſomuch, that, when they came to diſcover thoſe of *Marah*, and found them too bitter to drink, inſtead of having recourſe to GOD by prayer, they filled the air with their complaints againſt him and his ſervant *Moſes*, who, fearing the ill conſequence of this murmuring, addreſſed himſelf to him in the humbleſt manner, and was directed to a tree, which, whether by any intrinſic virtue, or by a new miracle, did ſweeten the waters as ſoon as he had caſt it in. The people indeed ceaſed to murmur as ſoon as they had quenched their thirſt; but as this was neither a ſatisfaction for their late riot, nor a ſecurity againſt future relapſes, GOD was pleaſed to make a further trial of their future obedience, by giving them here ſome new ſtatutes, and to add a promiſe, that, if they obſerved them with an upright mind, inſtead of thoſe plagues which he had inflicted on the *Egyptians*, he would ſhower down continual bleſſings upon them. In memory of the bitter waters the place was called *Marah*, from which they went and encamped at *Elim*, where they found twelve fountains of water and ſeventy palm-trees, and there continued about three weeks; that is, from the twenty ſecond day of the firſt month, on which they came thither from *Marah*, to the fourteenth of the ſecond month, on which they decamped from it [y].

The Iſraelites murmur for want of water.

FROM *Elim* the whole camp marched towards the wilderneſs of *Sin*: by which rout they removed ſtill farther from the frontiers of the promiſed land; but as they were directed by the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whither ſoever that went. Here, their proviſions becoming exceeding ſcarce, they began to murmur more violently than ever, repenting from their hearts, that they had ſuffered themſelves to be decoyed from the fleſh-pots and plenty of proviſion, which they enjoyed in the land of *Egypt*, into a barren wilderneſs, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger. This tumultuous carriage had ſomething monſtrouſly ungrateful, becauſe it was levelled at GOD himſelf, whoſe di-

A new murmur for want of proviſion.

[y] Exod. xv. 27. xvi, 1.

rective column they had followed into that desert place. Nevertheless, he was pleased to pass it by, and to give them fresh assurances of his favour, by promising to rain down bread from heaven upon them; and, in order to make a further tryal of their obedience, he commanded them to go and gather a certain rate every morning, and on the sixth, to provide double that quantity, because they were not to expect any to fall on the seventh, which was afterwards to be kept holy. *Aaron*, in communicating this message to the people, failed not to give them a severe reprimand for their murmurings, which he told them, did cast the greatest reflection upon God, seeing it was he, and not *Moses*, who had brought them out of *Egypt*. He had scarce made an end of speaking, when the people, looking towards the wilderness, beheld the glory of God displayed out of the cloud, from which God confirmed again what *Aaron* had promised to the people, assuring them, that they should that very evening be satisfied with plenty of flesh, and on the next morning they should find that heavenly bread which he had promised to send them.

Manna promisid.

Quails promised.

And sent in abundance.

If this glorious sight gave some weight to *Moses*'s words, much more did the event add to it, when they saw them verified on that very evening by whole clouds of quails, which came pouring down upon them out of *Egypt*, and alighted in such quantities, that they quite covered their camp (Q); and

(Q) It must be remembered here, that this was about the middle of *April*, which is the time in which that bird is observed to cross the *Red-sea* in vast quantities; the same is also observed to this very day by those who frequent those parts, and incredible multitudes are caught there about this time. The miracle therefore consists not so much in the prodigious number that fell into *Israel*'s camp, as in the directing them thither, and on that very evening, according to God's promise, and *Moses*'s prediction. The same may be said also if we render the *Hebrew* שלו, *Shelaw*, locusts, as the learned *Ludolph* has done, who in his treatise of locusts, at the end of his appendix to his description of *Abyssinia* has offered some probable arguments, that these were such, and not quails; and affirms them not only to be in great plenty, both in these parts, and all over *Africa*, but likewise to be esteemed a delicious food We own indeed, that the word is, even by the confession of all the Jews, of very uncertain signification and may as well signify a locust as a quail; But what inclines us to prefer the latter sense is, that the psalmist, † speaking of them calls them עוף כנף. *Hoph canaph*, winged, or feathered fowl, which we apprehend, is not so

† *Psal. lxxviii.* 25. & *seq.*

applicable

and by the manna, which rained down round about them, by the very next morning. This laſt did not indeed fall cloſe to the camp, but at ſome diſtance from it towards the wilderneſs. By break of day therefore, the *Iſraelites* followed *Moſes* towards the place, where he ſhewed them a kind of white dew, like unto a ſmall hoary froſt, which covered the face of the earth, and told them, that this was the bread which GOD had promiſed to feed them with during their abode there; commanding them to gather an *Homer* for every head, which is about five pints, or forty three eggs †. The people no ſooner ſaw this new bread, but they cryed one to another, *what is this, and whence cometh it?* for they were ſurprized at the ſtrangeneſs of it; and from thence they gave it the name of *Man*, or *Manna* (R); they were however ſo eager for it, that they gathered it at random, without ſtinting themſelves to the quantity which *Moſes* had preſcribed, but when every one came to meaſure what he had gathered, they found

Manna falls at ſome diſtance from the camp.

† LE SCENE, Eſſay on a new tranſlat. pag. 170. R. SALOM.

applicable to thoſe inſects, any more than the words שאר, *Sheer, fleſh*, and צדה *Tzedah*, which ſignifies all ſorts of *veniſon*, as well of fowl as of beaſts, which he makes uſe of there.

(R) We have ventured to depart from our own and ſeveral other verſions, which make the *Iſraelites* call this new food *Manna*, becauſe *they knew not what it was*; for tho' commentators have taken a great deal of pains to puzzle the text by their various etymologies of that word, yet that of the *Septuagint*, which renders it τί τοῦτο ἐστι *what is this?* ſeems to come nearer to the *Hebrew*, and to be moſt agreeable to the text, and is likewiſe followed by *Joſephus*, and a great number of others (68) מן הוא, *Man hu*, in the original ſignifying *what* or *whence is this?* Not ſo eaſy is it to know the meaning of the word גד *Gad* which we tranſlate *coriander-ſeed*, though according to the literal ſenſe of the original, it ſhould be rendered, and it *was white like the ſeed of Gad*, whereas coriander is of a brown colour. Some *Jews* therefore tranſlate it *muſtard-ſeed*, becauſe one ſort of it is whitiſh (69), and *Abenezra* frankly owns, that he knows not what ſeed it is (70); but ſince it is ſaid in another place, that it was of the colour of *Bdellium* 71), which the learned *Bochart* and others have ſhewn to ſignify a kind of pearl, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that the word *Gad* doth not ſignify coriander, but ſome other ſmall white ſeed, and that the manna, ſhining like unto a hoary froſt, did very much reſemble a ſmall pearl.

(68) Joſ. *Rabbin. fere omen.* St. Jerom. Fag. Mercer. Piſcat. Grotius, Druſius, Le Scen. & *al.* (69) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (70) Abenez. *ibid.* (71) *Vid.* Munſt. Boch. & *al*

to their no ſmall aſtoniſhment, that they were to carry home but one *Homer* for every head; whether it were, that they were made to gather it in heaps, and divide it afterwards at an equal rate, or that providence ordered it ſo, that the moſt greedy ſhould have his quantity miraculouſly leſſened, whilſt the more moderate had theirs increaſed; or which is more likely, that *Moſes* made thoſe that had gathered more than their meaſure, to refund the overplus to thoſe who had gathered leſs; that ſo the ſame proportion might fall to every man's ſhare.

As ſoon as they were got into their tents, they went about grinding it according to *Moſes*'s direction, ſome with mills, others in mortars, and made themſelves a ſort of cakes whoſe taſte reſembled that of wafers made with honey, or with freſh oyl, as it is ſaid in another place [a]; from that they came to other ways of dreſſing it, by frying, ſtewing, boiling, and the like. As for that which remained ungathered upon the ground, the heat of the ſun did immediately diſſolve it. In the mean time *Moſes*, who had given them expreſs charge not to leave any till the next morning, had the mortification to hear that ſome of the people whether out of curioſity or precaution, had ventured to ſave ſome of it, and had found it ſtinking and crawling with worms. He failed not to reprove them for it, and to adviſe them to be more careful of his directions for the future, ſeeing they did but provoke their heavenly benefactor by their diſobedience; but their ſtubbornneſs was not to be cured by threatnings, and it was not many days before they made him ſenſible of it. The ſixth day being come, they went according to order to gather a double quantity, to ſerve them for that day and the next, on which he had told them there would be none to be found, becauſe it was to be a day of *Sabbath*, or of *reſt* unto them. But they, as if they had given themſelves up to miſtruſt every word that came out of his mouth, could not be contented till they had gone into the wilderneſs, and ſatisfied themſelves of the truth of it. This forced a freſh reprimand from him, in which, after ſome expoſtulations, he expreſly forbad them to go out of the camp, during the whole ſeventh day. For a memorial of this miraculous bread (S), *Moſes* was ordered to preſerve

Some is kept till next day and ſtinks.

A double quantity gathered againſt the ſabbath.

[a] Numb. xi. 8.

(S) We have ventured to give it that epithet, not that we believe, with the author of the book of wiſdom (72), that it was prepared

(72) *Wiſd. xvi.* 20.

without

ſerve an *Homer* full in a veſſel, to be afterwards depoſited in the ark of the covenant, and to be preſerved in it as a witneſs to future ages, and *Aaron* went and executed his command [b].

IT is not eaſy to conceive, how a nation, that had ſo long and ſo often experienced the miraculous care and goodneſs of GOD, could ever fall again into freſh murmuring and diſobedience; and yet they had no ſooner left this deſert of *Sin*, and advanced a few days journey towards mount *Horeb*; but, when they came to *Rephidim*, and found the place deſtitute of water, they began to fill the air with their complaints, and ſurrounding the tents of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, asked them in a tumultuous and threatening manner, where they muſt have water to quench their thirſt? *Moſes* ſtrove in vain to quell their fury, and to perſuade them to wait GOD's leiſure; his words did but inflame them the more, till at length obſerving them to be grown deſperate and ready to ſtone him, he had

A new murmuring for want of water.

[b] Exod. xvi, 33.

without labour, ſince they were forced to pound and dreſs it; or that it was capable of ſatisfying every ſtomach, by ſuiting itſelf to every particular taſte, ſince, had that been the caſe, the *Iſraelites* could never have come to loath it, as they afterwards did (73); much leſs do we attribute all thoſe wonderful qualities to it that the *Jews* do: but we think it was miraculous upon the following accounts; 1ſt, becauſe it fell but ſix days in the week; 2. that it fell in ſuch prodigious quantity as ſufficed near three millions of ſouls; 3. that there fell a double quantity every friday to ſerve them for the next day; 4. what was gathered on the firſt five days ſtank and bred worms, if kept above one day, and that which was gathered on friday laſted two days; laſtly, it continued falling whilſt the *Iſraelites* continued in the wilderneſs, and ceaſed as ſoon as they came out of it, and had eaten of the corn of the land of *Canaan* (74). *Abenezra* indeed ſays, that *Man* was an *Arabic* word, and that he had ſeen in the kingdom of אלנציך, whatever kingdom that be, ſomething very like manna, that fell only during two ſummer months of the year; but as he adds, that it is rather fit for phyſic than for food, it is plain, it muſt be that which we know by the name of manna, which is a kind of honey condenſed, and is to be ſeen to this day in the deſerts of *Arabia*, during the heat of the ſummer, and is gathered in great quantities off the trees, rocks, graſs, and even the ſand: but it is plain, by what we obſerved of the miraculous ſort, that this has nothing common with it but the name.

(73) *Numb. xi. 6.* (74) *Joſh. v. 12.*

recourſe

recourſe to GOD, who was ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears, by promiſing to ſignalize this place with as miraculous a water, as he had the laſt with a miraculous food. He commanded him to gather the elders of *Iſrael* and all the people, and to take them up to mount *Horeb*, and aſſured him, that upon ſmiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters would immediately guſh out of it in ſuch plentiful ſtreams, as would be more than ſufficient to allay their thirſt. *Moſes* obeyed, and GOD vouchſafed to perform his promiſe, and to ſend them plenty of water (T); and in memory of this new murmuring,

They flow from a miraculous rock.

(T) St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of this miraculous rock, which he applies to Chriſt, ſays, that it followed them (75); from which ſome will have it, that it accompanied them, and ſerved them upon all neceſſary occaſions, to the very end of their wandring (76); and that either the waters which guſhed out of it, formed themſelves into a kind of river, which followed them through all their encampments (77), or that they carried the rock in a cart wherever they went, and that it continued flowing with water (78). Some even affirm, that it keeps running to this day, and waters all that valley which was dry before (79); but had any of theſe been the caſe, there would have been no need of ſmiting that rock in another place, as *Moſes* did for the ſame purpoſe (80), for we ſhall ſhew by and by, that this was a quite different action; nor of digging of wells for water ſoon after this laſt miracle, as we find they did (81). There was therefore no neceſſity of fetching a parallel from the king of *Perſia*, of whom *Ælian* ſays, that the river *Choaſpis* did always follow him (82), becauſe he always carried ſome of its water with him; in order to give a more favourable ſenſe to the apoſtle's words, by ſuppoſing that the *Iſraelites* did the ſame by thoſe of the rock. St. *Paul* here ſpeaks of a ſpiritual rock, and the two inſtances we have juſt now mentioned, will not permit us to ſuppoſe, that they were always ſupplied by the natural one.

However, ſeeing the two actions of ſmiting the rock have been confounded by ſeveral commentators, it will not be amiſs to ſhew the contrary, now we are upon the ſubject. Now that *Moſes* ſmote the rock two different times, and in two different places, is plain; 1ſt, becauſe the firſt happened at *Rephidim*, in their eleventh ſtation, and the ſecond in the deſert of *Sin* in the thirty third ſtation: 2. the one happened in the firſt year after the *Exod*, and the other in the fortieth; for in the very next ſtation *Aaron* died, in the fifth

(75) 1 *Cor* x. 4. (76) Calm. *com in loc.* Berruy. & *al.* (77) *Ita Rabbin. mult.* (78) Cantacuzen *in ſap. cap.* 11. & *Rabbin. aliquot.* (79) Toſtat. *qu* 3 *ap.* Villet. *cap.* 17. *qu.* 10. (80) *Numb*, xx 11. (81) *Ibid.* xxi 16. & *ſeq.* (82) Ælian. *Hiſt. var. lib. xii. c.* 40. *vid.* Calm. *Hiſt. V. T. in loc.*

month.

ing, and of the people's queſtioning whether GOD was really among them or not, the place was called *Maſſah*, (tempting) and *Meribah*, (contention).

ABOUT this time, the *Iſraelites* being attacked by the *Amalekites*, *Moſes* was forced to depute his ſervant *Joſhua*, with a ſufficient force to make head againſt them, whilſt himſelf went up to the mount to intreat GOD for his ſucceſs. Accordingly, on the next morning he went up with his brother *Aaron* and *Hur*, to a neighbouring hill, whence they could have a full view of the field of battle, and held up his hands in prayer, whilſt *Joſhua* was fighting with the *Amalekites*. He held up likewiſe his own miraculous rod in his hand, and GOD was pleaſed to ſhew a ſingular regard to his interceſſion. For whilſt he held his hands up *Joſhua* prevailed, but when he let them down to reſt them, *Amalek* got the advantage. At length, when he found them grow ſo heavy that he could hold them up no longer, *Aaron* and *Hur* were forced to ſet him upon a ſtone, and to ſtay them up on each ſide, till the going down of the ſun. The conſequence was, that *Iſrael* gained the victory, and *Amalek* was diſcomfited, as we have ſeen in a former chapter †. This *Hur* is thought to have been of the tribe of *Judah*, and the ſon of *Caleb* the ſon of *Eſron*, different from *Caleb* the ſon of *Jephunneh*; and ſo to have been the grandfather of *Bezaleel*, ſo famed for his fine workmanſhip in the tabernacle, and other utenſils for the ſervice of GOD. *Jo-*

Amalek *diſcomfited.*

† Vid. Supr. p. 153.

month of the fortieth year (83). In the firſt, the rock was ſmitten with the rod with which *Moſes* wrought his wonders in *Egypt*, and in the laſt with the rod of *Aaron*, that had budded, and had been layed up before the Lord in the ark, from whence *Moſes* is ſaid to have taken it (84). Laſtly, the firſt happened before the extruction of the tabernacle, and the laſt after it; for it is ſaid, that upon the people's murmuring for want of water, *Moſes* and *Aaron* went to the door of the tabernacle, and fell before their faces there at the ſight of the glory of GOD (85). We might add, that the firſt was performed without any diffidence, anger, or indecent words; whereas in the laſt, *Moſes* ſmote the rock twice, and ſpoke ſome unbecoming words, which ſo diſpleaſed GOD, that he condemned him to die in the wilderneſs, without ſetting his foot into the land of *Canaan*. From all which it appears, that theſe were two different actions, performed at great diſtance of time and place (86).

(83) *Comp. Exod.* xvii. 1. *ſeq.* & *Numb.* xxxiii. 14, 36, & 38. (84) *Numb.* xx. 9. & *ſeq.* (85) *Ibid. ver.* 4. & *ſeq.* (86) *Ibid. ver.* 11, 12. *Vid.* Simler. Jun. Villet. & *al. in loc.*

Sephus thinks, that *Hur* had married *Miriam Moses*'s sister[c], others think, that he was her son; but the generality of antient fathers think, that she died unmarried[d]. As for *Joshua*, he became famous from this time for his valour and conduct, and for his zeal for GOD and his people; upon all which accounts *Moses* made choice of him for his successor, to lead the *Israelites* into the promised land. In the mean time, *Moses* was ordered to record this signal victory, and to vow a lasting war against the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out. He also reared up an altar unto GOD, and called it *Jehovah Nissi*, (the Lord *is my* banner) to intimate, that GOD, who had made them denounce this war against *Amalek*, would not fail to crown it with success (V)[e].

THE

[c] Ant. lib. iii. c. 2. exhort. ad virgin. & al.

[d] NYSSEN. de virginitat. c. 6. AMBR.

[e] Exod. xvii.

(V) We have seen, in this history of *Amalek* †, that he was descended from *Eliphaz*, *Esau*'s first-born; as his descendants therefore were so nearly allyed to the *Israelites*, it was inhuman in them to fall upon them, when they saw them reduced to so low a condition through the fatigue of their march, the vast heat of the season, and the excessive drought they laboured under, especially since it doth not appear, that they had begun any hostilities against them. But though they did richly deserve the defeat which *Joshua* gave them for their barbarity, yet as for the anathema, which GOD himself pronounced against them immediately after it, it seems to have been for some other crime, which carried in it a greater degree of guilt, and is supposed to have been an innate hatred against the *Israelites*, from the remembrance of *Jacob*'s depriving their progenitor both of his birth-right and blessing, and therefore did not scruple to take this advantage of them, when they found them thus harrassed, to hinder thereby their taking possession of the land of *Canaan*, for the conquest of which they thought them now in full march. *Josephus* indeed (87) seems to attribute this action of theirs to a fear of being driven out of their country by the *Israelites*; but besides that it is not likely, they should be ignorant of the land of *Canaan* being promised to the sons of *Jacob*, and consequently could have nothing to fear upon that account; it is plain, that if that had been the only motive of falling upon them, there could have been nothing so criminal in it as to entail such a heavy curse, and a perpetual war against them and their posterity: whereas, if they did it with a view of preventing their possessing the promised land, and so of frustrating the designs of providence towards them; as the same motive was like to last as long as they

† *Vid. supr. p.* 148.

(87) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 2.*

were

THE defeat of *Amalek* opened a way for the *Iſraelites* to mount *Sinai*, where their abode proved not only the longeſt, but the moſt famous of any other by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies which they were afterwards to obſerve. But in the mean while, GOD, who foreſaw what an addition this would be to *Moſes*'s other cares and fatigues, did in good time conduct his hoſpitable father-in-law, with *Zipporah* and her two ſons, to the camp of *Iſrael*, where, after their mutual embraces, and ſacrifices offered to the GOD of *Iſrael*, *Jethro*, obſerving with what patience his ſon-in-law ſtood to hear the people's complaints from morning till night, and fearing leſt he ſhould in time ſink under it, gave him that excellent and ſalutary advice of chooſing a competent number of elders, who ſhould help him to bear ſuch a part of the burthen, as would otherwiſe have proved too much for him [f]; an account of which we have already given in the hiſtory of *Midian* *. *Moſes* having thus eaſed himſelf of a great load of care, by the appointment he made of thoſe inferior judges, ſome of which he ſet over thouſands, others over hundreds, and others over tens; and referring only the moſt momentous cauſes to come before him; did ſoon after take leave of his father-in-law (W), and give the ſignal for their march from *Rephidim*, to

comes of Moſes.

[f] Ibid. xviii. paſſ. * Vid. ſupr. p. 116. & ſeq.

were a nation, ſo there was a neceſſity of entailing that *anathema* againſtthem. And this ſeems implied in the laſt words of this chapter, in which *Moſes* gives as a reaſon for vowing this war againſt them, which though ſomewhat obſcure, ſeem to run thus in their literal ſenſe, *becauſe his* (that is, *Amalek*'s) *hand is againſt the throne of* GOD, *therefore the Lord will wage war with* Amalek *from one generation to another*, that is, till he ceaſes to be a nation. We ſhall only add, that this place is ſuppoſed by the *Jews*, to have been called *Rephidim*, that is, רפאי ידים, from *Rapha*, to looſen, and *jad*, a hand, alluding to the weak condition they were in when the *Amalekites* fell upon them.

(W) We have already given our opinion concerning *Jethro*'s departure, and leaving one of his ſons with *Moſes*, with ſome other particulars relating to this hiſtory †; but though it ſeems by the text, that he left alſo *Zipporah* and her two ſons with him; yet, whether it were that *Moſes* took more care of his people than he did of his children, or that he loved theſe too well to promote them to any pitch of power or grandeur, which himſelf had ſo long felt the load of; ſure it is, that we hear no more of them from this

† *Vid. ſupr. p.* 116, 117. *note* (I), (K).

to the wilderneſs of *Sinai*. This happened about the beginning of the third month after their departure out of *Egypt* g.

They encamp near mount Sinai.

They were no ſooner come within ſight of that celebrated mountain, but his next care was to order their encampment ſo, that there might be a conſiderable ſpace left between it and the camp. He knew that this was to be the ſcene of the moſt glorious wonders that ever mankind beheld, and the place from whence thoſe laws were to be delivered to them, with the utmoſt terror and majeſty, which GOD, who knew the genius of that perverſe people, had calculated for them; and therefore he wiſely fixed their ſituation ſo, as that they might be all eye and ear witneſſes of the divine preſence h; and at the ſame time preſcribed ſuch limits to their curioſity, as ſhould ſtrike them with a ſuitable awe and reverence. Whilſt they were pitching their tents according to his directions, *Moſes* went up to the mountain, and GOD, who had called him thither, commanded him to remind the *Iſraelites* of all the wonders he had wrought in their favour, and to aſſure them, that as he had hitherto bore them as an eagle doth her young on her wings, ſo if they proved obedient to his laws he would ſtill look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal prieſthood. *Moſes* was not long before he came and called the elders of *Iſrael*, to whom he repeated all theſe endearing expreſſions, charging them at the ſame time to go and acquaint the people with the gracious meſſage, who no ſooner heard it, but they promiſed all poſſible obedience to GOD's command. He returned immediately after to the mountain, and was commanded to ſanctify the people, and to prepare them againſt the third day for the glorious ſcene, by making them waſh their cloaths, and abſtain from all nuptial commerce, after which he promiſed to come down, in a conſpicuous manner, and deliver his law in their hearing, with ſuch a glorious and dreadful voice, as ſhould at once convince them both of his divine preſence, and of his being the author of all thoſe laws, which he was afterwards to deliver to them in his name. He likewiſe renewed his charge to him, to ſet ſuch

g Vid. ann. USSER. in loc. RIBERA de Templ. lib. v. c. 7. & al.
h Exod. xix. 9.

time than if they had been no more; neither of them, that we can find, having been promoted to any place of honour or profit; and indeed the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhews, that their father was ſo far from aiming at enriching or aggrandizing his family, that he ſeems to have given himſelf up wholly to the ſervice of God and his people.

bounds

bounds to the people, as ſhould keep them from approaching the mountain under the ſevereſt penalties, and to aſſure them, that if either man or beaſt offered to tranſgreſs them, they ſhould be immediately ſtoned, or ſhot to death. The ſignal, for their coming out to this glorious ſight, was to be when they heard the ſound of the miraculous trumpet: accordingly, on the third day, the people having prepared themſelves according to the divine injunction, and being in the utmoſt expectation for this wonderful ſight, they ſaw, by break of day, the mountain ſurrounded with the thickeſt cloud, out of which came forth ſuch thunders and lightnings, as filled them with terror and amazement. The ſound of the trumpet being heard, *Moſes* brought the people out of their camp towards the mount, as far as the barrier which he had ſet to them, and there they obſerved the top of *Sinai* covered with fire and ſmoke, whilſt the foundations of it ſeemed to ſhake under their feet. In the midſt of this dreadful ſcene, the trumpet being heard ſtill louder and ſtronger, GOD called to *Moſes*, who immediately went up, and was ſoon buried in the cloud. Here the divine voice commanded him to return and repeat his charge to the people, that none ſhould preſume to tranſgreſs their bounds, no not even the prieſts, who were afterwards to be conſecrated to his ſervice, ſince immediate death was to be the tranſgreſſor's portion, let him be who he would. *Moſes* anſwered, that he had given them ſuch ſtrict charge, that there was no danger of their tranſgreſſing it; but he was ordered to go down immediately, to ſee that none ventured to diſobey, and commanded to bring his brother *Aaron* with him when he came up again. He had no ſooner obeyed, and repeated his orders to the people, than the thunders and trumpets ceaſed, and GOD was heard from the midſt of the fire and ſmoke, which continued all the while, to pronounce the ten principal laws, which were to be the foundation of all the reſt, and which *Moſes* was afterwards ordered to write upon two tables of ſtone. [1] (X) In the mean time the people, aſtoniſhed

The mountain covered with fire and ſmoke.

The decalogue delivered.

[1] Exod. xix. & xx.

(X) Concerning theſe ten commandments, which are ſo well known that we have forbore inſerting them, ſeveral queſtions have been raiſed which we ſhall but juſt touch upon, they being of ſuch a nature that nothing certain can be concluded about them. The firſt is, whom they were delivered by? Whether by an angel deputed by GOD, who conſequently repreſenting the godhead, aſſumes the name of the *Lord* GOD *who brought* Iſrael *out of bondage?* or whether by GOD himſelf? and if the latter, whether by GOD

the

aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw and heard, removed farther off; and

the father, or by Chriſt himſelf? Concerning all which we ſhall only refer our readers to what has been ſaid in another place upon the like occaſion †.

The next is, whether in theſe, or any other of the *Moſaical* laws, *Moſes* was permitted to imitate thoſe of the *Egyptians*, as ſome learned men have affirmed (1)? or as the far greater part do think, the *Egyptians* have borrowed theirs from his? And here we need not repeat what has been ſaid upon this head, when we were upon the ſubject of circumciſion *; as to what relates to the ceremonial injunctions, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them by and by. At preſent we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that, admitting them, in ſome caſes, to have borrowed from each other, and in others to have gone point blank counter to one another, out of a ſpirit of contradiction and antipathy, which is the moſt probable ſuppoſition, it will ſtill follow, that ſuch of the *Moſaic* laws, as are contrary to the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians*, ſuch as the ſecond commandment, and a vaſt many more, could be enjoined by GOD with no other view, than to cure the *Iſraelites* of thoſe vicious habits and inclinations which they had contracted in *Egypt*. As to judicial, or even ceremonial laws, tho' we ſhould allow *Moſes* to have been permitted to have uſed his diſcretion, and to have adopted ſuch as he approved of, yet it will by no means follow, that all that have any reſemblance were firſt received from the *Egyptians*, ſeeing very many of them are ſo contrary to the main and conſtant deſign of their law-giver, to keep them from intermixing with other nations, that, if the *Egyptians* had been the firſt inventors of them, it would certainly have been more adviſeable to have given them ſuch as were quite oppoſite to them.

Waving therefore all theſe fruitleſs diſquiſitions, how far the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* and *Romans*, did frame their laws from thoſe of the *Jews*, or how far the twelve tables of the *Romans* were a copy of the *decalogue*, we ſhall endeavour to render the remaining part of this note ſomewhat more uſeful and inſtructive, by rectifying the ſenſe of ſome words in the ſecond commandment, which, for want of having been rightly underſtood, have led ſome into monſtrous errors, and have made others chooſe to reject the authority of holy writ, rather than adopt them. The place we mean is, where GOD is ſaid *to puniſh the ſins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation* (2); words, which convey ſuch a ſhocking idea of the deity, that, if the original could poſſibly be capa-

† *Vid. ſup. p.* 371. *note* (T). (1) *Vid.* Spencer *de leg. rit. Hebr. l. iii. diſſert.* 1. & *ſeq.* Marſham. *Canon Ægypt. S. Secul.* 2. Athan. Kircher, Le Clerc, & *al.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 367. *note* (R). (2) *Exod.* xx. 5.

blc

and the divine voice had no ſooner ceaſed ſpeaking, but they approached

ble of another ſenſe, it ought, by all means, to be preferred to this; which is not only contrary to reaſon, and to the whole tenor of ſcripture, but is ſo fully confuted and condemned by the prophet *Ezekiel* (3), and by many other expreſs places of ſcripture. We ſhall beg leave to mention but one of them, and that out of the ſame book of *Exodus*, which being parallel to this, it will follow, that, if this ſenſe we are now confuting be admitted, *Moſes* muſt have introduced GOD ſpeaking abſurdities and contradictions. The place is, where GOD vouchſafes to favour *Moſes* with a ſight of his glory in the mountain, by a viſible deſcent in the cloud, and proclaiming the name, or rather the attributes of GOD, in the following terms (4); *the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth, keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity and tranſgreſſion and ſin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; viſiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the childrens children, unto the third and to the fourth generation.* For it is manifeſt, that if the latter words be underſtood in that ſenſe, that is, if *he puniſhes the ſins of the fathers upon the children*, &c. then the former part can never be true; that he is the *Lord God, merciful, gracious, juſt, and faithful.* How the *Jews*, therefore, came to underſtand them in a ſenſe ſo abſurd, ſo unreaſonable and antiſcriptural, and ſo fully and expreſly confuted and condemned by GOD himſelf, will be of ſmall moment to enquire, ſince this is far from being the only inſtance, wherein they have done ſo; tho', if we may be allowed to offer a conjecture, it is not unlikely, that the partial regard, which GOD, for reaſons vaſtly diſparate from their fond conceit, was pleaſed to ſhew for their nation, and the terrible puniſhments which he inflicted upon others, tho' ſcarce more wicked than they, might lead them into the notion, that the one was favoured for the merit, and the other puniſhed for the wickedneſs of their progenitors: and this is ſo much the more probable, becauſe, even to this day, they impute all their preſent ſufferings, not to their manifeſt wickedneſs, which they are wholly blind to, but to the idolatries of their forefathers, both in the deſert and in the promiſed land. However, as they extended theſe puniſhments no farther than to this life, the greateſt wonder is, how *Chriſtians* came ſo early to follow their verſion of theſe places, which has given ſome commentators, both antient and modern, an infinite trouble, and made them run into various diſtinctions and ſubtilities to clear the divine goodneſs, juſtice, and wiſdom, and to give this place in a more favourable ſenſe, whilſt others have made no ſcruple to outdo the *Jews*, and to extend theſe arbitrary and undeſerved puniſhments even to the next life ***; but it is very

(3) *Ezek.* xviii. *paſſ.* (4) *Exod.* xxxiv. 5, 6, & 7. *** *Vid. ſup. p.* 393 *note* (T).

probable,

approached *Moſes*, and, in the height of their fear and ſurprize, beſought him, that he would for the future ſpeak to them

probable, that, had the primitive *Chriſtians* underſtood the *Hebrew*, and been able to have had recourſe to it, inſtead of the *Septuagint*, they would never have adopted this ſenſe, as long as the original was capable of a much better; which is what we ſhall now endeavour to prove to be beyond diſpute.

In the firſt place then, we beg leave to obſerve, after ſome eminent critics (5), that the prepoſitions, ל *lamed* and על *hal*, which are here rendered *upon*, may alſo ſignify *by*, and, *in favour of*; ſo that the words before us may be properly rendered *puniſhing the iniquities of the fathers by*, or *in favour of*, *the children*, &c. In the firſt of theſe ſenſes *David*'s murther and adultery was juſtly puniſhed by his favourite, tho' wicked, ſon *Abſalom* (6); and the latter doth perfectly anſwer the wiſe methods of providence, with reſpect to the wicked and innocent; the former of which he doth often puniſh for the benefit and determent of the latter. The reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee theſe verſions juſtified by the authors juſt now quoted, and therefore we ſhall inſiſt upon them no longer; but as thoſe, which vindicate the divine juſtice, mercy, and goodneſs of GOD, ought by all means to be preferred to thoſe, which give impreſſions that are injurious to the god-head becauſe the latter are but too viſibly hurtful to religion and civil ſociety, we ſhall beg leave to offer one more, which ſeems to us ſtill more natural and agreeable to the deſign of this ſecond commandment, but which, not having as yet appeared in print, we can quote no author for.

It is manifeſt to every one who has conſidered it, that the main end and deſign of this law was expreſly to forbid all idolatry whatſoever, one kind of which, we find, had been very rife long before, namely, that of *teraphims*. or houſhold-gods, of which we have already given ſome account †; whoſe ſhapes varied according to the fancy of thoſe that made, or thoſe that beſpoke them, and to whom they uſed to apply for good ſucceſs and preſervation againſt all misfortunes, both for themſelves and families. As theſe, therefore, were looked upon as the chief diſpenſers and preſervers of lands, houſes, and all other inheritances, what makes it more than probable, that this prohibition is more particularly levelled againſt this kind of idolatry, is, firſt, the reaſon that is immediately given, that the *Lord is a jealous* GOD, who cannot, conſequently, ſuffer the glory of his benefits to be given to a ſenſeleſs idol. Secondly, becauſe the words פקד עון *poked bavon*, as they are pointed,

(5) Launoi *de l'impieté du peché*. Le Scene, *Eſſay on a new verſ. p.* 107. Le Clerc *in loc.* & *al.*

(6) 2 *Sam*, *xi. paſſ. xii.* 10, & *ſeq. xv*, *xvi*, *xvii*, & *xviii. paſſ.*

† *Vid. ſupr. p.* 401. *note* (P).

them in GOD's ſtead, leſt, if they ſhould hear his dreadful voice again, they ſhould die with horror and amazement; aſſuring

or *poked hon*, if read without the points, may be properly rendered *diſpoſing*, or *diſpenſing the habitations*, or *eſtates, of the* fathers, *&c.* And, laſtly, becauſe idolatry in general, or the worſhip of falſe gods, had been forbid in the firſt commandment; *thouſhalt have no other gods but me*; and conſequently this ſecond ſeems to have been deſigned againſt that particular ſort we have been ſpeaking of.

It remains to prove, that the original will properly bear this verſion; and here we beg leave to obſerve, firſt, that the verb פקד *pakad*, which is rendered to *viſit*, is known to imply, in its proper ſenſe, ſuch a viſitation as that of a monarch, chief magiſtrate, or prelate, who takes his progreſs thro' his territories to rectify abuſes, to adminiſter juſtice, and to diſpenſe rewards and puniſhments, as occaſion requires. And ſecondly, that the word עון *hon*, (which we venture to read without its points, becauſe, they being now univerſally allowed to be of late and human invention, their authority may be ſafely ſet aſide, whenever we ſee good reaſon for ſo doing) doth likewiſe ſignify an habitation, or dwelling-place, it being an antient, obſolete word, from which its derivative מעון *Mahon*, by the addition of the letter מ *Mem* one of the formatives of nouns ſubſtantive, is ſtill uſed, and confined to that particular ſignification throughout the old teſtament. This being granted, the ſenſe will run thus: *for I the Lord, thy* GOD, *am a jealous God, diſpenſing*, or *diſtributing the habitations, or eſtates, of the fathers to the children, unto the third and fourth* generation, even, *of thoſe that hate me, but ſhewing mercy to thouſands in them that love me*, &c. where we beg leave to obſerve further, that the word *generation* not being in the original, the words, *third* and *fourth*, which are here in the plural, may as well be underſtood of a diſtribution of eſtates into thirds or fourths, or, of their being multiplied to a third or fourth degree, or increaſed to three or four times their bulk, or value. But as for the mercies, which GOD keeps in ſtore for thoſe that love and obey him, they exceed them לאלפים *Lealaphim, by thouſands of degrees*; which is as much, as if he had ſaid, *they are numberleſs and endleſs.*

But that our readers may be ſatisfied, that theſe places of ſcripture, which are urged as parallel to this, by thoſe who maintain the unreaſonable doctrine we are now oppoſing, are either miſunderſtood, or miſapplied by them, we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin an inſtance of each, by which they will be able to judge of the reſt. The firſt they urge is, where *Solomon* ſays, that GOD *made all things for himſelf, and the wicked for the day of evil* (7); from which they have inferred this blaſphemous doctrine, that GOD created the

(7) *Prov. xvi.* 4.

aſſuring him at the ſame time, that they were ready to receive and obey whatever laws or ordinances God ſhould enjoyn to them by his means, ſince they were now fully convinced of his divine commiſſion. Here *Moſes* approved of

wicked on purpoſe to damn them. But, whoever will be at the trouble of conſulting the original will find that the word לְמַעַנֵהוּ *Lemaghanehu*, which is here rendered *for himſelf*, is not from the particle לְמַעַן *Lemaghan*, *for*, with its affix, for then it ought to have been differently pointed; but ſetting aſide the points, it is equally capable of two other meanings, even according to the grammatical conſtruction, and may ſignify *to anſwer*; and ſo the ſenſe will be truly this; that God *doth*, or rather *rules*, *all things to anſwer one another*, *even the wicked to the day of evil*; by which is meant no more than, God *has ſo ordered all things*, *that puniſhment ſhall be as much the natural conſequence of wickedneſs*, *as rewards are of virtue* (8). The ſame word may alſo ſignify a *furrow* or *channel*; and ſo the ſenſe will be, God *hath ordered every thing to run into its own channel* (9), and to the wicked that of the evil day, or puniſhment.

The other place, which is rather miſapplied, is, where God ſays, that *he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy* (10). For, beſides that the words are capable of another ſenſe, it is plain from the occaſion of them, that they have nothing to do with the point in hand. *Moſes* prays to God, that as a token of his favour, he would ſhew him his glory, and God anſwers him, that he will grant him his requeſt; and then adds, that he will be gracious to whom he will be gracious; which therefore can import no more, than that he will ſhew ſuch ſingular favours, as that which *Moſes* prayed for, to whom he pleaſes; but it is no where ſaid, that he will puniſh whom he will, without any regard to their deſert. As for thoſe who think that St. *Paul* applies them in a quite different ſenſe (11), we rather chooſe to refer them to thoſe authors who have writ *ex profeſſo* againſt that doctrine, than to dwell any longer upon the ſubject (12).

We ſhall cloſe this note with obſerving, that though the *Jews* reckoned the ſame number of commandments as we do, and called them by way of excellency *the ten words*, from which they had afterwards the name of *decalogue*; yet they join the firſt and ſecond into one, and divide the laſt, which is againſt coveting, into two: as for that againſt ſtealing, they underſtand it of ſtealing of men, or kid-napping, alledging, that the ſtealing of another's goods or property is forbid in the laſt commandment (13).

(8) *Vid.* Le Scen. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ. p.* 109. (9) *Vid. Pſal. cxxix.* 3. (10) *Exod. xxxiii.* 19. (11) *Rom. ix.* 15. (12) *Vid* Pelling, Whitby, & *al. againſt predeſt.* (13) *Rabbin. ſer. cit. Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.*

that

that awe and regard which they expreſſed, as well for the miraculous preſence of GOD, as for his commandments; and aſſured them, that this wonderful ſcene was not exhibited to them with a deſign to create a ſlaviſh dread, but a filial confidence and ſubmiſſion to ſuch laws as his providence ſhould hereafter enjoyn them, as a particular token of his care and benevolence towards them, above all nations of the earth. He had no ſooner diſpelled their fears by theſe words, than he went up again to the mountain, where for that time, GOD was pleaſed to add a few ceremonial laws, to thoſe moral ones which he had couched in the decalogue; all which, as well as thoſe which he received afterwards from time to time, we ſhall refer to another place in this hiſtory, where, to avoid proſixity and repetition, we ſhall give them all in one body. For the ſame reaſon we ſhall avoid following the divine hiſtorian too cloſe in all the intercourſes which he had with GOD; wherein the obſervance of the ſame laws, both moral and ceremonial, is inculcated over and over, and the ſame aſſurances of the divine favour and aſſiſtance upon their obedience, and ſevere threatnings in caſe of their diſobeying, and the ſame promiſes of their poſſeſſing the lands of the *Canaanites*, *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, *Girgaſhites*, and *Jebuſites*, repeated almoſt upon every freſh occaſion; all which, tho' *Moſes* has penned them exactly as they happened, need to be mentioned here but once for all. Beſides, the laws themſelves, whether they be conſidered with a moral, religious, ceremonial, or political view, are ſo blended and intermixt together under the names of laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, judgments, teſtimonies, commandments, precepts, and the like; that unleſs they are reduced under their ſeveral heads, a reader would be rather confounded, than informed in the deſign and injunction of them. What might induce providence to deliver them in that ſeemingly irregular method is not eaſy to be gueſſed at, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a more methodical manner would have favoured too much of human wiſdom. As to the ſo frequent repetition of them, the reader will find ſufficient occaſion for it, ſince it will appear by the ſequel, that neither that, nor the grievous puniſhments that befel them almoſt upon every diſobedience, proved ſufficient to bend their ſtubborn necks, or cure them of their intractable diſpoſition. All that need be ſaid here concerning thoſe laws and ordinances is, that ſome related to the immediate worſhip of GOD; ſuch as were the building of the tabernacle, with all its grand apparatus of utenſils for uſe and ornament, their ſacrifices of all ſorts, the conſecration of their prieſts and *Levites*, the

Some ceremonial laws inſtituted.

holy oyl to anoint them, their habit, office, privileges, revenue, and the like; the feſtivals, offerings, tithes, vows, purifications, laws concerning clean and unclean things, diſeaſes, meats, and the like; ſome of which are generally looked upon as typical (Y); others, as topical, or confined to

(Y) We could willingly have excuſed ourſelves from entering any farther into this unpleaſant controverſy, and contented ourſelves with what has been ſaid already upon ſome particular parts of this ſubject, there being ſo little likelihood of pleaſing either of the oppoſite ſides, much leſs of reconciling them, whilſt each party is fond of their own extreme, and value themſelves upon being direct antipodes to the other; whereas truth ſeems to lie in the middle between them. The reader may eaſily remember what was hinted in the laſt note, about the probability of the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* borrowing ſomething from each other; it will therefore be ſufficient to add, that thoſe, who pretend, that the former had all their ceremonies, tabernacle, ark of the covenant, altar, &c. from the latter, becauſe they find that theſe did afterwards uſe the ſame kind of religious utenſils, do entirely go counter to the expreſs tenour of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, which mentions all theſe and many more as inſtituted on purpoſe by God himſelf, to typify thoſe better things which he reſerved for the times of the goſpel (14). 'Tis even plain from the tenour of the old and new teſtament, that the paſſover, the lifting up of the ſerpent by *Moſes*, the *Iſraelites* wandering in the wilderneſs, and their entering into the land of *Canaan*, and many more of the like nature, were all typical and figurative, and are applied as ſuch by the writers of the latter. But on the other hand, thoſe who abſolutely deny, that they imitated them in any particular, have given ſuch an unreaſonable ſcope to their fancies, in order to find out the relation between theſe types and their pretended antitypes, that they have not left one pin of the tabernacle, one bell in *Aaron*'s garment, neither kettle, fork, or ſpoon, without one or two We ſhall content ourſelves with giving one inſtance of this enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, not ſo much for the ſingularity or brightneſs of it, as to ſhew how far every thing may be moralized, when men have once got into that vein. Two eminent proteſtants, the one a *Lutheran*, and the other a *Calviniſt*, had been wrangling a conſiderable time about the precedency of each of their patriarchs without any ſeeming advantage, when one took it into his head to make *Luther* the antitype of *Aaron*, ſeeing he was the firſt that had ſet up and lighted the grand candleſtick (of the reformation) in the tabernacle: the other, not being able to diſprove the fact, had recourſe to the ſame typical reaſoning, and affirmed, that if *Luther* was *Aaron*'s antitype upon that ſcore, *Calvin* was much more ſo, ſince it was manifeſt,

(14) *Vid. Habr. paſſ. ch. ix.*

feſt, that if he had not taken the *ſnuffers* into his hand, and ſnuffed the lamps, the candleſtick would have given ſuch a dim light, that few people would have been the better for it. We can eaſily join with the great critic, from whom we have this ſtory (15), in praying, that, where people can feed their religion with ſuch airy diet, it may do them much good; but we can by no means think with him, that the deſpicable figure which the *Jews* made is an invincible objection againſt the proud *Egyptians*, who hated them above all nations, borrowing any of their ceremonies: ſeeing the ſame argument will equally hold againſt either ſide; and the ſuperſtition common to them both, might eaſily get the better of their pride and hatred. What wild notions men had then, and long enough ſince, of the god-head, may eaſily be gathered from that ſaying of the *Syrians* (16), *their gods are gods of the hills, and therefore ſtronger than ours; but if we get them into the plain, ours will get the better of them.* It was therefore natural for the *Egyptians*, as we hinted once before †, to enquire, how ſuch a poor ſlaviſh people, as that of the *Hebrews*, came to be in ſuch high favour with their GOD, that he ſhould fall thus ſeverely upon their own, and ſo many other brave nations, on their behalf: it is plain, they could not attribute it to any merit or excellency in them, and therefore might eaſily conclude, that they had found out ſome way of gaining his friendſhip by their ſacrifices and manner of worſhipping him; which, if they could but once attain to, they could not fail of much greater ſucceſs. Add to this, that if the prieſts were conſulted about it, as it is moſt likely they were, they could not be againſt embracing ſuch a ſort of worſhip, which, however it proved to the laity, could not but be gainful to them: now if this be granted to be a natural ſuppoſition, the objection falls to the ground, and there is an end of our author's pretended impoſſibility. As for what is added on that ſide of the queſtion, *viz.* that the *Egyptians* ſacrificed horſes and hogs to their gods, whilſt the *Hebrews* offered nothing but ſheep, oxen, &c. this difference, allowing the caſe to be fact, might eaſily proceed from ſome remaining leaven of their old ſuperſtition, which could not ſuffer them to ſacrifice ſuch beaſts as they had been uſed to worſhip. They might likewiſe probably enough attribute the *Hebrews* not ſacrificing horſes to their ſordidneſs, that creature being of much greater worth than a bullock, and ſo be induced not only to imitate, but to out-do them, by offering a more valuable ſacrifice than they. Upon the whole, the *Egyptians* being generally allowed to have been the firſt introducers of idolatry, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe them to have been likewiſe the inventers of a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh, and the *Jews*, who had been as it were formed in the country, to have contracted ſuch a particular fondneſs for it, as not to

(15) Le Clerc's *Bibl A. & M. tom.* XII. *p.* 313. (16) 1 *Kings* xx. 23. † *Vid ſup. p.* 368. *note* (R).

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be eaſy without having ſomething like it among them. We beg leave to anticipate ſo far upon their hiſtory, as to bring one inſtance of this once for all, and with it to diſmiſs this intricate point. *Moſes* promiſed the people, that GOD would ſend his angel to them, to guide and protect, and to prepare the way for them. *Moſes* goes up into the mountain, and continues there forty days, till they gave him over for loſt: uncertain what to do, and fearful leaſt the *Amalekites*, or ſome other nation ſhould fall upon them, they grew impatient for this promiſed conductor, and being ignorant what kind of one GOD deſigned for them, they take it in an *Egyptian* ſenſe, and in a tumultuous manner gather about *Aaron*, and inſiſt that he ſhould make them ſuch a one. *Aaron* who gueſſed their meaning, caſts a golden calf, no doubt in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*; for without the aſſiſtance of their mythology, a calf would be one of the laſt creatures that one would chooſe to make a ſymbol of the deity ‡, and ſets it up in the midſt of the camp; and the people, highly pleaſed with it, begin to pay the uſual worſhip of ſacrifices, dancing, *&c.* to it: in the mean time *Moſes* comes down, and ſurpriſes them in the height of their joy, upbraids both his brother and the people with their folly and ingratitude, and deſtroys the *Egyptian* idol. After this he returns immediately to the top of the mountain, complains of their idolatry and ſtubbornneſs, and intreats GOD to pity and forgive them, and GOD, who ſaw that their minds were bent upon ſome outward ſymbol, in compaſſion to their infirmity, commands him to make an ark, which, though differing in the main from the *Egyptian* idols, yet ſhould ſtill retain ſomething of a reſemblance in the cherubim that covered it, which had at leaſt the head of a calf, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. Who doth not ſee by all this, that GOD did only comply ſo far with the carnal genius of that untoward people, as to give them a viſible ſymbol, without condeſcending ſo low, at the ſame time, as to permit ſuch a cloſe imitation of what they admired in other nations, as might in any wiſe prove a ſnare to them in proceſs of time? However, if it be aſked, how ſo polite a nation as the *Egyptians* came to chooſe a cow, or calf, to repreſent the deity? we can only add, to what has been ſaid before *, the conjecture of ſome antient and modern authors, ſuch as *Suidas* in his Σάραπις, *Ruffin* in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, *Peirrerius* in his hierogliphics, *Hottinger* and others, who all ſeem probably enough to think, that it was in honour of *Joſeph*, and in memory of the ſeven cows, which repreſented the plenty by which he preſerved that country from periſhing; and this ſeems the more probable, becauſe ſeveral of the moſt antient authors, beſides thoſe above quoted, agree, that this ox, or cow, was repreſented carrying a buſhel upon its head which might be deſigned to ſignify the plenty of corn, which that patriarch cauſed to be layed up. But we willingly ſubmit all this to our reader's judgment.

‡ *Vid. Vol. I. p.* 455. *note* (H), & *alib. paſſ.* * *Ibid. p.* 206.

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to that climate (Z), and others as political; but all of them, to

(Z) It cannot be denied, but ſeveral of the *Moſaical* ordinances and prohibitions are of this nature, and were very neceſſary and beneficial, not only in *Canaan*, but in all hot countries. Such were thoſe that related to all kind of cleanlineſs, that forbad the nuptial commerce at certain periods and all intercourſe with perſons that had the leproſy, or any other infectious diſeaſe, and the like. But ſome learned men have gone farther, and have fancied, that all forbidden meats, ſuch as ſwine, hares, rabbets, ducks, *&c.* were, if not wholly, yet for the greateſt part, prohibited upon the ſame account, namely, as being unwholeſome and detrimental to health in thoſe hot climates: to prove this, ſome have taken no ſmall pains to ſhew, that we have not a right underſtanding of all thoſe creatures that are thus forbid, they inſtance out of *Bochart* (17), that the שָׁפָן, *Shaphan*, which we tranſlate a *rabbet*, is a kind of rat that lives upon the rocks, and conſequently, that the work ſhould be tranſlated a *rock-rat*, which animal he obſerves is of the bigneſs of a ſquirrel, and that *Paleſtine* and *Arabia* abound with it. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with enquiring how far we do miſunderſtand the names of thoſe creatures, the eating of whoſe fleſh *Moſes* forbids, nor how far ſome, or any of them be really unwholſome to eat. It is certain we are not miſtaken in that of the ſwine, which whatever be pretended to the contrary, is both commonly and ſafely eat in all hot countries, except by the *Turks*, whoſe law has copied this, among a great many things from the *Jewiſh*. The rabbies indeed will have it, that it was forbid by reaſon of its extreme naſtineſs, both in its eating and wallowing in all manner of filth (18); but yet it is plain, that it never was accounted unwholſome upon that account in any country that we know of. We ſhall therefore venture to offer what we think is a more probable reaſon, why ſwine, hares, geeſe, *&c.* were forbid by *Moſes*; namely, to prevent thereby as much as poſſible the *Jews* having any intercourſe with other nations, either by being preſent at their feaſts or common feſtivals, or contracting affinities with them, by inſpiring them with an abhorrence againſt their moſt common meats by this expreſs prohibition, and allowing them at the ſame time the uſe of a ſufficient quantity of others to live comfortably by. It is alſo worth obſerving, that of all the meats forbidden by the *Moſaic* law, the *Jews* had the ſwine in greateſt deteſtation, inſomuch that they rather choſe the moſt cruel deaths, than to ſave their lives by eating it. How therefore they came to contract ſuch an extreme averſion to it, more than to any other, can hardly be accounted for by any other way, than by imputing it to their ſeeing it more commonly

(17) Le Scene, *Eſſ. on a N. Tranſlation p.* 124. (18) *Middraſh Tanhuma. Middraſh Tehillim. ſupr. verb. Pſal.* cxlvi. 7 *Vid.* & Maimonid. *More Nevoch part iii. cap.* 48. Meyer, *de tempor. ſacr. Hæbr. cap. xi.* § 15 & 16.

eat

to all appearance, calculated with a wise design of preserving them, both in their obedience to GOD, and from all intermixture with other nations, and from adopting any part of their idolatrous worship into their own. Besides these *Moses* received a great number of political laws properly so called, which related to the welfare and preservation of their common-wealth: of this nature were those which ascertained every man's property, and appointed proportionate punishments to the invaders of it. Such were also those of the *Jubile*, which restored every man once in fifty years to his paternal estate, however alienated during that time: the cities of refuge to secure the life of a man, who had innocently slain another: such were also the great court of judicature, known afterwards by the name of *Sanhedrim*; their other courts of judicature, choice of magistrates, and others to the same end; all which were delivered at several times, and upon divers exigencies, by GOD to *Moses*, and by him committed to writing in the same order in which he received them [k]. Neither were all these laws given to him in the mount, though the main part of them was; for after the setting up of the tabernacle GOD was pleased to appear, and to deliver his oracles to him from thence. One thing however is remarkable in that last intercourse we have been mentioning, namely the promise which GOD made to *Israel* [l], that he would send his angel to facilitate their way, and to bring them to the promised land; and that, if they proved obedient to his voice, and kept themselves from the pollutions of those nations which they went to conquer, he would inject a panic fear upon them, so that they should not be able to resist them; adding, that they should not make a complete conquest of them at once, lest the wild beasts should prove too strong for them; but that they should carry it on gradually, till they had extended it from the *Red-sea* unto the sea of the *Philistines*, and from the desert unto the river [m].

The covenant between GOD *and the people ratified.*

IMMEDIATELY after this *Moses* reared an altar to GOD, and offered burnt-sacrifices and peace-offerings upon it, and having caused the contents of this new covenant to be read to all the people, and exacted a solemn promise from them that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified it by sprinkling

[k] Exod. xxiv. 4. [l] Ibid xxiii. 20. & seq. [m] Ibid. ver. 31.

eat by other nations, than any of the rest, it being looked upon as the most friendly and nourishing to our bodies of any other flesh. And this did exactly answer their law-giver's design.

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the altar, the book, and the people, with the blood of the victims, and then ordered twelve pillars to be erected, one for each tribe, as a ſtanding monument of this alliance between GOD and them. *Moſes* had no ſooner made an end of this ceremony, than he took with him *Aaron*, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, and ſeventy of the elders of *Iſrael*, ſome part of the way towards the mountain, where they beheld the GOD of *Iſrael* in a kind of viſion, with a pavement of ſaphire-ſtone under him, exceeding the very ſky in brightneſs; and after he had committed the care of the people unto them, he took *Joſhua* up into the mountain with him, and ſtayed there full forty days. It was during this interval, that GOD gave him the two tables of ſtone, whereon were written the ten commandments by the finger, that is, as the generality of expoſitors underſtand it, and indeed the original doth properly imply, by the immediate command and direction of GOD himſelf (A); the plan of the *Jewiſh* religion, of the tabernacle,

Moſes takes 70 of the elders up towards the mountain.

Goes himſelf into the cloud.

(A) What character theſe tables were written in, whether in that which we now call the *Samaritan*, or in the *Aſſyrian*, ſhall be conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of their writing; and therefore all we ſhall obſerve at preſent concerning them, is, that *Moſes* tells us, that they were writ, or engraved, מזה ומזה, *Mize umize*, on this and on that ſide (19). From which their *Talmud* tells us (20), that the letters were cut through and through, ſo as to be ſeen and read on either ſide. And when the queſtion is put, how it was poſſible for the middle part of the ם final *mem* and ם *ſamech* to ſupport itſelf? the *Talmudiſt* anſwers, that it was kept ſuſpended by a miraculous power: we are far enough from crediting ſuch fables againſt the plain meaning of the text, which at moſt imports no more, than that they were written on both ſides, that is, front and back-ſide, though it may ſignify only, that they were ſo on each ſide, like the two pages of an open book, in which ſenſe *Moſes*'s words are generally taken; but what we would infer from it, is, that the compilers of that book never could dream of the *Samaritan* being the antient *Hebrew* character, becauſe thoſe two letters are of a quite different ſhape, and needed not ſuch a miracle to ſupport the middle, more than any other letter, and yet it is plain, that thoſe who have embraced this notion, have quoted the *Talmud* for it (21); and ſuch has been their preposſeſſion in favour of this character, that they have miſtaken an objection for a poſitive text, and overlooked two or three expreſs anſwers which immediately follow it. But of this we ſhall have a more proper occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel. As to other particu-

(19) *Exod. xxxii.* 15. (20) *Tractat. Megillah.* (21) Morin. *Diſſert. in pentat. Samarit.* Walton. *prolegom.* Whiſton. *& al.*

nacle, and all the utenſils belonging to it, and ſeveral other laws concerning the prieſts, *Levites*, and laity, and, in particular, an order for exacting a free-will-offering from all the children of *Iſrael*, according to their abilities, of gold, ſilver, braſs, ſcarlet, ſilk, wool, oil, ſpices, and all other neceſſary materials for the tabernacle, ark of the covenant, prieſtly

lars relating to theſe tables, ſuch as their number, which ſome eaſtern authors have multiplied to ten, and others to ſeventeen (22); though the *Talmud* and all the *Jewiſh* rabbies do conſtantly call them the *two tables of the covenant* (23): their ſhape, bigneſs, what material they were made of? which ſome rabbies take to have been ſome precious wood, others, ſome precious ſtone, as a ruby or carbuncle: in what order the ten commandments were writ? whether all the ten upon each table, or half, or ſome part upon one, and the reſt upon the other? theſe, and other ſuch nice enquiries we purpoſely forbear, becauſe the ſcriptures leave us wholly in the dark about them. However, we beg leave here to vindicate our ſenſe of thoſe expreſſions of *Moſes*, that theſe tables were written by the finger of GOD, that they were the work of GOD, and that the writing was the writing of GOD, and the like. For though a great many expoſitors underſtand them literally, as writ by GOD himſelf, others by an angel, and others by the ſpirit of GOD, which is ſometimes called *the finger of* GOD (24); yet we think it plain, by comparing the words with what *Moſes* ſays in another place (25), that GOD commanded him to write the words of the covenant upon the ſecond tables, as they had been written in the firſt which he had broken, and that he did ſo accordingly; and what he repeats, or rather recapitulates, in *Deuteronomy* (26), that he (GOD) wrote on the ſecond tables, according to the writing of the firſt, the ten commandments; it is plain, we ſay, that the words can imply no more, than that they were writ by the command and direction of GOD, and that *Moſes* was the perſon that wrote the firſt, as well as the laſt; though the common opinion of antient and modern expoſitors is, that GOD wrote the firſt, and he the laſt (27).

The *Mohammedans* tell us, that GOD commanded the angel *Gabriel* to take the heavenly pen, which is the naming of the name of GOD, and to dip it into the river of light, and to write the ten laws upon the tables. And that after *Moſes* had broke them, the angels carried the fragments up into heaven again, except one piece about half a yard long, which was afterwards depoſited in the ark (28).

(22) *Vid.* Herbelot's *Bibliot. Orient. in loc.* (23) *Talm. paſſ. vid. etiam.* אחר מי יזרע הגדה הפסח *Cantic.* (24) *Vid. Exod. viii.* 19. *Luke xi.* 20. & *alib.* (25) *Exod. xxxiv.* 27, 28. (26) *Cap x.* 4. (27) Cypr. *lib. de S. Spirit.* Auguſt. *quæſt. in Exod.* 186. Jun. Villet. *Rabbin. vid.* Munſt. & *al. in loc.* (28) *Vid. Bibliot. Orient. p.* 649.

rebes.

robes, and all other things that were to be appointed for the public worſhip [n]. The care of making all theſe things was to be committed to *Bezaleel*, of the tribe of *Judah*, and *Aholiab* of the tribe of *Dan*, two perſons whom GOD had endowed with an extraordinary ſkill and wiſdom to contrive and execute all theſe grand deſigns, according to his directions [o].

In the mean time, the people, who had ſeen *Moſes* go up and enter into the cloud, whilſt the top of the mountain was all in flames [p], after they had waited above a month for him, began to give him over for loſt. In this uncertain condition they aſſembled themſelves, in a riotous manner, about *Aaron's* tent, and told him, that, as they wholly deſpaired of *Moſes's* return, they expected that he ſhould make them ſome gods to go before them; and ſuch was his extreme weakneſs and cowardice, that he doth not ſeem to have heſitated one moment, whether he ſhould refuſe or comply with their requeſt, but to have directed them immediately to bring him a ſufficient quantity of their gold ornaments, to make them a golden calf. A learned *Romiſh* writer has indeed taken a deal of pains to vindicate this mean action of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, in compliment to his own, to whom he dedicates the work [q], which was however univerſally condemned, even by thoſe of his own church. And indeed the moſt that can be ſaid in *Aaron's* defence is, that he did not perhaps think the people would be ſo ready to part with their golden ornaments, eſpecially the women, from whom he bids them to tear or ſnatch them; but when he found how quickly his orders were obeyed, he made no ſcruple to be as quick as they in anſwering their requeſt, ſo that by the next day the calf was ſet up. The greateſt part of the *Jews* ſeem to throw the fault of this whole tranſaction upon the *Egyptians* that were come out with them, who firſt put it into the people's head to aſk for theſe gods: they add, that *Aaron* had no hand in the caſting of it in that form, but that it was done by ſome *Egyptian* conjuror by dint of magic, which they prove from the ſhort time he took in making it, and from *Aaron's* words to *Moſes*: *they gave me* (their gold) *and I caſt it into the fire, and there came out this calf.* But we may juſtly affirm, that they who undertake to vindicate *Aaron's* weakneſs, whether *Jews* or *Chriſtians* *, do act with leſs modeſty than *Joſephus*,

Is given over by the people.

The golden calf ſet up.

[n] Exod. a cap. xxv. ad cap. xxx. [o] Ibid. xxxi. paſſ.
[p] Vid. Exod. xxiv. 16, 17. [q] MONCEUS de Vitul. Aur. ap. Oper. Critic. Vol. II. p. 4415. vid etiam BAYL. Dict. ſub. voc. Aaron. * BERRUYER's Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu in loc. CALM. & al. who

who saw too plainly, that it were in vain to offer any thing by way of excuse, seeing *Moses* doth so severely reprove and condemn him for it [r], and therefore hath rather chosen to suppress it wholly, than to record a deed so little to his predecessor's credit, however glossed or palliated. Had not *Moses* had a greater regard to truth, than to the honour of his brother, we should have lost this among many other pregnant testimonies of his faithfulness and sincerity. However, the people were so eager for this new god, that they willingly parted with their gold ear-rings to *Aaron*, who lost no time to have it cast according to his promise (B); and, having set it

[r] Exod. xxxii. 21.

(B) Our version and several others, have given us a very uncouth account of the casting of this golden calf, by making *Aaron* fashion it with a graving tool, after he had cast it in a mould (29): that of *Geneva* is still more ridiculous, which makes him engrave it first, and cast it afterwards. For to say nothing of the improbability of engraving having been known so soon, when we meet with nothing like it in all the fine work of *Solomon*'s temple so long after, which was wrought with more art and greater deliberation, it is plain, that *Aaron* could not have time enough to get the mould ready, the metal melted, and the idol cast, and engraven into the bargain, because he set it up on the very morrow after they had brought him the metal. The mistake is owing to their not attending to the various sense of the verb צוּר, *Tzur*, which signifies, *to tie up*, and *bind*, as well as *to shape*, and *form*, nor to that of the word חֶרֶט, *Cherret*, which though it may properly enough be rendered a *graving-tool* in one or two places where it is used; yet in others it signifies *a bag*: accordingly, *Naaman*, the *Syrian*, is said to have tied up two talents of silver *in* two bags (30), in which place these two words צוּר, *Tzur*, and חֶרֶט, are used. We think therefore those in the right, who have rendered the verse now in question, *and* Aaron *received them* (the gold ear-rings) *and tied them in a bag, and got them cast into a molten calf* (31).

As for the calf itself, some antient fathers have been of opinion, that it had only the face of one, and the form of a man from the neck downwards (32), in imitation of the *Egyptian Isis* (33); others have thought it to have had the head of an ox, and no body joined to it: But, however, the most general opinion is, that it was a whole calf in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. But whatever the shape of it was, it is plain from some of the prophets

(29) *Exod. xxxii. 4. Scen. Essay on a N. Verf. ment. in Exod. in loc.*

(30) 2 *Kings v. 23.*

(31) Le

(32) *Vid.* Le Clerc & Calmet's *Com-*

(33) *Vid.* Herodot. *lib. ii. cap. 41.*

(34),

it upon a pedeſtal, in full ſight of all the camp, and reared up an altar before it, told them in their own dialect, that theſe were the gods which brought them out of *Egypt*, and appointed the next day as a ſolemn feſtival to their new made deity; which they began with offering burnt-ſacrifices and peace-offerings to it, and concluded with feaſting and dancing.

IN the mean time GOD, who ſaw what paſſed in their camp, and that the ungrateful *Iſraelites* were rendering themſelves more unworthy than ever of his care and protection, informed *Moſes* of it, who had ſpent by this time full forty days in faſting and prayer; but with ſuch threatening expreſſions againſt thoſe idolaters, as made him fear that ſome heavy puniſhment, if not total deſtruction, was going to fall upon them; but though GOD did comfort him at the ſame time with promiſes of making him the father of as numerous a nation, as that of the *Iſraelites* then was, yet he rather choſe to intercede for them, and ceaſed not to ſue for their pardon, till he had obtained a kind of promiſe of it from him. After this. taking the two tables and his ſervant *Joſhua* with him, he came down from the mountain, and was ſcarce got to the foot of it, when he was ſurprized with their ſtrange ſhoutings, which, as he thought, were neither like thoſe of a flying or a purſuing army, but it was not long before he beheld the ſad cauſe of it, the calf which his brother had ſet up, and the people dancing round it. His concern was ſo great, that the firſt way he expreſſed it by, was by breaking the two tables, after which he went and upbraided his puſillanimous brother in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo eaſily yielded to the people's ſhameful deſire, aſſuring him, that he had brought a horrid ſin upon them, and had now made them naked to their ſhame in the midſt of their enemies, meaning thereby, that he had publickly expoſed their idolatrous and ſtubborn diſpoſition to all the world, and layed them open, naked and defenceleſs to all their enemies, by forfeiting the divine protection, which alone could bring them ſafe into the promiſed land.

Moſes *comes down from the mount.*

Breaks the two tables.

AARON failed not to lay the blame on the tumultuous people, which forced him to comply with their requeſt; but (34), and eſpecially from St. *Stephen*'s words, *in their hearts they returned into* Egypt, *and forced* Aaron *to make them a molten calf* (35); that they learned their idolatry, and contracted this propenſity to it, during their abode in *Egypt*.

(34) *Iſai. Ezek. Amos & al. paſſ.* (35) *Acts vii. 39. & ſeq.*

Acts

Moſes, inſtead of liſtening to his excuſes, ſet himſelf immediately about the deſtruction of the idol, and the puniſhment of ſuch of the delinquents, whom his preſence had not driven away from the place where it was ſet up. He cauſed the calf to be taken down, in order to have it burnt, and ground into powder, and caſt into the water, of which he afterwards made all the people to drink (C). Whilſt this was doing,

(C) This action of *Moſes*, of melting, grinding, and powdering, the golden idol, in order to make the people drink it with the water into which he threw it, is ſo contrary to our preſent philoſophy, and the account which the Alchymiſts give us of the nature of gold, that it has been ſtrangely canvaſſed by the incredulous, and very aukwardly defended by others. However it is plain, that gold may be reduced to a fine and almoſt impalpable powder, and it is no more than all our gold-beaters know how to do. It is true, *Moſes* might have ſome particular ſecret for doing it, which we know nothing of; neither is it improbable, that the *Egyptians* and other nations might know ſome things concerning that metal, which have been ſince loſt. Nothing has been more commonly received, than the notion that gold cannot be deſtroyed, by people's running into favourite hypotheſes, perhaps upon ſome experiments not rightly underſtood, or not ſufficiently bottomed And yet the royal academy at *Paris* have a burning glaſs that will vitrify it in an inſtant, by evaporating all the ſulphur of it, which crackles and flies up in a thick ſmoke, whilſt the glaſs that remains can never be reduced into any other form. And *Borrichius* aſſures us, that he has, by a conſtant trituration of that metal in ſome ſimple diſtilled water, during the ſpace of thirty days, raiſed this ſulphur up to the ſurface of the water, upon which it appeared like a fine red oil, whilſt all the reſt that ſubſided was only a greyiſh powder, which could never be reduced into any thing afterwards, but appeared in all reſpects the ſame with that which he had got out of baſer metals by the ſame method of trituration; though none of the latter, not even ſilver, ever afforded any thing like that beautiful oil which gold did (36).

The *Rabbies*, according to cuſtom, tell us, that the reaſon of *Moſes*'s making the people drink this gold-powder, was in order to know the idolaters from the reſt, and that as ſoon as they had drank it, the beards of the former turned red; and the cabaliſts add, that the idol weighed 125 *quintals*, or hundreds, which they gather from the *Hebrew* word מסכה, *Maſſekah*, whoſe numerical

(36) *Vid.* B. Sigogn. *N. Meth.*

2

doing, he cried aloud, who is on the LORD's ſide? and finding, that the ſons of *Levi* did immediately join themſelves to him, he commanded them to gird on their ſwords, and to go and ſlay all indifferently whom they found ſtill at that idolatrous feaſt, without regard to age, or quality, kindred, friendſhip, or acquaintance. Theſe went forthwith from *Moſes*'s preſence, and puniſhed with immediate death about three thouſand of the delinquents, whom they found ſtill ſtraggling about in the midſt of their mirth. Some copies of the ſeptuagint and the vulgate ſay twenty three, and others thirty three thouſand; but beſides, that the original mentions no more than three thouſand, and thoſe verſions are acknowledged by ſeveral eminent men of the church of *Rome* to be corrupt in this place †, it is hardly probable, that they could make a greater ſlaughter in ſo ſhort a time. This timely zeal of the tribe of *Levi*, againſt thoſe idolaters, did not go long unrewarded: for it did not only wipe off that blemiſh which their progenitor had entailed upon them, for the bloody maſſacre of the *Shechemites*, but in a very ſhort time procured them the *Levitical* prieſthood; which, though ſubordinate to that of *Aaron* and his poſterity, did entitle them to the tenths of all kinds of beaſts, fruits, and grain in *Iſrael*; to the inferior miniſtry of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple; to a place in the judicial courts of every city and town; to the property of thirty five cities with all their lands, ſome of which were appointed cities of refuge; and to ſeveral other privileges and immunities, of which further account ſhall be given in its proper place. In the mean time the people who were witneſſes of this dreadful example on the delinquents, and heard with what ſeverity *Moſes* had reproved his brother, were under the greateſt conſternation; but whether it were that his anger was by this time ſomewhat diſarmed, he contented himſelf with upbraiding them with their ingratitude and extreme folly, promiſing them however, that he would go up to the mountain again, and try how far his prayers could prevail with the divine mercy, and avert the puniſhment which they had deſerved. He went up accordingly, and interceded ſo powerfully for them, that he at

The Levites *kill* 3000 *delinquents.*

Their Zeal is rewarded.

Moſes *returns to the mount.*

† CAJET. VATABL. LIPPOMAN. A. MONTAN. & al. vid. 1 Cor. x. 8.

rical letters make 125. But why quintals, rather than pounds, ounces, or talents, they give no reaſon for (37).

(37) R. Tauchum *in Elle Shem. Rab. ſect.* 42.

length

length obtained, not only their pardon, but a renewing of GOD's former promise of bringing them into the promised land under the conduct of his angel. However, both the pardon and promise were so far conditional, that the people were to make some attonement for their rebellion, by a solemn and public act of humiliation, and a promise to be more obedient for the future; for in case they should, by a further relapse, bring down a fresh punishment upon themselves, this idolatry was likewise to be punished along with it (D) [r]. One of these conditions the people immediately embraced, and a solemn fast was kept throughout the whole camp, during which they divested themselves of all their gaudy apparel and costly ornaments: and, in memory of this sin, and of the breaking of the two tables, the *Jews* observe that fast yearly even to this day. At the same time GOD, to administer some comfort to *Moses*, whom he saw labouring under such a heavy load of grief and care, and as a further mark of his particular favour, was pleased, at his request, to grant him a sight of his glory, that is, as the context explains it [s], a sight of that angel, or rather divine conductor, under whose direction and care they were to go and conquer the promised land (E).

MOSES

[r] Exod. xxxv. [s] Ibid. c xxxiii. ver. 12. & seq.

(D) The *Jews* have understood these words in so unlimited a sense, that they tell us upon the authority of one of their greatest rabbies, quoted by the *Talmud* (38), that GOD doth not inflict any punishment upon the world for any crying fault, in which there is not one twenty fourth part of this sin of the golden calf put into the scale with it: but another (39), afraid lest that proportion should have been long ago exhausted hath confined it to the *Israelites*, and allows but about one ounce of the gold calf to go into the dose of every such punishment; so that it can hardly fail of lasting a considerable while, especially if the calf weighed so many hundred weights as they tell us it did. However it is plain by the text, that GOD did only design to deter them from relapsing into the like crime, by threatening, that in such a case he would inflict a double punishment upon them.

(E) It must be owned, that the account which *Moses* gives us of this divine vision, is none of the cleareſt, and that some of the expressions he uses, such as that he should not see GOD's face, but only his back, &c. have induced some free thinkers to tax him and all the *Jews* after him with being *Anthropomorphites*, 'till they

(38) R. Isaac *in Talmud. Tract. Sanhedr.* (39) Mos. Gerundens. *vid.* Munst. *in loc.*

learned

MOSES ſtayed in the mount another forty days and nights, during which, he tells us, he neither eat nor drank (F), but ſpent

learned a more refined divinity from the *Babylonians* during their captivity. But it muſt be remembered, that *Moſes* ſpoke to a groſs and carnal people, in a languaage far from copious, eſpecially in words or idioms ſuitable either to the deity, or to the dignity of the preſent glorious tranſaction; and that it is therefore no wonder, if he borrows his expreſſions from outward and ſenſible objects and actions. It is plain, that thoſe who wrote in *Greek*, which is vaſtly more rich than the *Hebrew*, even the very writers of the new teſtament, and the primitive fathers, who were the fartheſt from having any ſuch abſurd ideas of the godhead, have been forced to make uſe of the ſame figurative expreſſions in many places of their writings, for want of more proper and intelligible ones, which were equally wanting in that as in the other tongue. Neither doth it appear that the *Jews* themſelves underſtood *Moſes*'s words in that groſs ſenſe, becauſe it is plain that they had a notion, that this angel, or apparition, which directed them through the wilderneſs, was the *Meſſiah*, who did then take a viſible appearance, which they called the *Shekinah*, from שכן *Shakan*, to dwell, under which he delivered his oracles and commands to them. Which *Shekinah*, though ſome underſtand of all the appearances which GOD took from the beginning, and others, either of the *Shekinah* of fire and water, or of the fiery and cloudy pillar; yet all agree that it was the כסא הכבוד, *Kiſſe bakabod*, the throne of glory, which was one of the ſeven things which they affirm to have been created before the world (40).

However, to diſculpate at once the *Jewiſh* lawgiver from ſuch an imputation, we need but call to mind the glorious deſcriptions he gives almoſt every where, eſpecially in *Deuteronomy*, of the godhead; what pains he takes to deter the *Jews* from making any repreſentation of it under any form whatſoever, by reminding them, that when GOD was ſo pleaſed to diſplay his glory upon mount *Sinai* at the delivering of the ten commands, they ſaw no ſhape nor likeneſs, but only they heard his dreadful voice. Theſe ſo frequent inculcations may therefore be reaſonably looked upon as a key to them, how to underſtand all thoſe other expreſſions which he had been forced to accommodate to their capacity, that is, not in a literal ſenſe, but in ſuch a one as was worthy of the deity, and the dignity of the ſubject.

(F) *Buxtorf* quotes a *Jewiſh* proverb out of the large comment on *Exodus*, with reſpect to this miraculous faſting of *Moſes*, which is to this purpoſe: 'that above, where there is neither eating or 'drinking, *Moſes* ſtaid 80 days, and became like the angels, and 'below, where men do eat and drink, miniſtring angels came

(40) *Vid. Chald. Parash in loc.* & *in Geneſ. i* 1. Raym. Mart. *pug. fid.* Duplels. *cont. Jud* Mumt & *al.*

ſpent his whole time in praying and making two other tables, like unto thoſe which he had broken, and in receiving ſome further inſtructions from God; after which he came down again to the people, who were not a little ſurprized to obſerve, that his face had contracted ſuch a glorious luſtre during his receſs, that they could not intenſely behold it. This obliged him to cover it with a vail whenever he was to ſpeak to them, but he took it off whenever he went to receive God's commands [u]. By this time the people were become a little more tractable, and he had no ſooner acquainted them, among other things, that they ſhould every one bring a free-will-offering of all ſorts of materials for the tabernacle, ark, utenſils, prieſtly garments, and the like, but both men and women ſhewed the greateſt eagerneſs and readineſs to contribute their richeſt jewels, metals, and other precious things which they had got out of the ſpoils of the *Egyptians* and *Amalekites*; ſo that in one day he beheld them laying at his feet a more than ſufficient quantity of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, braſs, ſhittim and cedar-wood, ſilk, cotton, linen, and the fineſt wool of purple, ſcarlet and other colours, of the ſkins of rams, badgers and goats richly died, and laſtly of the richeſt oils, ſpices, ointments and perfumes; all which he diſtributed to proper perſons to be wrought, and made *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab* overſeers of all the work [w]. Theſe ſhewed ſuch

A general offering of all the people.

[u] Exod. xxxiv. [w] Ibid. xxxv. 20, 21. & ſeq.

' down, and eat and drank like them (41), by which one would ' be apt to think they attributed both the one and the other, ra- ' ther to a change of climate, than to a miracle.' However, without enquiring whether *Moſes*, and afterwards *Chriſt*, were miraculouſly ſupported without any kind of ſuſtenance or not, we beg leave to obſerve, that the words which *Chriſt* quotes from *Moſes*, that *man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of* God †, contains an *hebraiſm*, which cannot be retained in a verſion, without conveying a wrong idea. *Word*, in the original doth often ſignify *thing*, and is often uſed in that ſenſe in the new teſtament, as where it is ſaid, and *we are witneſſes of theſe words*, that is, of theſe things or tranſactions. The text ought therefore to have been rendered, *Man ſhall not live by bread alone, but by every thing that* God *has appointed or ordained for his nouriſhment* *; ſince it is plain that *Moſes* ſpeaks in the place quoted not of his faſting, but of the manna which God gave the *Iſraelites* inſtead of bread.

(41) *Vid.* Buxtorf. *Lexic. ſub. rad.* נמם. † *Matth.* iv. 4. *out of Deut.* viii. 3. * Le Seen. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ.*

diligence

diligence, and employed ſo many hands in the work, that the tabernacle, and all its rich furniture and coſtly apparatus, were finiſhed, and ſet up at the foot of mount *Sinai*, in leſs than ſix months. *Aaron* and his ſons, being ſolemnly conſecrated Aaron *con-* prieſts, began to offer up all kinds of ſacrifices upon the new *ſecrated* altar according to the law of *Moſes*. Soon after this, the *high-prieſt.* heads of each tribe came and appeared before *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and preſented a very conſiderable offering to GOD, in ſix waggons drawn each by two oxen, all which were received by *Moſes*, and ſet aſide for the ſervice of the taber- nacle †. Thus was this pompous worſhip begun, in the framing and inſtituting of which GOD was pleaſed to com- ply with their groſs and carnal minds, which he ſaw was incapable of being affected with a purer and more ſpiritual one *.

† Numb. vii. 1. & ſeq. * Exod. from Ch. xxxvi. to the end.

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Amyrtæus holds the fens of *Egypt*, after his country was reduced by the *Perſians*, 64. Sallies out, drives the *Perſians* from *Egypt*, and becomes king of the whole country, *ibid.* Is afterwards overthrown by the *Perſians*, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*

Anak, one of the ſeven dukes over the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of *Seir*, 138. What meant thereby, *ibid.* (O). From him the *Anakims* derived their name, 179, (Z). His three ſons driven from *Hebron* by *Caleb*, 181.

Anakims, inhabitants of the mountains of *Canaan*, invaded by the *Iſraelites*, and cut off, 179. Derived from one *Arba*, who ſeized on the city of *Hebron*, from whom it was called *Kirjath-Arba*, the city of *Arba*, *ibid.* (Z).

Anna, daughter of *Mettinus*, king of *Tyre*, 342.

Antioch, upon the *Orontes*, a famous city of the *Mediterranean Seleucis*, 234.
Antiochene, the two *Seleucides*, ſo called by *Mela* and *Pliny*, 234.
Antiochia ad Taurum, a chief city of *Commagene*, 233.
Anyſis, king of *Egypt*, 40. Is driven from the throne by *Sabacco*, king of *Æthiopia*, *ibid.* Reaſſumes the government, 41.
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Apries, king of *Egypt*, the *Pharaoh Hophra* of ſcripture, 48. Enters into a league with *Zedekiah* king of *Judah* againſt the *Babylonians*, *ibid.* But leaves the *Jews* to the rage of their enemies, and thereby deſerves the curſe denounced upon the *Egyptians* by *Ezekiel*, *ibid.* & 49. Takes the city of *Sidon* by ſtorm, 49. Vanquiſhes the *Phœnicians* and *Cypriots* in a ſea-fight, 49. The curſe of *Ezekiel* how fulfilled, *ibid.* Sends a powerful army to the aſſiſtance of *Andicran*, king of the *Libyans*, againſt the *Cyrenæans*, 50. The *Egyptians* defeated, rebel againſt *Apries*, 50. Engages *Amaſis* head of the rebels, 52. Is routed and taken priſoner, *ibid.* Is ſtrangled, *ibid.*
Ar, called alſo *Rabbah*, or the Great, and by the *Greeks* *Areopolis*, the chief city of *Moab*, 81.
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Arbah, king of *Arad*, 353.

Ark of the Old Teſtament, what betided it, and how ſent back, 215, *&c.*
Armaïs, brother to *Seſoſtris*, 22. Said to have been the *Danaus* of the *Greeks*, 26. Rebels againſt his brother, 25.
Aſcalon, antient city of *Paleſtine*, 193. Birth-place of *Semiramis*, 194. The place which originally produced that kind of onion called *Shalot*, *ibid.* Famous for its wines, cypreſſes, *&c. ibid.*
Aſenath, wife of *Joſeph*, bears him two ſons, *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*, 422.
Aſhdod, or *Azotus*, a city of *Paleſtine*, famed among the antients, 194. Said by miſtake to have been built by one who fled from the *Red-ſea*, whoſe name was *Aza*, or *Capra*, *ibid.* Its ſituation, 195.
Aſher, *Jacob*'s ſecond ſon by *Zilpah*, 398. *Jacob*'s propheſy to him, 445. How verified, *ibid.* (M).
Aſhtaroth, called alſo *Aſhtaroth-Karnaim*, the reſidence of *Og* king of *Baſhan*, 174. *Aſhtaroth*, or *Aſtarte*, worſhipped by the *Philiſtines*, 200.
Aſhyaf, or *Shiſhâk*, king of *Egypt*, and contemporary with *Solomon*, and after his death, according to the oriental hiſtorians, took *Jeruſalem*, 74.
Aſtarimus, or *Atharymus*, king of *Tyre*, murdered by his brother *Phelles*, who ſeized on the crown, 341.
Aſtarte, one of the *Phœnician* deities, 305. Sometimes termed a god, and ſometimes a goddeſs, 307. According to the *Phœnician* mythology only a goddeſs, *ibid.* Particularly called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, *ibid.* Why called by the *Hebrews Aſhtaroth*, 308, (G). Opinions of the learned concerning her, *ibid.* (G). Repreſented as *Iſis* with cow's horns on her head, and for the ſame reaſon, 308. Adored under the ſtile of *Queen of Heaven*; and alſo called the *Phœnician Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, 309. Several *Aſtartes*, and variouſly repreſented, 310. Said to have conſecrated *Tyre*, by depoſiting there a fallen ſtar, *ibid. & ſeq.* Had her prophets and prieſts in great numbers, 315. Worſhipped in groves, 315. Ceremonies in her honour, *ibid. & ſeq.* Worſhipped in a particular manner, at *Byblus*, as the *Venus* of *Adonis*, *ibid. & ſeq.* And the rites uſed there in her honour, 316. Her temple at *Aphac*, a ſink of lewdneſs, 316. Called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, but her principal temple was at *Tyre*, built by *Hiram*, *ibid.*
Aſtartus, recovers the throne of *Tyre* to his family, 341.
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temple of *Vulcan*, 40. Builds a pyramid with brick, with a very vaunting inſcription, *ibid.* The ſame in all probability with *Bocchoris*, *ibid.* Contemporary with *Anyſis* and *Nechus*, the father of *Pſammitichus*, *ibid.*

Auzates, in *Afric*, built by *Ithobal* king of *Tyre*, 342.

Azelmic, king of *Tyre*, 348. In his reign happened the memorable ſiege of *Tyre* by *Alexander*, *ibid.* By *Alexander* ſpared and reſtored to the throne, 352.

Azotus, taken by *Aſar-haddon* king of *Babylon*, and retaken by *Pſammitichus*, after a ſiege of 29 years, 45.

B.

BAAL, one of the *Phœnician* deities, 305. Had his prophets and prieſts in great numbers, 314. *Baal Thalaſſius* worſhipped at *Sidon*, 306. Several deities of this name among the *Phœnicians*, 305 (B), 306 (D). Sometimes termed a god, and ſometimes a goddeſs, 307.

Baal appointed king of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, 345, & *ſeq.*

Baal-peor, or *Peor*, or *Phegor*, idol of the *Moabites*, 82. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* (E). Suppoſed by ſome to be *Bacchus*, by others *Menes*, *Mizraïm*, and *Oſiris*, 83, (F).

Baal-zephon, wholly unknown to the antient geographers, 528 (O). Several conjectures concerning it, *ibid.*

Baalis, the laſt king of *Ammon*, 108. Receives all the *Jews*, that fly from the *Babylonians*, into his dominions, *ibid.* Adviſes *Iſhmael* to aſſaſſinate *Gedaliah*, *ibid.* Is taken by *Nebuzaradan*, general of the *Babylonians*, and carried into captivity, *ibid.* & 109.

Baal-zebub, or *Beelzebub*, one of the *Philiſtine* idols, worſhipped at *Ekron*, 199 & *ſeq.* Under what form repreſented, 200. Why called *Baal-zebub*, or lord of flies, *ibid.*

Babia, one of the *Syrian* deities, from whom children were called *Babias*, 255, (D).

Badezor, or *Bazor*, king of *Tyre*, 342.

Baiſer, king of *Egypt*, according to the oriental hiſtorians, 71. Built the city of *Meſer*, *ibid.*

Balaam, divers opinions relating to him, 85 (G). Is ſent for to curſe the *Iſraelites*, 85. An angel withſtands him on his journey to *Balak* king of *Moab*, 86 & *ſeq.* Whether his aſs truly ſpoke, 87 (I). Is met on the borders by *Balak*, 88. Bleſſes the *Iſraelites*, and curſes thoſe who ſhould utter any imprecation againſt them, 88, 89. His propheſics as to *Moab*, 89. His wicked counſel to *Balak*, 90.

90. Slain with five kings of *Midian* by the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.*
Balak, king of *Moab*, 85. Sends for *Balaam* to curſe the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.*
Balator, king of *Tyre*, 346.
Balbek, the wonder of *Syria*, 239. Account of its rotunda, and great temple, 240. And the palace, 244. Thought by ſome travellers to have been the work of *Solomon*, 145, (M).
Balcazar, *Balcaſtartus*, or *Bazor*, ſon of *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, 341.
Ballonymus, called alſo *Alonymus*, *Abdolominus*, and *Abdolomius*, how created king of *Sidon*, 336.
Bambyce, *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*, a city of *Cyrrheſtica* in *Syria*, 234.
Barca, the ſon of *Mettinus* king of *Tyre*, 342. Accompanies his ſiſter *Dido* in her flight, 343. From him ſprang the family of the *Barcæ* in *Afric*, 344.
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Baſhan, hill of, gave its name to the kingdom of *Og*, 174. Since called *Batanæa*, *ibid.* A plentiful and populous territory, *ibid.* Conquered by *Moſes*, *ibid.*
Baſhemath, *Eſau*'s ſecond wife, called by *Moſes*, ſpeaking of *Eſau*'s poſterity by her, *Aholibamah*, daughter of *Anah*, the daughter of *Zibeon* the *Hivite*, 396 (X).
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Battus, the happy, third king of the *Cyrenæans*, 50.
Bazrah, *Bozrah*, or *Boſor*, a city of *Edom*, 132.
Beelſamen, the chief of the *Phœnician* deities, 305. By him meant the ſun, *ibid.*
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Bela, the ſon of *Beor*, king of the *Horites*, 136.
Bela, or *Zoar*, in the vale of *Siddim*, 167. The king of this place defeated by *Chedorlaomer*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.*
Belus, and *Agenor*, the ſons of *Neptune* by *Libya*, reigned in *Egypt*, where he married the daughter of *Nilus*, 328, & *ſeq.*
Ben-hadad I. ſon to *Tabrimon* king of *Damaſcus*, tempted with large gifts by *Aſa* king of *Judah*, to make war upon *Baaſha* king of *Iſrael*, 275. His army takes all *Cineroth*, and the land of *Naphtali*; and in the end he extends his power to the city of *Samaria*, *ibid.*
Ben-hadad II. king of *Damaſcus* marches with a mighty parade,

fade and a powerful army againſt *Iſrael* 275, *& ſeq.* His haughty behaviour towards *Ahab*, *ibid.* His proud meſſage to him variouſly interpreted, 276, (D). His army routed, and himſelf put to a ſhameful flight, 276. Flies to the city of *Aphek*, where 27000 of his men are cruſhed to death by the wall of the city, which fell on them, 277. How this extraordinary caſualty came to paſs, *ibid* (G). Throws himſelf upon *Ahab*'s mercy, by whom he is kindly treated, and immediately reſtored to his liberty, 278. Keeps poſſeſſion of *Ramoth-gilead*, which was the ſubject of a freſh war. 279. Comes to an engagement with *Ahab*, and *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, whereof the victory was doubtful, 279. Detaches a ſtrong party to *Dothan* to ſeize *Eliſha*, 283. They are ſmitten with ſuch a deception of ſight by the prophet, that they ſuffer him to lead them into the city of *Samaria*, where they are hoſpitably entertained, which put a ſtop to this war, *ibid.* *Ben-hadad* marches again againſt *Samaria*, but, while he was on the point of taking the city, is ſeized with a panic fear, and raiſes the ſiege, *ibid. & ſeq.* Sends *Hazael* to conſult *Eliſha* about his indiſpoſition, who receives anſwer that he might recover, but would not, 284. Stifled by *Hazael* with a thick cloth dipt in water, 285. Worſhipped as a god by the *Aſſyrians*, under the name of *Adad*, or *Ader*, 255.

Ben-hadad III. Thrice defeated by *Jehoaſh*, the ſon of *Jehoahaz* king of *Iſrael*, loſes all his father wreſted from the *Jews*, 288. Probably ſubdued by, or made tributary to *Jeroboam*, *ibid.*

Ben-hadad, or *Hadad*, affected by all the kings of *Syria*, from *Hadadezer*, of *Zobah*, downwards, 288 (B). *Ben-hadad* ſignifies the ſon of *Hadad*, *ibid.*

Benjamin born, 412. Called firſt *Benoni*, or the ſon of my affliction, *ibid.* Kept with *Jacob*, while the others went into *Egypt* to buy corn, 423. Sent to *Egypt* to redeem *Simeon*, 424. Honoured by *Joſeph* above the reſt, 428. *Joſeph*'s cup found in his ſack, *ibid.* And brought back to *Joſeph*, *ibid.* *Jacob*'s bleſſing to him and his tribe, 448. How verified, *ibid* (S).

Bera, king of *Sodom*, routed by *Chedorlaomer*, 147.

Berachah the vale of, ſo called from the miraculous overthrow of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, 95, 107, 143.

Berothai and *Betah*, two cities of the kingdom of *Zobah* in *Syria*, plundered by *David*, 274.

Berytus, an antient city of *Phœnice*, ſaid to have been ſtanding in the days of *Cronus*, 299. Now called *Barût*, or *Beroot*, *ibid.* Deſcription of its ſituation, *ibid* (T).
Beth-el-Shechem, city in the land of *Canaan*, 161. The inhabitants ſubject to the king of *Ai*, join him againſt *Joſhua*, but are all cut off, 175. Fall afterwards by fraud, and their city is ſeized by the houſe of *Joſeph*, 181. *Bethel*, that is, the houſe of GOD, called formerly *Luz*, 395.
Bethſhean city, in the land of *Canaan*, 161.
Bethuel, the father of *Rebekah* according to ſome, 376 (D). More probably her brother, 381 (M).
Bezek, city of *Canaan*, the reſidence of *Adonibezek*, taken by the *Iſraelites*, and all who were within the walls put to the ſword, 180.
Bilhah, *Leah*'s maid, bears to *Jacob Dan* and *Naphtali*, 398.
Birſha, king of *Gomorrah*, routed by *Chedorlaomer*, 167.
Bocchoris, king of *Egypt*, ſurnamed the wiſe, 39. The fourth *Egyptian* law-giver, *ibid.* Said to be taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and burnt alive, *ibid.*
Boils upon men and beaſts, one of the *Egyptian* plagues, 515. Break out by *Aaron*'s throwing a handful of the aſhes of the furnace into the air, *ibid.*
Botrys, in *Phœnice*, built by *Ithobal*, 342.
Bozrah, *Boſor*, *Bazrah*, names of a city of *Edom*, 132.
Burning, a puniſhment uſed among the *Jews* before *Moſes*, 418 (R).
Buſiris, king of *Egypt*, the ſecond and laſt of this name and line, founds the city of *Thebes*, 5.

C.

Cadmus, ſon of *Agenor*, 329. Sent by his father in queſt of *Europa*, his ſiſter, lands in *Thrace*, 329. Diſcovers there a gold mine in mount *Pangæus*, *ibid.* Adviſed by the oracle to leave *Thrace*, and paſs into *Bœotia*, *ibid.* Drives from thence the *Hyantes*, and founds a new kingdom, *ibid.* Builds a city, called from his own name *Cadmea*, *ibid.*
Calf, the golden, made by *Aaron*, probably a whole calf, in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, 645 (B).
Canaanites, deſcended from *Canaan* the ſon of *Ham*, 157. The ſeven primary nations of the *Canaanites*, *ibid.* Their country, 158, & *ſeq.* *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, divided

divided into two distinct bodies, 159. Inhabited two distinct divisions, the sea-side to the west, and the river-side to the east, 160. Those on the sea-side merchants, and known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Phœnicians*, *ibid.* Those who had an inland situation employed partly in pasturage, and partly in the exercise of arms, 159. Retained the true religion to the days of *Abraham*, 163. Fall into idolatry, *ibid.* They used human sacrifices, 164. Guilty of all manner of wickedness, *ibid* (I). They lived in subjection to limited princes or kings, 165. Probably their country peopled by *Canaan* and his descendants, upon the first dispersion after the flood, *ibid.* According to an antient tradition, their country originally belonged to the children of *Shem*, *ibid.* (K). Some of them said to have penetrated into *Egypt*, and possessed themselves of the *Arabian* side of the country, from whence they were driven by the *Egyptians*, which some will have to be the expulsion of the shepherds, 165, 166. Their whole land oppressed by a famine soon after the arrival of *Abraham*, 167. Joined with the *Amalekites*, repulse the *Israelites* attempting to enter their territories, 173. Employ *Joshua* six years, 179. Supposed in the end to have left their country in great numbers, and in their way to *Afric* to have seized on the lower *Egypt*, where they erected a monarchy, but were driven out, after having lorded it long over *Egypt*, 179. Little molested by the *Israelites* for nineteen or twenty years, *ibid.* Invaded again by the tribes of *Israel*, *ibid.* Those in *Bezek* all put to the sword, 180. Those of *Bethel* fall by fraud, and their city is seized by the house of *Joseph*, 181. Those of *Beth-shean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*, preserve their several jurisdictions entire against the children of *Manasseh*, *ibid.* Those of *Gezer* cannot be expelled by the *Ephraimites*, *ibid.* Those of *Kitron* and *Nahalol* stand their ground, but submit to a tribute, *ibid.* Those of *Accho*, *Zidon*, *Ahlab*, *Achzib*, *Helbah*, *Aphik*, and *Rehob*, instead of being driven out by the tribe of *Asher*, impose what conditions on them they think proper, *ibid.* Those who held *Beth-shemesh* and *Beth-anath* are in the end made tributaries to the tribe of *Naphtali*, *ibid.* Some, left to prove *Israel*, maintain their ground against the *Israelites* to the time of *David*, 186. Reduced with the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebusites*, to a state of slavery by *Solomon*, and employed in the heavy labour of carrying on his sumptuous works, which slavery was entailed upon them and their posterity, though admitted into the *Jewish* religion, 188. Whether ever blended with the

Jews is uncertain, *ibid.* & (O). The *Canaanites*, properly ſo called, remained independent on the ſea-coaſt, and ſprang to a great height of fame, being comprehended under the famous appellation of *Phœnicians*, 188.
Caphtorim, the progenitors of the *Philiſtines*, 189.
Carpaſia, in the iſland of *Cyprus*, ſaid to have been built by *Pygmalion*, king of *Tyre*, 344.
Carthage the foundations of, laid by *Dido*, 342.
Caſiotis, part of *Seleucis* in *Syria*, 233. Likewiſe the name of a town in the ſaid country, *ibid.*
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Cephren, *Cephrenes*, or *Chabryis*, king of *Egypt*, 37. A tyrant, *ibid.* Erected the ſecond of the three moſt remarkable pyramids, 37.
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Cherethites; the name by which the *Philiſtines* were known in *Egypt*, 198, (G).
Chabryis. See *Cephren*.
Chalcidine, an inland province of *Syria*, 234.
Chalcis, the capital city of *Chalcidine*, 234.
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Chalybon, chief city of *Chalybonitis* in *Syria*, 234.
Chedorlaomer, king of *Elam*, invades the *Zamzummims*, 101. Takes and pillages *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, 168.
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Chemoſh and *Baal-peor*, idols of the *Moabites*, 82. Whether the ſame idol, 84. Etymology of *Chemoſh*, 82, (E).
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Cilix, ſon of *Agenor*, ſaid to have ſettled in *Cilicia*, and given his name to that country, 330.

Circum-

Circumciſion, whether firſt introduced into the world by the *Egyptians*, or the *Hebrews*, 367. Form of words uſed on that occaſion, 501, (A)
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D

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G

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H.

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Kibt, or *Kût*, probably *Phût*, one of the ſons of *Ham*, founds a monarchy in *Egypt*, according to the oriental hiſtorians, 77. Great part of that nation being, according to them, his deſcendants, *ibid.* & 71.
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L.

LABAN, father to *Rachel*, 396. Cheats *Jacob*, and gives him *Leah* inſtead of *Rachel*, *ibid.* At laſt gives him *Rachel*, *ibid.* Obliges him, with his hard treatment, to ſteal away, 401. Purſues and overtakes him, 493. Searches for his gods, *ibid.* Makes a covenant with *Jacob*, 404. Returns, *ibid.*
Laodice, a *Greek* wife to *Amaſis*, king of *Egypt*, 55. A miracle on occaſion of her marriage, *ibid.*
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Levi, *Jacob*'s third ſon by *Leah*, born, 397. *Jacob*'s propheſy againſt the tribes of *Levi* and *Simeon*, 440. How fulfilled, *ibid.* (F). The ſons of *Levi* join *Moſes*, and kill 3000 of the *Iſraelites*, while they were worſhipping the golden calf, 567. This zeal procures them the *Levitical* prieſthood, entitling them to the tenths of all kinds of beaſts, fruits, and grain in *Iſrael*, *ibid.*
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Warned by two angels to abandon *Sodom*, *ibid.* Retires to *Bela* or *Zoar*, 78. His wife changed into a pillar of ſalt, *ibid.* What her crime was, *ibid*, (C). Various opinions relating to it, *ibid.* *Lot* retires with his daughters to the eaſt-ſide of the *Dead-ſea*, and dwells in a cave, 79. His inceſtuous commerce with his daughters, 80. The eldeſt daughter's ſon named *Moab*, that is, *of a father*, and was the progenitor of the *Moabites*, *ibid.* The youngeſt daughter's ſon named *Ammon*, or *Ben-ammi*, that is, *the ſon of my people*, the progenitor of the *Ammonites*, 97.
Luthith, city of *Moab*, 81.
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M.

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Magic, *Moſes*, *Jamne* and *Jotapha*, ſaid by *Pliny* to have been the heads and founders of it, 510, (E).
Magicians of *Egypt* imitate the greateſt part of *Moſes*'s miracles, 509, *&* *ſeq.* Who theſe magicians were, by what power they performed theſe wonders, and why they came ſhort of ſome of thoſe of *Moſes*, 510, (E).
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Mahanaim, or *two camps*, the place where *Jacob* ſaw, in his dream, an hoſt of angels, 404.
Majuma, the port of *Gaza*, called by *Conſtantine Conſtantia*, in honour of his ſon *Conſtantius*, and by *Julian*, in hatred of the name, the port of *Gaza*, 192.
Mamre communicates his name to the whole country, 361. Oak of *Mamre*, 360, (G).
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Manna promiſed the *Iſraelites*, 540. Falls at ſome diſtance from the camp, 541. Why called *Man* or *Manna*, *ibid.* & (R). The quantity that was to be gathered preſcribed by *Moſes*, *ibid.* That which was gathered on *Friday* laſted two days, 542. Had nothing common with what we now call manna, and is to be ſeen in great plenty in the deſerts of *Arabia*, 543, (S). Proofs of its being miraculous,

542. *Moſes* ordered to preſerve a homer full of it in a veſſel, to be afterwards depoſited in the ark of the covenant, 542, & 543.
Marah, ſo called in memory of the bitter waters, 539. The *Jews* encamped there on their march to *Canaan*, *ibid.*
Marna, *Marnas*, or *Marnaſh*, an idol of the *Philiſtines*, worſhipped at *Gaza*, and ſaid to have migrated into *Crete*, 198.
Marus. See *Mendes*.
Maſſah, (tempting) the place where *Moſes* ſmote the rock to ſupply the murmuring *Iſraelites* with water, 544.
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Melchizedek, king of *Salem*, 168. By ſome thought to have been *Shem*, *ibid.* (P). Preſents *Abraham* with bread and wine, and receives from him tithes of all, 169, & 170. Divers opinions relating to him, 168, (P).
Melicarthus, or *Melcartus*, or *Hercules*, a *Phœnician* deity. See *Hercules*.
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Menes, ſaid to have been the firſt man who reigned in *Egypt*, 1. Diverted the courſe of the *Nile*, built the city of *Memphis*, and its famous temple of *Vulcan*, 2, & 3. The firſt that inſtructed the *Egyptians* in religious matters, 3. Introduced luxury, *ibid.*
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Merbal, king of *Tyre*, 346.
Meribah, (contention) the place where *Moſes* ſmote the rock to ſupply the murmuring *Iſraelites* with water, 544.
Meſha, king of *Moab*, tributary to the *Iſraelites*, 93. Rebels, but is forced to ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Kir-haraſeth* 94. Offers his eldeſt ſon for a burnt-ſacrifice, *ibid.*
Meſr, king of *Egypt*, builds many cities, 71. Divides the kingdom among his ſons, *ibid.*
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Midiann, or *Madian* two cities of the ſame name in the country of the *Midianites*, 111.
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part of *Arabia Petræa*, *ibid.* Described, *ibid.* Their manner of life, 111. Had the use of writing very early, and, according to some, instructed *Moses* therein, 112. Those of the south part of *Midian* enlightened by a rational and sublime system of religion, 113. They war with *Hadad* the *Horite*, and are smitten by him in the field of *Moab*, 114. They purchase *Joseph* of his brethren, and sell him to *Potiphar*, *ibid.* Signalized themselves above all others in endeavouring to turn the children of *Israel* from God, 119. Are defeated by *Phineas*, their castles laid in ashes, and all of them, together with *Balaam*, put to the sword, 120. The loss of this branch supplied by another, who wage a cruel war against the *Israelites*, under the kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, *ibid.* But are utterly routed by *Gideon*, with no other weapons for his men, than a ram's horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other, 121, & *seq.* This downfal so great, that it is termed in scripture *the day of Midian*, 122. They were a famous nation many ages afterwards, but in the first century were blended with the *Arabians*, *ibid.*

Migdol, signifies a tower, 528, (O).

Milcah, wife to *Nahor*, 376, (D).

Minnith, a considerable city of the *Ammonites*, 98.

Miriam, *Moses*'s sister, whether one of the two *Jewish* midwives mentioned in scripture, 473, (K). Offers to fetch *Pharaoh*'s daughter an *Hebrew* nurse for *Moses*, 475. Calls her mother *Jocabedh*, *ibid.*

Moabites descended from *Moab*, the son of *Lot* by his eldest daughter, 75. Description of the country which they possest, 81. Governed by kings, used circumcision and imployed themselves mostly in pasturage and breeding of cattle, 82. The *Israelites* expressly forbidden to disturb them, *ibid.* Had once the knowledge of the true God. *ibid.* Their idol, *ibid.* They drive out the *Emims* but lose part of their acquisitions by the *Amorites*, 85, &c. Send their most beautiful women to the *Israelitish* camp to seduce the *Israelites* to idolatry, 90. Not admitted to intermarry with the *Israelites* for having hired *Baalam* to curse them, *ibid.* Invade *Israel*, seize the eastern parts of the country and exercise great tyranny over them for 18 years, 91. Defeated with great slaughter by *Ehud*, 92. Treat the parents flying to them with great hospitality, *ibid.* They enter into a confederacy against *David* when he came to the crown, who puts to the sword two thirds of them, and makes the rest his vassals and tributaries, *ibid.* Rebel against *Ahaziah*, but are routed with great slaughter by *Jehoram*

Jehoram, 93, & *ſeq.* Attempt to revenge their loſs on *Jehoſhaphat* in conjunction with other nations, but deſtroy one another, 94, & *ſeq.* Invade the *Edomites* and put to a cruel death their king, 95. A ſevere judgment denounced againſt them by the prophet *Amos*, *ibid.* *Iſaiah* foretells their deſtruction and his propheſy problaby fulfilled by *Salmaneſer*, king of *Aſſyria*, *ibid.* Entirely ſubdued by *Nebuchadnezzar* into whoſe hands their king was given, *ibid.*

Mæris, or *Myris*, king of *Egypt*, dug the famous lake which bore his name, 9.

Molech, or *Moloch*, the chief deity of the *Ammonites*, 99. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* Deſcription of his image, *ibid.* Some accounts of the learned concerning this idol, 100 (B). Superſtitions paid to him, *ibid.* Divers opipinions of the learned relating thereunto, *ibid.* (C). The meaning of the phraſe, that they made their ſons and daughters paſs through the fire, *ibid.*

Moriah mount, etymology of the word, 376, & (C). The ſame on which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon*, *ibid.*

Moſes is born, 473. Concealed three months, but after expoſed to be drowned, according to the king's edict, 473, 474. But taken up by *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who educated him as her own ſon, 475. Gives him the name of *Moſes*, *ibid.* Is delivered to his own mother, *Jochebed*, to be educated by her, *ibid.* Brought in due time to *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who adopts him for her ſon, and has him brought up in all kinds of learning, 476. Prefers the reproachful name of *Iſraelite* to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh*'s court, *ibid.* 477. Kills an *Egyptian*, *ibid.* Forty years of his abode in *Egypt*, how employed, *ibid.* (O). Reproached with the murder of the *Egyptian* by an *Hebrew*, is forced to fly into the land of *Midian*, 479. Received by *Jethro*, in whoſe family he continues forty years, 481. Suppoſed by ſome to have wrote the book of *Job*, during this interval, *ibid.* God appears to him at the end of forty years, in a burning buſh, 486. And commands him to return into *Egypt*, *ibid.* Why God was pleaſed to appear to him in that manner, *ibid.* (B). Who it was that appeared to him, *ibid.* (R). God pleaſed to anſwer his queſtion, a queſtion which he had formerly refuſed to anſwer *Jacob*, 489. Bids him tell the *Iſraelites* that I AM, *&c.* ſent him to them, 494. Commanded to bring his people out of bondage, 496. His doubts cleared by two miracles wrought in his preſence, 497.

497. Nevertheleſs begs to be excuſed, 498. Obeys at laſt and leaves *Midian*, 499. God appears to him again, charging him to perform all the wonders he had ſhewn him, before the king of *Egypt*, and to demand the diſmiſſion of the people of *Iſrael*, 500. Smitten by an angel in the inn, 501. What the cauſe was of God's anger againſt him, *ibid* (A). Why he deferred ſo long the circumciſion of his ſon, 502 (A). *Zipporah* circumciſes the child, and *Moſes* is reſtored, 504. Joins his brother *Aaron* at mount *Horeb*, 505. Declares his commiſſion to the *Iſraelites* in *Goſhen*, and eſtabliſhes his credit among them with miracles, *ibid.* Delivers his meſſage to the king of *Egypt*, 506. Who, inſtead of complying with his demand, increaſes the burthens of the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.* Bid to go again to *Pharaoh*, 507. His firſt miracle before him; His rod turned into a ſerpent, 509. Second miracle; The waters turned into blood, 511. Third miracle; Of frogs, 513. Fourth miracle; Lice, *ibid.* Fifth miracle; Swarms of flies, 514. Sixth miracle; The cattle of the *Egyptians* killed by murrain, 515. Seventh miracle; Boils upon man and beaſt, *ibid.* Eighth miracle; Hail-ſtorms and thunder, 515. The great miſchief done by them, 517. Ninth miracle; Locuſts, *ibid.* Tenth miracle; Great darkneſs during three days, 518. Fables with which the *Mohammedans* have ſtuffed this part of *Moſes*'s hiſtory; 511, (E). How long a time *Moſes* took in bringing all the plagues upon *Egypt*, 519, (H). Commands the *Iſraelites* to celebrate the paſſover, *ibid.* And to borrow what jewels, fine raiment and other precious things they could of the *Egyptians*, *ibid.* The laſt plague ſent on the *Egyptians*; Their firſt-born ſlain by the deſtroying angel, 523. Sent for by *Pharaoh*, and ordered to depart, 524. His firſt encampment at *Succoth*, 525. Conſecrates the firſt-born of men and beaſts, *ibid.* Second encampment at *Etham*, near the borders of *Arabia Deſerta*, 528. Commanded to direct his march towards *Pi-hahiroth*, where he encamps, 529. Purſued by *Pharaoh*, *ibid.* And overtaken. 530. Comforts the deſpairing *Iſraelites*, *ibid.* Divides the *Red-ſea* by ſtretching out his rod, 531. Which makes way for the *Iſraelites* to go through it as on dry land, *ibid.* Whether this was really miraculous or not, *ibid.* (P). His ſong for this their deliverance, 538. Commanded to preſerve an homer full of manna, to be depoſited in the ark of the covenant, as a witneſs to future ages, 542. Smites a rock with his rod, and water immediately guſhes out in plentiful ſtreams,

544. Smote the rock two different times, and in two different places, *ibid*, (T). Obtains a signal victory over the *Amalekites*, by holding up his hands in prayer, 545, *& seq.* Ordered to vow a lasting war against the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out, 546. By the advice of *Jethro*, appoints inferior judges, some over thousands, some over hundreds, and some over tens, 547 Marches from *Rephidim* to the wilderness of *Sinai*, 547. Encamps near mount *Sinai*, 548. Goes up to mount *Sinai*, *ibid.* Which appeared covered with fire and smoke, 549. Commanded to go down again, give a strict charge to the *Israelites* not to approach the mountain, and bring up his brother *Aaron* with him, *ibid.* The decalogue delivered, *ibid.* Commanded to write the commandments on two tables of stone, *ibid.* Goes up into the mountain again, where some ceremonial laws were added to the moral ones, 556. Ratifies the covenant between God and the people, 560. Takes seventy of the elders up towards the mountain, and stays forty days, 561. Goes himself into the cloud, *ibid.* Receives the two tables of stone, *ibid.* Given over by the people for lost, 563. Comes down from the mount, 565. His great concern in finding the *Israelites* worshipping the golden calf, *ibid.* Breaks the two tables, and upbraids his pusillanimous brother in the strongest terms, *ibid.* Destroys the idol, causes it to be ground into powder, and cast into water, of which he made afterwards the people to drink, 566. Orders the sons of *Levi* to punish with immediate death 3000 of the delinquents, 567. Returns to the mount, and obtains not only pardon for his people, but a renewal of God's former promises, *ibid. & seq.* Stays on the mountain forty days and nights, during which he neither eat nor drank, 569. Comes down with such a lustre in his face, that the people could not intensely behold it, 570. Commands the people to bring a free-will-offering of all sorts of materials for the tabernacle, *ibid.* The tabernacle made and set up at the foot of mount *Sinai*, 571.

Murrain, one of the plagues of *Egypt*, 515.

Mycerinus, the son of *Cheops*, and king of *Egypt*, 37. His character, *ibid.* Buries his daughter in an extraordinary manner, *ibid.* The oracle declares him to be short-lived, 38. Endeavours to convict the oracle of falsehood. *ibid.*

N.

NAAMAN, general of *Ben-hadad*, king of the *Syrians*, cured of a leproſy by the prophet *Eliſha*, 280. Renounces idolatry, 281. Entreats the prophet to grant him two mule-loads of earth, probably to raiſe an altar, *ibid.* Said to have founded an hoſpital for *Gehazi*, which is ſtill extant at *Damaſcus*, *ibid.* (M).

Nahor, *Abraham*'s brother, 376. His iſſue, *ibid.* (D).

Nadab, the ſon of *Aaron*, by *Eliſheba* the daughter of *Amminadab*, 500. Solemnly conſecrated prieſt with his brother *Abihu*, 571.

Nadab, king of *Iſrael*, lays ſiege to *Gibbethon*, a city of the *Philiſtines*, 229.

Nahaſh, king of the *Ammonites*, 103. Wages war with the *Iſraelites* at firſt with good ſucceſs, *ibid.* But his army is entirely routed and diſperſed by *Saul*, *ibid.* Proved kind to *David* 104.

Nakraïs, or *Bakraïs*, the firſt antediluvian king of *Egypt*, according to the oriental hiſtorians, 70.

Naphtali, *Jacob*'s ſecond ſon by *Bilhah*, born, 398. *Jacob*'s propheſy to him, 446. How verified, *ibid.* (O).

Narbal, king of *Arad*, 353.

Nebo, an idol of the *Babylonians*, 84. A town of the ſame name in the dominions of *Moab*, *ibid.* Alſo a part of mount *Abarim*, in the ſame tract ſo called, *ibid.*

Nebuchadnezzar, king of *Aſſyria*, takes *Tyre*, after a ſiege of 13 years, razes it to the ground, and puts all the inhabitants to the ſword, 345, & *ſeq.*

Nebuzaradan, puts all *Ammon* to fire and ſword, and carries away king *Baalis*, and moſt of the nobles into captivity, 109.

Nechus, king of *Egypt*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Pſammitichus*, 46. The *Pharaoh Necho* of ſcripture, *ibid.* Attempts to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red-ſea*, but is warned by an oracle to deſiſt, *ibid.* His expeditions by ſea, *ibid.* Fits out two fleets, *ibid.* Marches againſt the king of *Aſſyria*, *ibid.* Defeats *Joſiah* king of *Judah*, who oppoſed him in his march, 47. Routs the *Aſſyrians*, and takes the city of *Carchemiſh*, *ibid.* Sends *Jehoahaz* king of *Judah* in chains to *Egypt*, *ibid.* Makes *Eliakim* king over *Judah*, impoſing on him a tribute, *ibid.* Is defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and loſes all *Syria* and *Judæa*, 48. Dies, *ibid.*

Nectanebes, king of *Egypt*, the firſt of the *Sebennytic* race, 65. Defends *Egypt* againſt the *Perſians*, 66. Dies, *ibid.*

Nectanebus, king of *Egypt*, 67: His ſubjects rebel againſt him, *ibid.* But are vanquiſhed, *ibid.* He is joined by the *Sidonians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cypriots*, againſt the *Perſians*, *ibid.* Is invaded by the *Perſians*, 68. Abandons the kingdom to them, and flies into *Æthiopia*, 69. He was the laſt *Egyptian* that ever governed *Egypt*, *ibid.*

Nephereus, king of *Egypt*, 64.

Nepherotes, king of *Egypt*, and the laſt of the *Mendeſian* race, 65.

Nile, firſt called *Ægyptus*, but afterwards took its name from king *Nilus*, who made it univerſally ſerviceable, 36.

Nilus, king of *Egygt*, 36.

Nitetis, daughter of *Apries* king of *Egypt*, 57.

Nitocris, queen of *Memphis*, ſucceeds her brother, 8: To revenge his death, puts many of the *Egyptians* to death, *ibid.* She was by birth an *Ethiopian*, 4.

O:

OCHUS, king of *Perſia*, brings all *Phœnice* under the *Perſian* yoke, 334, *& ſeq.* His cruelty to the *Sidonians*, *ibid.*

Og, king of *Baſhan*, reckoned a king of the *Amorites*, 174: The laſt king of the race of the giants of *Rephaim*, 342. (E), & 161 (E), & 174. Eſpouſes the cauſe of *Sihon* the *Amorite*, and attempts to ſtop the progreſs of *Moſes* and his people. *ibid.* Falls in battle, and his kingdom is transferred to the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.*

On, *Heliopolis* once ſo called, and by *Ptolemy Onium*, 421, (U).

Onan, *Judah*'s ſon by the *Canaanitiſh* wife, 416. Marries *Tamar*, his brother's wife, *ibid.* His ſin and death, *ibid. & ſeq.*

Oreb, prince of *Midian*, 121. Defeated by *Gideon*, *ibid. & ſeq.* Killed by the *Ephraimites*, *ibid.*

Orontes, a river of *Syria*, 235. A fabulous tradition concerning its origin, *ibid.* (B).

Oſymandyas, king of *Egypt*, according to ſome, the ſame as *Amenophis* and *Memnon*, 5. (D). Reduced the rebellious *Bactrians* with an army of 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe, 6. His tomb, the moſt magnificent in *Egypt*, deſcribed, 6. His ſtatue with an inſcription, *ibid.*

P.

PALMYRA, the metropolis of *Palmyrene* in *Syria*, 234. Its name and ſituation, 246. Deſcription of its great court and temple, 247. Of its promiſcuous ruins, obeliſk, and two pillars, 249. The great piazza, 250. Banquetting houſe, *ibid.* *Porphyry* pillars, and palace, *ibid.* Marble pillars, and little temple, 251. The ſepulchres, 251, *& ſeq.*

Palmyrene, a province of *Syria*, 234.

Paris and *Helen*, their arrival in *Egypt*, 32.

Partamis, king of *Egypt*, 52.

Paſſover, or *Eaſter*, its firſt inſtitution, 520. The order and manner of it, 521. Unleavened bread, *ibid.*

Paſtors Egyptian. See *Shepherds.*

Pataeci, the tutelar gods of ſea-faring men among the *Phœnicians*, 313. Carried about in the prows of their ſhips, *ibid.* & (T).

Pauſiris, reigns over the *Egyptians*, with the conſent of the *Perſians*, 64.

Pekah, king of *Iſrael*, enters into a league with *Rezin* king of *Syria*, againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, 288. Beſieges *Jeruſalem* to no effect, *ibid.*

Peluſium, probably firſt founded by the *Philiſtines*, 202, (L).

Peniel, or *the face of God*, the place where *Jacob* wreſtled with the angel, 406.

Pentapolis, once the moſt beautiful part of the land of *Canaan*, 159.

Perizzites, inhabitants of *Canaan*, 160. Their habitation, *ibid.* The original ſignification of the word, *ibid.* (D). Invaded by the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, and cut off, 180. Some left to prove *Iſrael*, and live in common with them, 183. But reduced by *Solomon* to a ſtate of ſlavery, 188.

Petra, a city of *Edom*, 132. See *Selah*. Placed by *Joſephus* under the juriſdiction of the *Amalekites*, 151, (D).

Phalis, king of *Sidon*, flouriſhed in the time of the *Trojan* war, 331. Honoured by *Homer* with the title of moſt illuſtrious, 332.

Phanes of *Halicarnaſſus*, betrays *Amaſis* king of *Egypt*, 58.

Pharez and *Zarah* born to *Judah* by *Tamar*, 419. Their ſtrange birth, *ibid.*

Pharaoh, in the *Coptic* tongue, ſignifies *king*, 72. An appellation

pellation common to all the kings of *Egypt*, 359. Several etymologies of it, 359. *Walid* the firſt king who took that ſurname, 72. *Pharaoh*, ſurnamed *al Araj*, or *the lame*, king of *Egypt*, 74. Refuſes to deliver up to *Nebuchadnezzar* the *Jews* who had fled into *Egypt*, *ibid.* Is taken by him and hanged, *ibid.* *Pharaoh*'s two dreams interpreted by *Joſeph*, 420. Raiſes him to the higheſt poſt in the kingdom, 421. Gives him the daughter of *Potipherah* to wife, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* *Pharaoh*'s cruel orders to the *Hebrew* midwives, 468, &c. Several things that may in ſome meaſure authorize the cruel meaſures he took againſt the *Iſraelites*, 467. His cruel uſage of the *Jews*, 465. Several conjectures about his true crime, 466, (D). Commands the *Iſraelites* to drown all their male children, 472. His heart not hardned by GOD, 508, (D). The words of the ſcripture ought to have been tranſlated, *that God ſuffered the heart of* Pharaoh *to be hardened*, *ibid.* Diſmiſſes at laſt the *Iſraelites*, 524. Repents and purſues them, and is drowned in the *Red-ſea*, 537.

Pharpar and *Abana*, only ſtreams of the *Chryſorrhoas*, or *Barrady*, which waters *Damaſcus*, 236.

Phelles, or *Helles*, kills his brother *Aſtarimus* king of *Tyre*, and uſurps the throne, 341. Is murdered in the eighth month of his reign by *Ithobal*, *ibid.*

Pheron, alſo ſtiled *Seſooſis*, [*Seſoſtris*] II. ſucceeds his faher, 29. Is ſtruck blind, *ibid.* Recovers his ſight, and raiſes two obeliſks, *ibid.*

Phicol, the chief captain of *Abimelech* king of the *Philiſtines*, 204. Name probably peculiar to their chief miniſter, 207, (Q).

Philadelphia, antiently the metropolis of the *Ammonites*, 98.

Philiſtines, deſcended partly from the *Caſluhim*, and partly from the *Caphtorim*, 189. *Egypt* their firſt ſeat, 190. Migrate from *Egypt*, and ſeize the land which was afterwards called by their name, and known to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Paleſtine*, *ibid.* Etymology of the word, *ibid.* & (B). Deſcription of the country, *ibid.* *Gaza* their chief city, 191. Its ſituation, *ibid.* Called *Azza* in *Hebrew*, and *Aza* by the *Syrians*, *ibid.* Why called *Gaza*, *ibid.* Called alſo *Ione*, and *Minoa* in later times, *ibid.* Deſcription of its preſent ruins, *ibid.* (C). Their other chief cities, 191, & *ſeq.* Their government monarchical, but limited, 195. All their kings honoured with the appellation of *Abimelech*, *Ibid.*

ibid. An ariſtocracy introduced among them, and after that again kings called by the appellation of *Achiſh*, *ibid.* & 196. But of very ſmall power, *ibid.* A very warlike, ingenious, and induſtrious people, 196. Famous for their inveterate enmity againſt the *Iſraelites*, 197. The bow and arrow their invention, 198. Under their firſt kings of one religion with the *Hebrews*, *ibid.* In aftertimes erred into endleſs idolatries, *ibid.* Their idols, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Came directly out of *Egypt*, and expelling the *Avims*, ſeized on their country, 201. From whence they borrowed their name, 202, (L). The obliging behaviour of their king *Abimelech* towards *Abraham*, 202, & *ſeq.* *Abraham* obliges himſelf by oath, that he and his poſterity ſhould live in love with his poſterity, *ibid.* *Abimelech* II. his kind behaviour towards *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, 205. He renews with *Iſaac* the covenant made by his father with *Abraham*, 207. *Gaza*, *Aſkelon* and *Ekron* taken from them by the united tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, 208. But they get poſſeſſion again of the ſaid cities, *ibid.* Hold the *Iſraelites* under their yoke, till they are delivered by *Shamgar*, who kills 600 of them with an ox-goad, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Suffer in common with the *Iſraelites*, by the incurſions, of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, kings of *Midian*, 208, & *ſeq.* Oppreſs the *Iſraelites* a ſecond time in conjunction with the *Ammonites*, in the days of *Jephtha*, *ibid.* A third time reduce the *Iſraelites*, and keep them under for 40 years, *ibid.* Suſtain great loſſes by *Samſon*, 209. Recover their loſs, make war upon the *Iſraelites*, kill 4000 of them, and put them to a precipitate flight, 212. Diſheartened at the arrival of the ark, but being by their chiefs inſpired with freſh courage, fall upon the *Iſraelites*, kill 30,000 of their foot, and take the ark, 213. Smitten with a ſudden plague, remove the ark from *Aſhdod* to *Gath*, from *Gath* to *Ekron*, but their affliction gathering ſtrength, ſend the ark back with a treſpaſs-offering, 214, & *ſeq.* The plague they were afflicted with, *ibid.* (D). Twenty years afterwards march out againſt the *Iſraelites*, but are frightened by a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, and ſlaughtered by the *Hebrews*, 217. In a few years return more formidable than ever, ravage the country of the *Iſraelites*, but are firſt put in diſorder by *Jonathan*, and after entirely routed by *Saul*, 218, & *ſeq.* Overthrown in a batle by *David*, 222. Oblige their king *Achiſh* to diſmiſs *David* from the army, 224. March againſt *Saul*, who is routed and killed with his three ſons, 225.

225. Make war upon *David*, *ibid.* By whom they are routed in four ſucceſſive battles, and made tributaries to him, 226, & *ſeq.* Many of their giants killed by the *Iſraelites*, 227. Being increaſed by the fugitive *Edomites*, apply themſelves to trade, 228, (B). Harraſſed by *Nadab*, king of *Iſrael*, 229. Pay a voluntary tribute to *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Iſrael*, *ibid.* Rebel againſt *Jehoram*, break into his kingdom, rifle his houſe, and put to death, all his family, except *Athaliah* and her ſon *Ahaziah*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, who diſmantles *Gath*, *Jabneh*, and *Aſhdod*, 230. War againſt *Ahaz*, reduce ſeveral of his cities, and ſettle themſelves in them, *ibid.* Their whole country over-run by *Hezekiah*, *ibid.* Subdued by the *Aſſyrians*, and their country become the ſeat of a long and obſtinate war between the *Egyptians* and the *Aſſyrians*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Tributaries to the great monarchies as they ſucceeded each other, *ibid.* They are ſaid to have planted the iſland of *Crete*, 199, (G). The foundation of this notion, *ibid.* Called in ſeveral places of ſcripture *Cherethites*, *ibid.* Two hundred of them killed by *David* for their fore-ſkins, 222.

Phineas, the ſon of *Nadab*, and grandſon of *Aaron*, 500.

Phœnice, from whence it borrowed its name, 293. Called alſo *Chna*, being a contraction of *Canaan*, *ibid.* Called alſo *Rhabbothin* and *Colpitis*, etymology of this name, *ibid.* Its ſituation, diviſion, and cities, 294, &c. Its ſoil and climate, 299. Natural curioſities, *ibid.* Artificial curioſities, 301.

Phœnicians, *Canaanites* by deſcent, 304. Their territory included ſeveral kingdoms, and they were governed by kings, *ibid.* &c. Had once a knowledge of the true God, whom they call *Baal* or Lord, *ibid.* But became blind idolaters, *ibid.* Their deities, 306. Their religion hardly different from that of the *Egyptians*, *ibid.* Their religious ceremonies, 314. Said by *Herodotus* to have uſed circumciſion, which is contradicted by *Joſephus*, 319. Abſtained from the fleſh of ſwine, *ibid.* Arithmetic and aſtronomy either took riſe among them, or were brought by them to a great perfection, 320. Moſt of the ſciences flowed from them into *Greece*, together with their letters, *ibid.* Their characters probably the ſame with the *Samaritan*, *ibid.* Their manufactures, *ibid.* Their trade and navigation, 321. Their ſhipping, 323. Series of the kings of the different kingdoms of *Phœnice*, 326, &c. Their kings from the antient fabulous hiſtory of the *Greeks*,

327. Enter into a confederacy to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, 333. Betrayed by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Tennes* king of *Sidon*, 334. And are again ſubdued by *Ochus* king of *Perſia*, 335.

Phœnicia, See *Phœnice*.

Phœnix, ſon of *Agenor*, ſuppoſed by the *Greeks* to have ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Phœnice*, and given his name to the country, 331. Said to have been the firſt that found out the ſcarlet colour, called therefore at firſt *Phœnicius*, *ibid.*

Puah, one of the chief *Hebrew* midwives in *Egypt*, See *Shiprah*.

Pieria, part of *Seleucis*, 233.

Pi-hahiroth, the city of *Heroum* on the extreme part of the *Arabic* gulph, or the *Phagroriopolis*, placed by *Strabo* near ſame place, 528, (O).

Pillars, miraculous pillars of fire and ſmoke, which conducted the *Iſraelites* in their march, 529.

Piram, king of *Jarmuth*, joins *Adonizedek*, king of *Jeruſalem*, againſt the *Gibeonites*, 157. Is cut off by *Joſhua* in a miraculous manner, *ibid.* & *ſeq.*

Plagues of *Egypt*, 513, & *ſeq.* How long a time *Moſes* took in bringing all the plagues on *Egypt*, 519. (H).

Potiphar, *Joſeph* ſold to him, 415. His wife ſolicits *Joſeph* to an amour, *ibid.* His refuſal makes her accuſe him to *Potiphar*, who ſends him into the king's priſon, 416.

Potipherah, prince, or prieſt of *On*, his daughter married to *Joſeph*, 421.

Priaps, or *Phalli*, columns, or pillars, of an extraordinary height, in the porch of the great goddeſs of *Syria* at *Hierapolis*, 257. Twice a year a man went up to the top of them and remained there ſeven days, 263.

Proteus, or *Cetes*, king of *Egypt*, 31. The fable of *Proteus* whence derived, 32. In his reign *Paris*, and *Helen* arrive in *Egypt*, *ibid.* Has a ſumptuous temple erected to him at *Memphis*, *ibid.* Believed by ſome to be the *Sethos* of *Manetho*, the *Typhon* of the poets, *Homer*'s *Proteus*, &c. 31, (K).

Pſammenitus, ſon of *Amaſis*, king of *Egypt*, 59. Is overthrown by *Cambyſes*, 60. Taken priſoner, loſes his kingdom, *ibid.* The particulars of his captivity, *ibid.* His death, 61.

Pſammis, king of *Egypt*, dies in an expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*, 48.

Pſammitichus, at firſt king of one of the 12 kingdoms into which *Egypt* was divided, 43. Occaſion of his falling out with

with his collegues, *ibid.* Hires an army of *Ionians*, *Carians*, and *Arabians*, and reduces all *Egypt*, 44. He was of the tribe of *Saïs*, and ſon of *Nechus*, *ibid.* Gives great encouragement to the *Greeks*, *ibid.* His public buildings, *ibid.* Keeps an army of foreigners in pay, 45. For which the *Egyptians*, upwards of 200,000, deſert him, *ibid.* Opens the ports of *Egypt* to ſtrangers, *ibid.* Beſieges and takes *Azotus* in *Syria*, after a ſiege of 29 years, *ibid.* Prevails upon the *Scythians* ready to pour themſelves into *Egypt*, with preſents and entreaties, to march back, *ibid.* Dies, 45, *&c.*

Pſammitichus II. king of *Egypt*, 64. A barbarous and inhuman prince, *ibid.*

Pſammuthis king of *Egypt*, 65.

Pygmalion, king of *Tyre*, murders his uncle *Sichæus*, in hopes of ſeizing on his treaſures, but is diſappointed by his ſiſter *Eliſa*, the wife of *Sichæus*, 342. Said to have built the city of *Carpaſia* in the iſland of *Cyprus*, 344. Sends a rich donative to the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades*, *ibid.*

Q

QUAILS ſent to the *Iſraelites*, thought by ſome to have been locuſts, 540 (Q).

R

RAAMAH, or *Rhegma*, beſieged by *Joab*, and, after two years ſiege, ſtormed, plundered, and laid level with the ground, 107.

Rachel, daughter to *Laban*, *Jacob* ſerves *Laban* fourteen years for her, 396. Marries her, *ibid.* Being long barren, is at laſt brought to bed of a ſon, whom ſhe calls *Joſeph*, 399. Steals her father's gods, 401. See *Teraphim*. What induced her to it, *ibid.* (B). Brought to bed of *Benjamin*, 412. Dies and is buried in the way to *Ephrath*, *ibid.*

Raguel, the ſame as *Jethro*, 114, (F).

Rahab, ſpared in the deſtruction of *Jericho*, 174.

Rameſes, *Moſes*'s dwelling-place in *Egypt*, 525. Not above threeſcore miles diſtant from the land of *Canaan*, *ibid.*

Rebah, king or prince of *Midian*, 118.

Rebekah, daughter of *Bethuel* the ſon of *Nahor* by *Milcah*, 376, (D). Given to *Iſaac*, 381. After having continued

barren above nineteen years brings forth two ſons, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, 384, & *ſeq*. Favours *Jacob*, *ibid*. Procures *Iſaac*'s bleſſing for him, 392, & *ſeq*. Sends him to *Padan-Aram*, 395.

Red-ſea, more properly called the *Arabian* gulph, 130, (I). Called by the *Hebrews*, *Yam Suf*, *the weedy or flaggy ſea*; by the *Arabians*, *Bahr Alkolzum*, or *the ſea of Kolzum*, a ſmall town at the northermoſt end of it, *ibid*. Why called the *Erythrean* or *Red-ſea*, *ibid*. The *Erythrean* or *Red-ſea* of the antients is the *Indian* ocean of our days, *ibid*.

Rehob, the firſt ſole king of *Zobah*, 270.

Rekem, king of *Midian*, 118.

Rephaim, men of a gigantic ſtature, placed in *Baſhan*, where *Og*, the laſt of their race, reigned, 161, (E). Thought by ſome to have been the *Gephyræi*, who followed *Cadmus* into *Greece*, *ibid*.

Rephidim, the place where *Moſes*, by ſmiting the rock, made waters guſh out, 543.

Reuben, *Jacob*'s firſt ſon by *Leah*, born, 397. What meant by the mandrakes he brought home, 398, (Y). His inceſt, 412. Diſſuades his brethren from killing *Joſeph*, 414. Deſigns to ſave him out of the pit, and ſend him home to his father, *ibid*.

Reuel and *Jethro* the ſame perſon, 117, (K).

Rezin, laſt king of *Syria*, 288. Enters into a league with *Pekah* king of *Iſrael*, againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, *ibid*. & *ſeq*. Beſieges *Ahaz* in *Jeruſalem* without effect, *ibid*. Marches into *Edom*, and makes himſelf maſter of *Elath*, *ibid*. Where he plants a colony, which ſubſiſted many years after the ſubverſion of the kingdom of *Syria*, 289, & *ſeq*. Invades the kingdom of *Judah*, and returns to *Damaſcus* loaded with ſpoils, 290. *Ahaz* ſtirs up *Tiglath-pileſar*, king of *Aſſyria*, againſt him, who kills him, and carries the inhabitants of *Damaſcus* away to *Kir*, *ibid*.

Rezon, firſt king of *Damaſcus*, revolts from *Hadadezer*, whoſe forces he commanded, 273. Seizes on *Damaſcus*, and founds that kingdom, 274.

Rhabbathin, *Phœnice* ſo called, 293. Etymology of the word, *ibid*. (A).

Rhampſinitus. See *Rhemphis*.

Rhemphis, or *Rhampſinitus*, king of *Egypt*, 33. Builds the weſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, *ibid*. And a treaſure-houſe, which is plundered by the architect's two ſons, *ibid*. Said to have gone down to hell, 36.

Rhinocolura,

Rhinocolura, a town built by *Aſtiſanes* king of *Egypt*, in the deſert between *Syria* and *Egypt*, 31. Why ſo called, *ibid.*
Rimmon, an idol of the *Syrians*, 255. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* (D).
Riyan, king of *Egypt*, 72. In his reign, according to the oriental writers, *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt*, *ibid.*
Rod Moſes's. See *Moſes*. Stories of the *Jews* concerning it, 499. Turned into a ſerpent, ſwallows thoſe of the *Egyptians*, 509.

S

SABBACO, the *Ethiopian*, breaks into *Egypt* with a powerful army, and forces king *Anyſis* to fly for ſhelter to the fens, 40. Thought to have been the *So* of ſcripture, *ibid.* Excited to the invaſion of *Egypt* by a dream, 41. Gives high proofs of his wiſdom and piety, *ibid.* His policy, *ibid.* Retires of his own accord into his own country, *ibid.*
Salatis, the firſt king ſet up in *Egypt* by the Shepherds, 4.
Salem, by *Joſephus* called *Solyma*, and, according to him, founded by *Melchizedek*, and called *Jeruſalem*, 169, (Q).
Salem, a place near the city of *Shechem*, in the land of *Canaan*, where *Jacob* bought a piece of land from *Hamor*, 408. *Jacob* builds an altar there, which he calls *El Elohe Iſrael*, or *the mighty God of Iſrael*, 409. Very likely the ſame place where *Abraham* had built one, after his firſt coming into the land of *Canaan*, *ibid.*
Salt the valley of, famed for the overthrow of the *Edomites* there, 134.
Samaria city of, beſieged by *Ben-hadad* king of *Syria*, and relieved by *Ahab*, 275. Again beſieged by the ſame, but miraculouſly delivered when upon the point of being taken, 283.
Samlah of Maſrekah, king of the *Horites*, 137. In his reign it is probably thought, that *Eſau* came into the country, called afterwards from him *Edom*, *ibid.*
Samoſata, a chief city of *Commagene*, 233.
Samſon, ſmitten with a damſel that dwelt at *Timnath*, 209. Propoſes a riddle to thirty young men appointed to wait on him, and kills thirty men of *Aſkelon*, whoſe garments he gives to the expoſitors of it, to make good his engagement, *ibid.* To revenge the affront of his father-in-law, ſends out three hundred foxes with firebrands at their tails, and

and conſumes all the ſtanding corn, 210. Delivered up bound to the *Philiſtines* by the men of *Judah*, *ib.* Breaks his cords, and kills a thouſand of the *Philiſtines* with the jaw-bone of an aſs, *ibid.* Is ſhut up in *Gaza*, but takes the city gates and carries them to *Hebron*, *ibid.* Betrayed by *Delilah*, his hair cut off, his eyes put out, and condemned to grind in the priſon-houſe, 211. Kills himſelf and many thouſands of the *Philiſtines* by pulling down the houſe, 211, (X), & 212.

Sana, or *Sa*, king of *Egypt*, ſuppoſed to have built the city *Sais*, 71.

Saph, ſon of *Goliath*, ſlain by *Sibbechai*, 227.

Sarah, paſſes for *Abraham*'s ſiſter, 357. The king of *Egypt* ſmitten with her, ſhews an extraordinary kindneſs to *Abraham*, *ibid.* Taken from *Abraham* by *Abimelech*, king of the *Philiſtines*, but upon a viſion from heaven reſtored to him, 202. A ſon promiſed her, 371. Prevails upon *Abraham* to ſend away *Hagar* and *Iſhmael*, 374. Firſt called *Sarai*, but that name changed into *Sarah*, 366, (P). Etymology of both, *ibid.* Her death, 377. Is buried in the cave of *Machpelah*, 379.

Sartamas, the *Perſian* governor of *Egypt*, 63.

Saſychis, king of *Egypt*, and the ſecond *Egyptian* legiſlator, 8.

Saul, the ſon of *Kiſh*, defeats the *Philiſtines* at *Michmaſh*, 219. Defeated by the *Philiſtines*, and killed, with his three ſons, 225.

Seir mount, the ſettlement of *Eſau*, 127.

Seir, a *Horite*, from him the mount and land of *Seir* had its name, 129. His deſcendants dukes in the land of *Seir*, while the deſcendants of *Eſau* governed, as dukes, the land of *Edom*, 137.

Selah, or *Petra*, city of *Edom*, called by ſome the chief place of the *Nabatæans*, the capital of *Arabia*, &c. 132. Taken by *Amaziah* and called *Joktheel*, 145.

Seleucia, a town in *Seleucis*, 133.

Seſoſtris, king of *Egypt*, 9. Whether the *Seſac* or *Shiſhak* of ſcripture, *ibid.* (H). Whether the *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*, *ibid.* His father gathers in all the boys in *Egypt* that were born on the ſame day with him, 21. Subdues the *Arabians*, and the greateſt part of *Afric*, 22. Undertakes to conquer the whole world, *ibid.* Divides *Egypt* into 36 nomes, *ibid.* Inſtitutes a military order, 23. Conquers *Æthiopia*, *ibid.* Inſtitutes the maritime

time clafs, or order, *ibid.* Over-runs *Afia*, and fome part of *Europe*, 24. Invades the *Scythians*, *ibid.* Suppofed to have planted a colony in *Colchis*, *ibid.* His pillars and ftatues, 25. Returns to *Egypt*, *ibid.* Is miraculoufly delivered from the murderous defigns of his brother, 26. His religious, civil, and military works, *ibid.* & *feq.* His infolence, 28. Lays violent hands on himfelf, *ibid.*

Seth, who intended by the children of *Seth*, in the prophefy of *Balaam*, 89, (N).

Sethon, prieft and king of *Egypt*, 41. Obtains a fignal and miraculous victory over the *Affyrians*, 42. A ftatue erected to him with a rat in one of his hands, in memory of the victory he obtained by their affiftance, *ibid.*

Shalmanefer, king of *Affyria*, keeps *Tyre* befieged for the fpace of five years, but not able to reduce it, 344.

Shamgar delivers the *Ifraelites* from the yoke of the *Philiftines*, 208. Kills 600 of them with an Ox-goad, *ibid.* This event not mentioned by *Jofephus*, *ibid.* (S).

Shaul of *Rehoboth*, king of the *Horites*, 137.

Shechem, fon of *Hamor*, deflowers *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob*, 171. He and all his tribe confent to be circumcifed to pacify *Jacob*, 172. But the third day are all cut off by *Simeon* and *Levi*, *ibid.*

Shechem, the name of a city in the land of *Canaan*, 408.

Shemeber, king of *Zeboim* in the vale of *Siddim*, routed by *Chedorlaomer*, 167.

Shepherds the irruption of into *Egypt*, 4, *&c.* Believed to have been the *Canaanites*, 5, (B). Do their utmoft to root out the native *Egyptians*, 4. Called *Hycfos*, the etymology of the word, *ibid.* & *feq.* Held *Egypt* 511 years, *ibid.* Of what country, *ibid.* & (B). The time of their invafion, *ibid.* Driven out of *Egypt*, 30. Build the city of *Jeruſalem*, 30. Some miftake them for the *Ifraelites*, *ibid.* (I).

Sheſhai, one of the three fons of *Anak*, driven from *Hebron* by *Caleb*, 181.

Shiloh what meant by, in *Jacob*'s famous prophecy to *Judah*, *the ſceptre ſhall not depart* from *Judah*, &c. 441, (G).

Shimron king of, joins *Jabin* king of *Hazor* againft the *Ifraelites*, and is defeated, 178.

Shiphrah and *Puah*, the two chief *Hebrew* midwives, ftrictly charged by *Pharaoh* to deftroy all the males, 469. Reproved by *Pharaoh* for their difobedience, and rewarded by God for their piety, 470.

Shoaib's cave, one of the ſtations in the pilgrimage from *Egypt* to *Mecca*, why ſo called, 122, (R). Formerly named *Madyan*, *ibid.*

Shobach general of the *Aſſyrian* forces againſt *David*, is routed and killed, 274.

Shur and *Kadeſh*, the names of two deſerts, 372, & (V).

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SECT. II.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Jews *from the* Egyptian *Bondage, to their Entrance into the land of* Canaan.

Aaron's ſons killed by fire from heaven.

AARON had not been long inſtalled in his office of high-prieſt, before he had the mortification of ſeeing his two ſons, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, ſtruck dead by fire from heaven, for preſuming to burn incenſe in the tabernacle with ſtrange fire, contrary to *Moſes*'s command[y]; who ordered them to be carried forthwith out of the camp, and buried without any mourning or funeral pomp. Preſently after this he expreſly forbad *Aaron*, and all his ſucceſſors, to drink either wine or any intoxicating liquor, whenever they went into the tabernacle, leſt they ſhould incur the ſame fate with his two ſons; from which the *Jews* conclude reaſonably enough, that theſe two, being drunk when they went to burn

[y] Levit. x. 1. 2, & ſeq.

incenſe, took ſome fire along with them [z], not conſidering, that there was an holy fire preſerved in the tabernacle for that purpoſe, from that which was miraculouſly fallen a little before, and had conſumed the victims upon the altar in the preſence of all the people [a].

The rebellion at Taberah.

IN the mean time *Moſes* (who obſerved how ſhort-lived their tractable diſpoſition was, whenever it ſhewed itſelf upon any extraordinary occaſion, and that they were juſt ready for another rebellion, becauſe he had made them take too long a march at their departure from the wilderneſs of *Sinai*) made all the haſte he could to intercede for them, and to appeaſe the divine anger which was already kindled, and had already ſhewed its effects in an extraordinary fire, which began to conſume the extremities of the camp. His prayer was heard, and the fire ceaſed, upon which account the place was called *Taberah*, or burning [*]. However, *Moſes* began to find, by this freſh inſtance of their ſtubbornneſs, that the burthen of government was like to prove ſtill too heavy for him, notwithſtanding his having thrown off a great part of it upon thoſe magiſtrates, which he had choſen at *Jethro*'s advice. He was forced to preſent his complaint to GOD, who was now pleaſed to ſpeak to him from the mercy-ſeat; and

The great council of ſeventy appointed.

GOD, to eaſe him of this load of care, commanded him to make choice of ſeventy of the moſt conſiderable of the elders of *Iſrael* both for wiſdom and integrity, to whom he ſhould impart a portion of his ſpirit (G), and to erect them into

[z] Vid. Chald. paraph. Vajiera. Rab. & al. [a] Levit. ix. ver. ult. [*] Num. xi. 1. & ſeq.

(G) This the *Jews*, judiciouſly enough, compare to a candle lighting a great number of others, without loſing any of its light. For *Moſes* had ſuch a rebellious crew to deal with, as would not permit him to part with the leaſt portion of his ſpirit, which he found all too little to govern them (42).

The *Talmudiſts* tell us moreover (43), that *Moſes* was greatly puzzled how to chooſe theſe ſeventy out of the twelve tribes. If he choſe ſix out of each, there would be two too many; if but five, there would be ten too few; and if he choſe ſix out of ſome, and five out of other tribes, he was ſure of cauſing a freſh murmuring, if not a rebellion. At length he bethought himſelf of the following expedient; he choſe ſix out of every

(42) *Bammidbar. Rabbah. & Targ.* Jonath. *in loc.* (43) *Talm. Tract. Sanhedr. fol.* 17. *col.* 1.

tribe,

into a ſupreme court, that they might bear their ſhare of the burthen with him. *Moſes* made no delay to obey GOD's command, and it was not long before he found the advantage of it; for they were no ſooner removed from *Taberah*, but their very next encampment was ſignalized with a freſh inſurrection. A mixt multitude of the dregs of *Egypt* and other nations, who had followed the *Iſraelites* hitherto, began to murmur at the manna, and to regret their forſaking the garlic, onions, and fleſh-pots of *Egypt* for it, and ſoon infected the whole camp with a longing after ſome better food. *Moſes*'s tent was beſet on all ſides with crouds, who came, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded, that he ſhould provide them fleſh to eat inſtead of the manna, which their ſouls did begin to loath. In this extremity *Moſes* had recourſe to GOD, complained of the unreaſonableneſs of their demand, and that his tender care for them had only made them more ſtubborn and inflexible; adding, that death in any ſhape was leſs terrible to him, than the perſecutions to which he was continually expoſed.

A new murmuring for want of fleſh.

THIS expoſtulation had indeed ſomething that looked like deſpair in him, but yet GOD who ſaw and weighed the many provocations which extorted it from him, inſtead of a rebuke, did immediately promiſe a ſpeedy remedy. He commanded him to call together the ſeventy elders to the door of the tabernacle, and whilſt his glory drew the eyes of the whole camp, he was pleaſed to promiſe them, that he would ſend them ſuch a preſent ſupply of fleſh, as ſhould ſerve them, not for a day or two, but for a whole month, till it became as loathſome to them as the manna was. At the ſame time he inſpired the ſeventy elders with ſuch a ſhare of his ſpirit, that they all began to propheſy (H); and the ſame gift continued

tribe, then wrote upon ſeventy tickets the word *Elder*, the other two he left blank, after which he made them draw lots, aſſuring them, that thoſe that drew the latter were ſet aſide by the Lord. However, concerning theſe two ſupernumerary ones, ſee the following note.

(H) *Moſes* acquaints us in the ſame chapter (44), that there remained two in the camp, *viz. Eldad* and *Medad*, who were of the number of thoſe that were written, but went not to the tabernacle, but propheſied in the camp; and that when word was brought of it to him, *Joſhua* would have had them ſilenced, but *Moſes* blamed him for his envying them the gift of propheſy, and wiſhed that GOD would rather impart it to all the people.

(44) *Numb. xi.* 26. *& ſeq.*

tinued with them as long as they lived. As for *Moſes*, though his faith had hitherto been unſhaken, yet the promiſe of ſuch a ſurprizing

From which words St. *Jerom*, and others after him, have thought them to have been two of the ſeventy, who had forbore going to the tabernacle out of modeſty (45): but had that been the caſe, there would have been no cauſe to wonder at their prophecying, nor for *Joſhua* to have forbad them; ſo that it is more likely, that theſe were the two that were ſet aſide by the lots, to whom nevertheleſs GOD imparted the ſpirit of prophecy, though they were not to have a ſeat in the great court of the ſeventy.

Some *Jews* affirm theſe two to have been brothers to *Moſes* by the mother's ſide; others, that *Amram*, *Moſes*'s father, having repudiated her, took another wife, by whom he had theſe two ſons (46). There is a fragment of a ſpurious book quoted in *Hermas* (47) entitled *the prophecies of* Eldad *and* Medad, *or* Eldam *and* Medal. As for the Rabbies, they are divided about the purport of their prophecies, ſome thinking, that they foretold the deſtruction of *Gog* and *Magog*; others, the prodigious flight of the quails; and laſtly, others, *Moſes*'s death in the wilderneſs, and *Joſhua*'s ſucceeding him.

As to this aſſembly of the ſeventy elders, the *Jews*, and after them *Grotius*, and ſome other *Chriſtians* (48), have affirmed, that it was the ſame that became afterwards ſo famous under the name of *Sanhedrin*, to which even their kings and high-prieſts were ſubject. The Rabbies have left no ſtone unturned to prove that this *Sanhedrin* had conſtantly ſubſiſted ever ſince its firſt inſtitution by *Moſes*; and that the members of it always aſſembled themſelves before the tabernacle, wherever that was ſet up, either in the wilderneſs, or in the promiſed land, till the building of the temple by *Solomon*, who, they ſay, built a ſtately room or hall in the form of an amphitheatre, one half of which being within the temple, they were not permitted to ſit down in it, but only in the other, which was without it: they add further, that this ſupreme court was continued in *Babylon* during their captivity there, and that at their return it had the ſame place rebuilt in the ſecond temple, and ſo continued till its total extinction under the *Romans*. However, as they bring no authority for all theſe and many other particularities relating to that aſſembly, beſides their traditions, they are juſtly rejected by the far greater part of *Chriſtians*. Certain it is, that we do not find one word of ſuch an high court, either in

(45) *Ep.* 127. *Manſion* 13. (46) *Vid. Tradit. Hebr. in* 1 *Chronic.* iv. 17. (47) Herm. *lib. i. Viſion* 2. *c.* 5. (48) Grot. *Comm. paſſ. & de Jur. Bell. & Pac. c.* 3. *art.* 20. *Vid.* Seld. *de ſynedr. vet. Hebreor. lib. ii. c.* 13. Lightfoot *Hor. Hebr. & al.*

the

a ſurprizing ſupply of fleſh appeared to him incredible, till he beheld the completion of it. The camp was at that time in *Arabia Petræa*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Red-ſea*; from the other ſide of which a ſtrong wind brought ſuch infinite flocks of quails, that they not only covered the whole camp, but all the ground round about it for ſeveral miles. Theſe birds being tired with their long flight, and not able to ſoar more than two cubits above the ground, were eaſily caught by the people, and in ſuch quantities, that the leaſt that any one of them gathered was ten *Homers* (I). Their firſt care was to glut themſelves with them, after which they began to think how to preſerve the reſt from corrupting. But

A ſupply of quails ſent, which laſted 30 days.

the times of *Joſhua*, of the *Judges*, or of their *Kings*; nor indeed even after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, till the time of the *Maccabees*. And therefore we ſhall forbear giving any further account of the *Sanhedrin*, till we come to the time in which it is generally ſuppoſed to have been ſet up. As for theſe ſeventy elders, it is likely, that they aſſiſted *Moſes* during their abode in the wilderneſs, and that there was an end of their aſſembly, as ſoon as they entered into the land of *Canaan*. Their other courts of judicature ſhall be mentioned in their proper place.

(I) *Homer*, or rather *Chomer*, is a meaſure which contains ten *Baths*, or five buſhels; the *Jews* think חומר, *Chomer*, to be the ſame with חמור, *Chamor*, an aſs, becauſe the letters are the ſame, and conſequently, that *Chomer* is an aſs's load (49). This prodigious quantity of quails has appeared ſo incredible to ſome learned interpreters, that they have choſen to render the word *Chomer*, an heap; but even this verſion of ten heaps to each perſon, or even to each family, in a camp that conſiſted of near three millions of ſouls, will appear ſtill too extraordinary, unleſs it be looked upon as altogether miraculous. However, becauſe we would not enlarge the miracle more than was needful, we have ventured to depart a little from our own and moſt other verſions; which render the words of *Moſes* as if the quails had lain two cubits, that is, above a yard thick upon the ground, which would be ſtill more prodigious: whereas the original may properly enough be rendered, *that they flew no higher than two cubits from it*; and this quantity was more than ſufficient to ſerve them a month, conſidering, that not only the camp, but all the ground for a days journey round it, was covered with it; and that fleſh was not then eaten in ſuch quantities, as it is now, eſpecially ſuch as that of quails, which is too delicious and ſurfeiting to be eaten at any ſuch rate.

(49) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.*

in

A freſh plague deſtroys a great number of the rebels.

in the midſt of their feaſting, GOD was pleaſed to ſmite a great number of them with a ſore diſeaſe, which carried them off with the meat, as it were, in their mouths: in memory of this ſevere puniſhment, for their unreaſonable luſt, the place was called *Kibroth-hataavah*, or the ſepulchres of concupiſcence; from whence they removed to *Kadeſh-barneah*, and thence to *Hazeroth* [b]. In this encampment *Miriam*, *Moſes*'s ſiſter, having been ſmitten with leproſy, for ſome reflections which ſhe had caſt upon him, upon the account of his wife *Zipporah*, of which we have given ſome account in a former note †, *Moſes*, at her's and *Aaron*'s requeſt, obtained a cure for her; yet ſo, that ſhe was to remain without the camp, as a polluted perſon, ſeven days [c], after which they removed again towards *Kadeſh-barneah*, in the wilderneſs of *Paran*.

Miriam ſtruck with leproſy.

Twelve ſpies ſent to view the land.

Here *Moſes* was commanded to chooſe twelve proper men, one out of each tribe, and to ſend them to ſearch the land of *Canaan*, among which were *Joſhua* and *Caleb*. Theſe twelve having received *Moſes*'s directions to view the whole land, to examine the ſtrength of its cities and inhabitants, the nature and fertility of its ſoil, and the like, ſet out upon their progreſs, which they performed in forty days.

AT their return from *Rehob*, which is at the foot of mount *Libanus*, they paſt through the valley of *Eſhcol*, ſo called from the great quantity of the largeſt grapes with which it abounded, and is ſtill to this day famed for, where they gathered a branch of a vine with a bunch of grapes of a prodigious ſize, which they threw over one of their ſtaves, and brought between two upon their ſhoulders by turns, to prevent the grapes being bruiſed.

BEING at length happily arrived at their camp, they went and made their report to *Moſes* and *Aaron*, in the preſence of the elders and of all the people. They begun indeed with extolling the richneſs of the land, and ſhewed them a ſpecimen of it in the bunch of grapes which they had brought with them, together with ſome of their fineſt pomegranates, figs, and other fruits; but as ſoon as they obſerved, that this account had inſpired them with a deſire of becoming the happy poſſeſſors of it by a ſpeedy conqueſt; ten of them immediately altered their note, and began to repreſent it as a thing impoſſible, by reaſon of the ſtrength of their fortified towns, and the bravery and gigantic ſtature of its inhabitants [d]. *Joſhua* and *Caleb* alone remained firm in their report; and the latter, who obſerved a kind of deſpair in the people's looks,

Ten of them bring an ill report.

[b] Numb. xi. † Vid. Vol. II. p. 498. note (Y).
[c] Numb. xii. [d] Ibid. xiii.

endeavoured

endeavoured in vain to encourage them, by aſſuring them, that ſuch a glorious enterprize was nothing leſs than poſſible. The people gave ſuch credit to the cowardly account of the other ten, that they cried out one and all, that they could never hope to overcome ſuch powerful and gigantic nations, in compariſon of whom they looked upon themſelves as mere graſs-hoppers and reptiles. Their murmuring grew to ſuch a height before the next morning, that a return into *Egypt* was again looked upon as vaſtly preferable to ſuch an undertaking, wherein they could expect nothing but to periſh by the ſwords of the ſons of *Anak*, and their wives and children to become their ſlaves. In this extremity they were already conſulting how to chooſe themſelves a leader, who ſhould bring them back to the land of their former thraldom, and this in the preſence of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and of *Caleb* and *Joſhua*. But whilſt theſe were endeavouring to divert them from ſuch a baſe deſign, by repreſenting to them how eaſy and cheap the conqueſt of that fertile land might be to them, whilſt they had God on their ſide, they were like to have been ſtoned by the tumultuous populace, had not their fury been in ſome meaſure ſuppreſſed by the appearance of the Glory of GOD in the cloud, which then covered the tabernacle, from which God was heard to ſpeak to *Moſes* in ſuch threatening terms, as gave them cauſe to fear, that ſome ſpeedy and terrible judgment would be the reward of their rebellion and ingratitude *.

And cauſe an inſurrection.

HERE *Moſes* was forced again to become their interceſſor, and made uſe of ſuch powerful arguments and expoſtulations, that he did in ſome meaſure avert the divine vengeance. However, the ingratitude and infidelity of thoſe miſcreants, who had beheld his glorious appearance upon mount *Sinai*, who had been eye-witneſſes of thoſe wonders which he wrought both in *Egypt* and in the deſert, and of the puniſhments which he had inflicted upon other rebels, was of too crying a nature, not to exact ſome conſpicuous mark of the divine diſpleaſure, which might at leaſt ſerve as a warning to the reſt. Wherefore God did then ſwear, that none of thoſe that were above twenty years of age, except *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, ſhould ever enter into the promiſed land; but that they ſhould wander from place to place during the ſpace of forty years (K), till all their carcaſſes were rotted in the wilderneſs.

All above 20 years of age excluded from entering into the promiſed land.

* Ibid. xiv.

(K) *Moſes* here makes uſe of a round number, alluding to the forty days of the ſpies ſearching the land, though it is plain, that their

ness. As for the ten wretches, whose false report occasioned this rebellion, they were all destroyed by a sudden death, and became the first instances of the punishment denounced against the whole nation[e]: in memory of which, the *Jews* do to this day keep a fast upon the seventh day of the sixth month called *Elul*[f].

THIS severe punishment, joined to the sentence of exclusion from entering into the promised land, did cause an universal mourning among the people; however, as this lingering death, to which they heard themselves condemned, was nothing so terrible as an immediate one, such as they had reason to expect, they took it into their heads, that their fault was not so great, but it might be attoned for in some measure, by expressing as great a degree of eagerness for the conquest as they had against it, and by shewing as brave a contempt of their enemies, and resolution to attack them out of hand, as they had before their fear and despair of succeeding in it. Fired with this hope, they presented themselves early in the morning before *Moses* ready armed, and, having acknowledged their base cowardise in the humblest terms, they told him, that they were now ready to retrieve their credit by some noble exploit, either against the *Amalekites*, or against some of the *Canaanitish* nations. *Moses* strove in vain to divert them from such a rash enterprize, by representing to them, that it was contrary to GOD's express command, who would have them go back into the desert towards the *Red-sea*, and by assuring them, that they would certainly perish in the attempt, because they had now forfeited the divine assistance and protection, without which it was impossible for them to succeed; his speech did but whet their mushroom valour the more; ever indocile and deaf to good counsel, they resolve to try their fortune, and to gain the passes of the neigh-

Their rash and ill-timed exploit against the Amalekites *punished.*

[e] Num. xiv. 36, 37. [f] מגלת תענית. Seu liber de Jejun. part. ult. § 14.

their children did enter it thirty nine years after this sentence was pronounced against their fathers (50). It is further to be observed, that though this exclusion excepts none but *Caleb*, and in other places where it is repeated, it mentions only *Joshua* along with him; yet there were certainly some others that were not included in it, such were *Moses* and *Aaron*, who had no part in the mutiny, but were excluded afterwards upon another account; together with *Eleazar* and a few more, especially of the tribe of *Levi*.

(50) *Compare Numb. xxxii. 13. with Deut. ii. 14. Vide* Usher's *Ann. p.* 19.

bouring

bouring hills; but they found them too well kept to their coſt, and the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* falling upon them, made a great ſlaughter of them there, and purſued the reſt as far as *Hormah*, and diſcomfited them [g]. All this while *Moſes*, who foreſaw what would be the conſequence of this raſh enterprize, did wiſely keep himſelf and the ark of the covenant in the camp. In memory of this ſad diſaſter, and of the dropping of the people during the remainder of the forty years, he is ſuppoſed to have compoſed the ninetieth pſalm, in which he gives us a moſt lively image of the ſhortneſs and frailty of life. After ſome longer ſtay in this camp they continued moving from place to place, but ſtill in the ſame wilderneſs of *Seir*; during which time *Moſes* received many other laws, the time and occaſion of which not being mentioned by him, we ſhall give an account of the moſt remarkable ones in its proper place. However, it is to be obſerved, that their encampments from this time were much longer than they had formerly been, ſeeing that we read but of ſeventeen of them, during the remaining thirty ſeven years, whereas this removal from *Kadeſh-barnea* was the fifteenth encampment from their coming out of *Egypt*. We ſhall not trouble our readers with a further detail of them at preſent; thoſe who are deſirous to have a more particular account of them may find it in the annals of the learned archbiſhop *Uſher* [h].

DURING this long interval, the divine providence diſplayed itſelf in the moſt conſpicuous manner, in the forming and poliſhing this new-ſpringing generation, for whom the conqueſt of *Canaan* was reſerved. The miraculous pillar continued ſtill to direct them, and the manna to nouriſh them. *Moſes* continued ſtill his intercourſes with God; and, as if this had been too little to aſſure them of his paternal care, the people's raiment, particularly their ſhoes, whether of men, women, or children, continued ſound and whole, and their feet unhurt, notwithſtanding their long and frequent marches (L). If at any time the people relapſed into their uſual murmurs

God's wonderful care of this new generation.

[g] Numb. xiv. 40. to the end. [h] Ann. USSER. p. 19, 20.

(L) A certain bold critic of a neighbouring church † has taken a great deal of pains to prove, that there was nothing miraculous in all theſe and many other things, which are looked upon as ſuch, by all that are not endowed with the ſame perſpicuity with himſelf. According to him, the meaning of theſe places, where the divine

† Peirer. *Appen. de Exercit. de præadamit. paſſ.*

murs and rebellions, as they often did, their punishment followed so close, so severely, and so universally, that their disobedience could neither be countenanced by the number of delinquents, not flatter itself with hopes of impunity. However, it is plain by the sequel, that the success was far from being answerable to that excess of care and tenderness which God shewed to them; for which reason the divine historian has thought fit to leave us but an imperfect account of the transactions of these remaining years, if we except some few rebellions and chastisements, which he committed to writing without order of time and place. And indeed they are so little to the honour of his nation, that he seemeth to mention them with regret, and to have been much more willing to have suppressed them, had not the glory of their great deliverer, and the interest of the people, obliged him to record them [i].

The next transaction, indeed, we read of, would make one hope, that some extraordinary change had been wrought in them, and that they had begun to fear God in good earnest, by the zeal which they shewed against a poor delinquent, whom they caught gathering a few sticks on the sabbath. Their fear, lest his breach of a precept so esteemed, so solemnly inculcated, should bring some new judgment upon them, if they let him go unpunished, made them bring him before *Moses*, who ordered him to be put into custody, until he knew what was the punishment designed against sabbath-

[i] Deut. viii. 4. xxix. 5.

historian tells the *Israelites*, that their cloaths and shoes did not wear out during those forty years, is only this, that they were not drove to the necessity of going naked or barefoot, because they had the wool of their cattle to supply the former, and the skins of those beasts that were either killed or died a natural death to make shoes of; so that it was no wonder, that their feet never swelled by so many marches, when they could be so well shod. He is not the only one by many, that has thus burlesqued the sacred scriptures, under pretence of vindicating them; for were *Moses*'s words capable of this sense, as they are not, it would be plain, either that he trifled with his people and his readers, or that he purposely couched these transactions in such terms, as would make them appear miraculous to all but such sagacious heads as our critic's; in which case we shall be at a loss to whom to ascribe the largest share of modesty, to the historian, or to his interpreter, who has been sufficiently censured for his boldness, and more fully confuted than we think he deserved *.

* *Vid.* Calm. *Com. in Genes.*

breakers;

breakers; and on the next day, when he acquainted them, that ſuch a tranſgreſſion ſhould be puniſhed with death, they immediately led him out of the camp, and there ſtoned and buried him [k].

The ſabbath-breaker accuſed, and put to death.

THOUGH *Moſes*'s ſweet and tender diſpoſition might perhaps make him look upon this as a very ſevere puniſhment for ſo inconſiderable a crime, yet could he not chooſe but be pleaſed with this new inſtance of their religious zeal, and to eſteem it as an earneſt of their future obedience; but this ſhort-lived joy was ſoon imbittered, by one of the moſt audacious conſpiracies that was ever formed againſt him (M). It was not, like the former, occaſioned through want of fleſh or water, or the ſally of a giddy and ungovernable mob, that thought themſelves bereaved of their leader, or at the point of falling into the hands of their enemies; but this was a treaſon hatched with the utmoſt deliberation and ſecrecy in the breaſt of one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Levi*, and countenanced by ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in the whole camp, eſpecially of the tribe of *Reuben* [l].

Korah's *rebellion and accomplices.*

KORAH, the great grandſon of *Levi* by his father *Izhar*, as *Aaron* alſo was by his father *Amram*, and conſequently one of the heads of that tribe, unable to behold *Aaron* and his family raiſed to the high prieſthood, to which he thought he had an equal title, ceaſed not to cabal againſt him, until he had drawn a conſiderable number of eminent perſons into his intereſt. Among theſe were *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *Hon*, who were heads of the houſe of *Reuben* (N). Whether he thought,

[k] Numb. xv. 32. [l] Numb. xvi. paſſ.

(M) It is not eaſy to gueſs in what year and place this ſedition happened (51). Some think it was in the deſert of *Sin*, others at *Kadeſh-barnea*, and others at *Jotbath* (52). This laſt ſeems the moſt probable, becauſe, where that encampment is mentioned, *Moſes* tells us, that the Lord ſeparated the tribe of *Levi* to be prieſts to adminiſter unto him, and to bleſs the people in his name (53); but, wherever it happened, it is plain, that the conſpirators were far from giving any credit to *Moſes*, or to his miracles, elſe they could never have been ſo infatuated, as to run into the very jaws of that deſtruction, which he had ſo publickly threatened them with, in caſe they perſiſted in their rebellion.

(N) It is plain from *Moſes*'s words, if rightly tranſlated, that *Korah* was the firſt fomenter, as well as ring-leader of this conſpi-

(51) Uſſer. *Ann. p.* 20. (52) *Vid.* Calm. *Comment. in loc.*
(53) *Deuter. x.* 8. *& ſeq.*

thought, that he ſhould never gain his point againſt his rival, whilſt *Moſes* enjoyed the ſupreme legiſlative power, and conſequently, that it was neceſſary to inſpire them with an ambitious deſire of ſupplanting him, or whether he had obſerved already ſome ſuch deſign in thoſe three chiefs, he played his part ſo well, that he drew them and two hundred and fifty more into his party; and as ſoon as he found things ripe for an open rupture, he reſolved to appear at their head, and to bear the brunt of the firſt onſet againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*. He began with upbraiding them with their unjuſt ambition, in ingroſſing all the power into their hands, and excluding the reſt of the congregation, whom he affirmed to be holy as they. *Moſes* was ſo ſurpriſed at the boldneſs of this ſpeech,

racy. They run thus in the original, *And* Korah *took* Dathan, *and* Abiram, *and* On, *and they roſe up with two hundred and fifty of the children of* Iſrael, *&c.* (54). What has miſled moſt tranſlators is the conjunction ו *vau*, *and*, before *Dathan*, from whence they have taken the verb ויקח *vajikach*, *took*, though in the ſingular, to relate to all the four, though they have been forced to make up the ſenſe by the addition of an accuſative: thus ſome read it, *And Korah*, *Dathan*, *&c.* took *men*, others, took *cenſers*, others, took 250 *men*: whereas the verb, being in the ſingular, can only relate to the firſt, namely, *Korah*; and he it was who took, or, as the word may bear it, ſtirred up both *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and *On*, *&c.* As for the ו *vau*, *and*, it is plain, that it is often joined to the firſt as well as the other words that follow in order, in the ſame manner as the *Greeks* do their κὴ, or the *Latins* their *&* and *que*, as in *hominesque*, *deoſque*, *& cœlum*, *& mare*, *& tellus*, and the like; of which we ſhall give an inſtance or two out of the Pſalms: וכבוד והדר תעטרהו, *coronabis eum*, *& honore*, *& gloria* (55). ועני ואביון מגזלו, *inopemque miſerumque*, liberabis, *à diripiente eum* (56). ואון ועמל בקרבה, *ſunt & iniquitas*, *& perverſitas in medio ejus* (57).

We had not dwelt ſo long upon this critical note, had not ſome authors ſuppoſed this rebellion to have been at firſt excited by the *Reubenites*, in order to preſerve the prieſthood in the old channel of the firſt-born, which they ſaw *Moſes* was now going to transfer to the tribe of *Levi*; for, beſides that this ſuppoſition is quite contrary to the whole tenor of *Moſes*'s account, it is hardly credible, that if the *Levites* had only been drawn into it by *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and upon ſuch an account, he would have made uſe of ſuch terms, as threw the far greateſt part of blame againſt the former, of whoſe tribe he himſelf was, or placed *Korah* as the very head of the faction.

(54) *Numb.* xvi. 1, 2, *& ſeq.* (55) *Pſ.* viii. 5. (56) *Pſ.* xxxv. 10. (57) *Iſ* lv. 11.

that

that he fell proſtrate with his face to the ground; and, after a ſhort prayer, as is ſuppoſed, he aroſe; and, after having rebuked them for their preſumption, deſired them to put off all further debate till next morning; at which time they ſhould all appear at the door of the tabernacle, with each his cenſer in his hand, at which time he promiſed, that the Lord ſhould declare himſelf openly in favour of thoſe whom he deſigned for that high office. After this, addreſſing himſelf to *Korah* and his *Levites*, he upbraided them for their ingratitude and arrogance, in not being contented with the dignity and privileges which God had annexed to their tribe, but aſpiring to the high prieſthood, which God had reſerved for *Aaron* and his poſterity.

SOON after this he ſent privately for *Dathan* and *Abiram*, whom he ſuppoſed to have been drawn by *Korah* into this conſpiracy, with a deſign to have argued the caſe more calmly with them; but they not only refuſed to come, but ſent his meſſenger back with an inſolent anſwer, in which they upbraided him with having decoyed the whole nation out of the rich and fertile land of *Egypt*, under pretence of bringing them into a better, inſtead of which he only detained them in that barren wilderneſs to make them greater ſlaves to him; and that he had now nothing more to do, but to put their eyes out, ſince they ſaw farther into his ambitious deſigns than he would have them, and grieved to behold the author of all their misfortunes become their greateſt tyrant [m].

As meek and gentle as *Moſes* naturally was, his patience was not proof againſt ſuch a reproachful meſſage; he appealed to the divine preſence againſt the injuſtice of it, ſince they could not but be ſenſible, that he had been ſo far from uſing his power to the invading of the leaſt portion of any man's property, that he had reaped hitherto nothing by it but care and ſorrow; begging at the ſame time of GOD not to regard the prayers and offerings of ſuch ungrateful wretches. Early the next morning *Moſes* and *Aaron* marched towards the tabernacle, whither *Korah* failed not to repair ſoon after, at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, each having a copper cenſer in his hand. Theſe were followed by a vaſt multitude of the people, who were come either to be ſpectators of this famous conteſt, or to back the ſeditious in caſe of an oppoſition. The firſt thing that did draw their eyes, was the glory which appeared in the cloud over the tabernacle, from which GOD commanded *Moſes* and *Aaron* to withdraw themſelves from the rebellious crew, leſt they ſhould periſh with them

[m] Ibid. ver. 12. & ſeq.

in

in the ruin which was going to fall upon them. Here *Moses* was forced again to turn interceſſor, and to beg of God, that he would not puniſh the innocent with the guilty; and the croud had no ſooner ſeparated themſelves from *Korah* and his company, and followed him to the quarters of the *Reubenites*, where *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their families, ſtood at their tent doors as it were in defiance; but *Moſes* ſpake to the aſſembly to this purpoſe, that, if thoſe rebels died a common death, he would give them leave to call in queſtion his being ſent from God; but that if the earth did immediately open itſelf in a miraculous manner, and ſwallow them up alive, he then hoped, that they would look upon him only as an inſtrument in God's hand, and ſufficiently authorized for all he did. The words were ſcarce out of his mouth, and the people retired at a ſufficient diſtance from the tents of the conſpirators, when the earth clove aſunder under their feet, and buried them alive, with all their families and ſubſtance. At the ſame time *Korah* and his whole company, who ſtood with their cenſers before the court of the tabernacle, were all deſtroyed by a ſupernatural fire, though their children were ſpared, becauſe, in all likelihood, they had no ſhare in their fathers guilt [n]. In memory of this dreadful judgment, and to deter, for the future, any but the ſons of *Aaron*, from preſuming to burn incenſe before the Lord, *Eleazar* was commanded to take the cenſers of *Korah* and his men, and to beat them into broad plates for a covering of the altar; which he accordingly did.

Their dreadful puniſhment

Cauſes a new inſurrection againſt Moſes.

In the mean time the people, who ran away terrified at the ſight of ſo dreadful a ſpectacle, were ſcarce recovered from their fright, before they began to murmur afreſh, and to accuſe *Moſes* and *Aaron* of having murdered the people of the Lord, as they called that ſeditious crew. Theſe two ran immediately into the tabernacle, from whence the glory appearing again in the cloud, did ſuſpend for ſome time the fury of the inſurrection. Here *Moſes*, who foreſaw that ſome terrible judgment was juſt ready to fall on the rioters, did immediately command his brother to take his cenſer, and to go and make an attonement for the people: but, though *Aaron* made all poſſible haſte to obey him, the plague was already begun, and had raged ſo furiouſly, that it had already deſtroyed fourteen thouſand and ſeven hundred men, beſides thoſe who had periſhed in *Korah*'s rebellion; all that he could do was, to put a ſtop to its further progreſs, by ſtanding with his cenſer between the living and the dead [o].

[n] Vid. Num. xxvi. 11. [o] Ibid. xvi.

There

THERE was certainly ſomething ſurpriſing and unaccountable in the ſtubborn behaviour of theſe men, whatever they thought of their law-giver; for whether they looked upon his works as miraculous, and thoſe heavy puniſhments that befel them as the effect of his too ſevere prayers, as *Joſephus* thinks †, or whether they attributed the whole to his extraordinary ſkill in *Egyptian* magic, which is moſt likely, one would think, that ſo many ſevere examples of his ſuperior power might have deterred them long before, from making ſuch dangerous attempts againſt him. However, to prevent *Aaron*'s authority being any more called in queſtion, GOD was pleaſed to confirm it by one miracle more. *Aaron* on the one ſide, and the head of every tribe on the other, were ordered to bring an almond rod with their names written upon it, and theſe were to be depoſited in the tabernacle until the next morning, by which time the Lord would decide in favour of that family, on whoſe rod ſome viſible and miraculous change was found. Accordingly, when they came to examine them on the morrow, *Aaron*'s rod alone was found to have budded, and brought forth leaves and ripe almonds; and *Moſes* was ordered to lay it up in the ark, as a ſtanding monument of their rebellion and unbelief. The people had nothing to object either againſt that, or againſt the miracle, but yet could they not forbear making ſome grievous complaints againſt the ſeverity of GOD's puniſhments [p]. However, from that day there was an expreſs prohibition made againſt any, but the ſons of *Aaron*, to preſume to come into the tabernacle under pain of death; and at the ſame time ſome further ordinances were renewed concerning the office of the *Levites*, who were only to miniſter to the prieſts; but were interdicted approaching either the altar, or any of the conſecrated utenſils, under the ſame penalties. The portion and perquiſites of both prieſts and *Levites* were likewiſe appointed, together with ſome other regulations relating to their miniſtry, in particular, that of making the waters of ſeparation, and the uſe of them to purify all unclean perſons from any contracted impurities [q].

Aaron's prieſthood confirmed by the budding of his rod.

BY this time they had wandered near thirty years in the deſert of *Arabia Petræa*, and had been thirty nine years out of *Egypt*, ſtill moving from one place to another about the mountains of *Idumæa*; during which time, they were guilty of many more murmurings and idolatries than *Moſes* has thought fit to record, but which have been preſerved by other inſpired

Several Idolatries not recorded by Moſes.

† Ant. lib. iv. c. 4. [p] Num. xvii. [q] Num. xviii. & xix. paſſ.

inſpired writers [r], who have ſeverely upbraided them with ſetting up and carrying about the idols of *Remphan*, *Malkom*, and many others (O) of the like nature. However, the time

[r] Amos v. 26. Ezek. & Pſal. paſſ. Acts vii. 43. & alib.

(O) It would ſcarce be credible, that the *Iſraelites* could ever be guilty of ſo many horrid idolatries under *Moſes*'s noſe, and in ſpite of all GOD's wonderful works and ſevere puniſhments, were we not well aſſured of it from the mouth of ſo many inſpired writers, who all agree in this, that they had contracted ſuch an invincible propenſity towards it in *Egypt*, that they not only perſiſted in the worſhip of the *Egyptian* deities, but adopted moreover every new one which came in their way, as they became acquainted with other nations (58). But as to the deities themſelves, we have nothing certain but their names; all that has been writ concerning their extraction, their figure, and the way of worſhiping them, being nothing but mere conjecture, as has been obſerved more than once already †††. Their names, as we find them mentioned in ſome of the authors above quoted (are *Moloch*, *Chiun*, and *Remphan*); to which they added a vaſt number of others in proceſs of time. One thing however appears more than probable, with reſpect to one part of the worſhip of theſe idols, from the places above quoted and ſome others (59), namely, that they uſed to carry them about in tabernacles, or under canopies in carts, or upon prieſts ſhoulders, not only as they removed from place to place, but likewiſe at certain times, and upon certain occaſions, in a kind of proceſſion (60). To this the pſalmiſt ſeems to allude in the 16th pſalm above quoted where he expreſſes himſelf thus, ורבו עצבותם אחר מהרו &c, which ours, after moſt other verſions, renders, *their ſorrows ſhall be multiplied that run*, or *haſten after other gods*; whereas the word עצב *hetzeb* ſignifying alſo idols, the verſe may more properly be rendered thus: though *their idols be multiplied*; or, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, *let them multiply their idols*; *let them run or haſten after them*; or *let others multiply their idols*, &c. as for me, *I will be ſo far from making them any drink or blood-offerings, that I will not ſo much as mention their names with my lips.* According to which verſion, the ſenſe is perfect and clear without thoſe ſuppletives, without which the other cannot be underſtood. Thoſe, who are deſirous to be more particularly informed about all theſe falſe

(58) *Exod.* xxxii. 4. *Levit.* xvii. 7. *Num.* xxv. 3, & *ſeq.* *Deut. paſſ.* *Joſh.* xxiv. 14. *Pſalm* lxxviii. cvi. 36. *Jer.* vii 30. & *ſeq.* *Ezek.* xiv. & 16. *paſſ.* *Amos* v. 25. 26. *Acts* vii. 43. & *alib.* ††† *Vid. Vol.* I. *p.* 307. & *ſeq.* (59) *Pſ.* xvi. 4. *Iſai.* xlvi. 7. & *Baruc.* vi. 3, 25. (60) *Vid.* Herodot *l.* iv. Clem. Alex. *Strom. l.* v. Macrob: *Satur. l.* 1. Philo Bibl. *ap.* Euſeb. *præp. l.* 1. *N.* 10. & *al. mult.*

deities,

time drawing near for their entering into the promiſed land, they went from *Ezion-geber*, towards *Kadeſh* in the wilderneſs of *Zin*, deſigning probably to have entered *Canaan* by the narrow paſſes called *the way of the ſpies*, but they were diſcomfited in their firſt attempt by *Arad*, one of the kings of the *Canaanites* §, who killed a great number of them, and took ſome conſiderable ſpoil from them. Upon this they vowed all the cities of *Arad* to deſtruction; ſoon after which they made a ſecond puſh, wherein they had much better ſucceſs, and having defeated the king, and deſtroyed ſome of his towns, they called the field of victory *Hormah*, or rather *Chormah*, that is, *Anathema*, or utter deſtruction [r], though the total one of that country did not happen till the time of *Joſhua* [s] (P).

ABOUT

§ Vid. Vol. II. p. 173. & ſub not. (W) & (X). [r] Num. xxi. 1, 2, & ſeq. [s] Joſh xii. 14.

deities, may, at their leiſure, conſult thoſe who have treated of them in a more ample manner, eſpecially thoſe quoted in the margin (61)

(P) The *Jews* have a tradition, founded on an expreſs text in *Deuteronomy* (62, and ſome places in *Joſhua*, that the *Iſraelites* were obliged to ſend a herald to offer peace in their name to every city and people, before they attempted to conquer it by the ſword; and that in caſe they accepted it, they became only tributaries to them, but if they refuſed their offer, they were then to be vowed to deſtruction; and that this command of GOD extended even to the ſeven nations of the *Canaanites*, contrary to the current opinion, that theſe had been long before under an anathema for their wickedneſs. However, *Maimonides* has taken a great deal of pains to confute this common notion, and to prove, that all thoſe nations that were cut off by the *Iſraelites*, owed their deſtruction to their chooſing to try the fortune of war, rather than to accept of peace upon ſuch terms. There is indeed one main objection againſt him, namely, the ſtratagem which the *Gibeonites* made uſe of to obtain peace from *Iſrael*, which would have been needleſs, had the latter been forced to offer it before all things; but to this our learned *Jew* above mentioned anſwers, that the reaſon of the *Gibeonites* policy was, that they had, in common with their neighbours, refuſed the firſt offers of peace, and were conſequently doomed to the ſame fate with them; to prevent which, their ambaſſadors feigned themſelves to come from a country vaſtly diſtant from any

(61) *Vid.* Grot. *in loc.* Voſſ. *de Idololat.* Le Clerc. *Com. in loc.* Saurin's *Diſcourſe, and* Calmet's *Diſſertation on that ſubject.* (62) *Deut.* xx. 10. *& ſeq. Joſh.* xi. *paſſ.*

ABOUT this time also it was, that the king of *Edom*, having refused a free passage through his country to the *Israelites*, though on the most peaceable and friendly terms, they were in all likelihood going to take some kind of revenge for the affront; but GOD, who would not suffer them to commit any hostilities against them, because they were their brethren, caused them to take a turn round their country, and to march peaceably away towards mount *Hor* †, where *Miriam Moses*'s sister died soon after (Q), in the hundred and thirtieth year of her age, being about eight or ten years older than *Aaron* *, who died in the hundred and twenty third of his, in the very year following.

A new murmuring for want of water.

WHILST they continued at *Kadesh*, a little before *Aaron*'s death, a new murmuring arose for want of water, and *Moses* was again commanded by GOD to bring them a fresh supply out of the rock; but he did it in such a manner as was highly displeasing to him: for GOD had commanded him to call for the water by only speaking to the rock; but he, whether out of impatience at their loud murmurs, or out of diffidence of the promised supply, smote it twice with his rod, and used some indecent expression, either to the rock or to the people ***, for which he was excluded from setting his foot into the promised land, and condemned to die in the wilderness. *Aaron* was likewise included in the same sentence, as having, doubtless, shared in the fault. In memory of this new rebellion the place was called *Meribah*,

Moses *smites the rock twice.*

† Num. xx. 22. Deut. ii. 8, 9. Vid. Vol. II. p. 140. & seq. * Vid. Vol. II p. 473. note (K). *** Vid. Ps. cv. 32, 33.

of those seven, and as such obtained the desired peace(63). However, it is plain from this tradition, and the Rabbi above mentioned, that this peace was to be offered to those nations upon certain conditions, the two principal of which were, that they should own a subjection and pay tribute to the *Israelites*; and that they should observe the seven precepts given to *Noah*, in case they refused to be circumcised.

(Q) *Eusebius* (64) tells us, that *Miriam*'s sepulchre was still extant in his time at *Kadesh*, at a small distance from the city of *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia Petræa* †. Some antient fathers think that she died a virgin (65), and that she was the legislatrix and governess of the *Israelitish* women, as her brother *Moses* was of the men (66).

(63) Maimon. *ap. Cunæum.* & Basnag. *Rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. 2. cap.* 20. (64) *Loc. Hebr.* † *Vid* Vol. II. *p.* 480. *note* (Q). (65) Greg. Nyssen. & Ambros. *de Virginitat.* & *al.* (66) Theod. *in Micah* vi. 4.

strife,

ſtrife, from which they went and encamped at the foot of mount *Hor*, on the frontier of the land of *Edom*. Here *Moſes* was commanded to take *Aaron* and *Eleazar* his ſon, to the top of the mountain in the ſight of all the people, and to ſtrip the father of his prieſtly robes, and to array the ſon with them; which was no ſooner done than *Aaron* died, and was buried there: but whether by *Moſes*, or *Eleazar*, or by ſome other perſon, certain it is, that the place was kept ſo private, that none of the ſepulchre-mongers of thoſe countries could ever find it out, or dared ſubſtitute another in lieu of it. The children of *Iſrael* mourned thirty days for him, and *Eleazar* ſucceeded him in the high prieſthood [w] (R). *Aaron's death.*

SOON after the days of mourning were over, they went and encamped at *Zalmonah*; which place took that name from the image or figure of the brazen ſerpent which *Moſes* cauſed to be ſet up there [x]; for the *Iſraelites*, being tired with the length of their journey, and labouring under a ſcarcity of proviſion, began to murmur afreſh againſt *Moſes*, in ſo grievous a manner, that GOD was provoked to ſend large flights of fiery ſerpents among them, which deſtroyed ſuch multitudes of that rebellious people, that the reſt came, and in the humbleſt terms, acknowledged their fault to *Moſes*, begging of him to deliver them from that deſtroying vermin (S). *Moſes*

[w] Num. xx. 23. & ſeq. [x] Ibid. xxi. 9.

(R) *Aaron*'s death happened upon tueſday the firſt day of the fifth month (which is our *Auguſt*) in the fortieth year after the *Exod*, and in the hundred and twenty third year of his age (67).

(S) A certain author (68) has endeavoured to prove, that thoſe inſects were only little worms which bred in the ſkin, but of ſuch venemous nature, that they immediately poiſoned thoſe that were infected with them; but it is plain, not only that the original words נחשים שרפים *Nechaſhim Seraphim* ſignify a burning or winged ſerpent; but likewiſe, that thoſe creatures are very common both in *Egypt* and *Arabia*; inſomuch that thoſe countries would become uninhabitable, if thoſe ſerpents had not been debarred by a kind of providence from multiplying as other ſerpents do; but the *Arabians* tell us, that after they have coupled together, the female never fails to kill the male, and that her young ones kill her as ſoon as they are hatched. The learned *Bochart*, from whom we have this account of them, tells us further (69), that they are

(67) *Vid. Annal.* Uſſer, *p.* 22.

(68) Fortun. Licet *lib. de ſpontan. vivent. ort. vid.* Uſſer *ubi ſup.*

(69) *De Animal. Sac. p. 2. l. iii. c.* 13.

The brazen serpent set up.

Moses, applying himself to God, was commanded to cast a brazen serpent of the same figure with those that infested them, and to set it upon a pole upon some eminent ground, that as many as were bitten by the serpents might be healed by looking upon it [y]. As soon as they were delivered by this means from the plague, they marched towards *Phunon* [z], since known by the name of *Metalla Phunon*, by reason of the copper mines with which it abounded [a]; and might perhaps have its first name from *Phinon*, one of the dukes or princes of *Edom* [b], from thence they removed to *Oboth*, called by *Pliny*, *Eboda*. This was their thirty seventh encampment; their next was at *Ije-abarim* (T), upon the borders of *Moab*, that is, in that part of the desert which lieth over against the land of *Moab* eastward [c], and is therefore called *the desert of* Moab [d]. Soon after this, as they were removing to pass the brook or valley of *Zared*, God forbad them to commit any hostilities against the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* [e], because he had given them the land they dwelt in, and obli-

[y] Numb. xxi. 4. & seq. [z] Ibid. xxxiii. 42. [a] Vid Euseb. loc. Hebr. sub. Phenon.
[b] Gen. xxxvi. 41. [c] Num. xxi. 11. [d] Deut. ii. 8. [e] Ibid. ver. 9, 18, 19.

short, and spotted with divers colours, and that their wings resemble those of a bat. He quotes a great number of antient and modern authors to prove, that they are the same with the *Hydra* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Herodotus*, who went on purpose to the city of *Butos* to see them, says, that they are not unlike the *Hydra*; and that he had seen a vast quantity of their skeletons, whose flesh had been devoured by the *Ibis* (70), which bird is peculiar to *Egypt*, and a continual destroyer of those serpents, as we have shewed elsewhere †. There was no need therefore of any other miracle, the *Israelites* being then in *Arabia Petræa*, than a strong wind to blow them into their camp, it being then about the springtime of the year, in which season they commonly fly in great swarms, from *Libya* and *Arabia* towards *Egypt* and other countries in that neighbourhood (71).

(T) It must be remembered however, that when *Moses* tells us, that they encamped at *Oboth*, *Ij-eabarim*, and other cities belonging to the *Edomites* and *Moabites*, he must not be understood, as if they came near these places, but only that they encamped at such convenient distance from them, that they might easily send to buy provisions of them, without giving them any umbrage of their having any hostile design against them.

(70) Herod. *l. ii. c.* 75, 76. † *Vid.* Vol. I. *p.* 399, *& seq.*
(71) *Vid.* Bochart. *ubi sup. & author. ab eo citat.*

ged

ged them to take a large turn round their country to come at that of *Canaan*. They arrived at length at *Bameth*, or *Bamoth-arnon*, that is, the high places of *Arnon*, under which is a fine valley belonging to the *Moabites*, along which the brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs (V); and pitched at the foot of mount *Pisgah*. From thence they removed to *Beer*, so called from the well which the heads of *Israel* digged there by GOD's direction; and this gave birth to that song of *Moses* which was sung by the *Israelites*, the burthen of which begins with the words, *Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it* f,

f Num. xxi. 17. & seq.

(V) The brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs along between the countries of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, and discharges itself into the *Black-sea* (72). The book of the wars of the Lord, mentioned by *Moses* (73), seems to intimate some such miraculous transaction at this brook, as had been at the *Red-sea*; and we find some passages in the psalms, and in the prophet *Habakkuk* (74), which the *Chaldee* paraphrast doth understand as if the brook *Arnon* had been dried up, or miraculously divided, to make a passage for GOD's people. However, it must be owned, that the words of *Moses* are somewhat obscure, and variously understood both by *Jews* and *Christians*; and that the words וְהֵב סוּפָה *Vaheb Supha* may be the proper names of places, as we find it in the margin of our bibles, and as *Dav. Kimchi* and some *Christians* understand them (75): but we rather choose the exposition of *R. Salomon*, who thinks the ו *Vau* in וְהֵב to be put for the *Jod*, which often happens, and that it ought to be read יְהֵב *Jaheb*, and then the sense will be, *what the lord brought upon* Suphah, or the *Red-sea*, and on the brook *Arnon*.

As to the book of the wars of the Lord, the generality of *Christians* think, that it is one of those that were lost, either at the captivity or the burning of the temple (76), if not during *Manasseh*'s wicked reign. The generality of the *Jews*, unwilling to admit that one jot, much less a whole book of holy writ should be lost, have fancied, that the book of *Judges* is prophetically meant by it, and understand the verb יֵאָמֵר, *Jeamer* in the future tense, *it shall be said*, or recorded in time, *in the book of*, &c. *because* in *Judges* there are several wars mentioned between the *Jews* and their neighbours, in which GOD did visibly appear in favour of the former, However, the most received opinion is that this and some other books mentioned in the old testament were actually lost.

(72) *Vid Num.* xxi. 13. (73) *Ibid. ver.* 14. (74) *Vid. Ps.* lxxiv. 15. *Habakkuk* iii. 13. & *seq.* (75) Kimch. *in rad. vid.* Jun. *in loc.* (76) *Vid.* Packhurst's *Maxorah*, *p.* 185. Munst. *in loc.*

AFTER

AFTER several marches, in which they paſſed as it were between the countries of *Moab* and *Ammon*, without committing the leaſt hoſtilities on either ſide, they came at length to the land of the *Amorites*. Here they ſent again to beg a peaceable paſſage through the territories of *Sihon* king of *Heſhbon*. But that prince, having refuſed to let them paſs upon any terms, and made himſelf ready to attack them, was overthrown by them in a ſet battle †, and the *Iſraelites*, having ſeized upon his kingdom, from the torrent of *Arnon* to that of *Jabbok*, put men, women, and children to the ſword, and ſaved nothing but the cattle (W). [z] Soon after this, *Og* king of *Baſhan*, attempting in like manner to obſtruct their paſſage, underwent the ſame fate as we have already ſhewn the hiſtory of the *Canaanites* (X) ‡.

Sihon and Og diſcomfited.

† Vid. Vol. II. p. 118, & 173. [z] Vid. Judg. xi. 13. & ſeq.
‡ Vid. ſup: loc citat.

(W) This land formerly belonged to the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* (77), out of which either *Sihon* or ſome of his predeceſſors had drove them. When therefore the *Iſraelites* conquered it from him, they made no difficulty of keeping poſſeſſion of it; and when it was afterwards claimed again by the *Ammonites*, *Jephthah* roundly told them, that they had loſt all their right to that tract, ſince it had been taken from them by the *Amorites*, and from them given by GOD himſelf to the children of *Iſrael* (78) †.

(X) We have already taken notice of the gigantic ſtructure of this *Canaanitiſh* prince ‡, and of his large iron bedſted preſerved at *Rabbah* †††, the capital city of the *Ammonites*; but the *Jewiſh* rabbies, not contented with ſuch pigmy wonders, have improved it to their liking. They tell us, that this nine cubit bed could be only his cradle, ſeeing himſelf was ſix ſcore cubits high when full grown. They add, that he had lived before the flood; and that the waters of it, when at the higheſt, reached only up to his knees. Several other wonderful things they write of him, which cannot be read without laughter. We ſhall only mention one among the reſt, which is, that he took up ſuch a monſtrous rock with a deſign to throw it into the *Iſraelitiſh* camp, as would have cruſhed them all under it, but that a lapwing, or ſome ſuch bird, picked a miraculous hole in it, big enough for his head to go through, which nevertheleſs, he would eaſily have diſengaged, had not his teeth immediately grown to an exceſſive length, and given *Moſes* an opportunity of killing him, whilſt he was ſtruggling to get the ſtone off his neck (79).

(77) *Vid. Judg.* xi. 13. *& ſeq.* (78) *Ibid paſſ.* † *Vid.* Vol. II. *p* 103. ‡ *Vid* Vol II. 174. ††† *Ibid.* Vol. II *p* 98 (79) *Vid.* Calm. *Hiſt V. T. in loc.* & Munſt. *in Deut.* iii. *ſub. note* d. & *al.*

THIS

THIS land of *Baſhan*, one of the moſt fertile cantons of *Canaan*, which reached on the eaſt to the river *Jordan*, to the mountains of *Gilead* on the weſt, to the brook *Jabbok* on the ſouth, and to the land of *Geſhur* on the north, was divided, though not equally between the tribes of *Manaſſeh* and *Gad*: and the land of *Sihon* was aſſigned partly to *Gad*, and partly to *Reuben* [h], as we ſhall ſhew more fully in the ſequel of this hiſtory; but upon this condition however, that they ſhould aſſiſt the reſt of the tribes, in the conqueſt of the land of *Canaan* till that was perfected.

BY this time *Balak* king of *Moab*, near whoſe territories the *Iſraelites* were encamped, with a deſign to croſs the river *Jordon*, in order to enter into the land of *Canaan*, began now to look upon them with a jealous eye. However, their late conqueſt having given him but too ſure a proof of their ſtrength, he did not think it ſufficient to make a ſtrong alliance with the *Midianites* and *Ammonites* his neighbours, in order to ſtop their progreſs; but reſolved, before he began any hoſtilities againſt them, to try how far *Balaam*'s enchantments might go towards turning the fortune of the war to his ſide. We need not repeat what has been ſaid in the hiſtory of *Moab* *, concerning the ill ſucceſs of *Balak*'s project (Y), and the too ſure one of *Balaam*'s advice of debauching

Balak *ſends for* Balaam

[h] Num. xxxii, 33. & ſeq. & Deut. iii. 1. & ſeq. * Vid. Vol. II. p. 85, & ſeq.

(Y) We have already ſaid ſomething concerning *Balaam*'s prophecies ***, and endeavoured to clear ſome obſcure paſſages of it; we now beg leave to add an explication or two more of ſome other places equally dark and puzzling. The firſt is where *Balaam* prefaces his prophecy with theſe words, *the man whoſe eyes are open has ſaid*, or, as our margin has it, *who had his eyes ſhut, but now open* (80): and in the next verſe, *who heard the words of* GOD, *and ſaw the Almighty, falling (into a trance, but) having his eyes opened.* Here it is plain ours, as well as other verſions, have been forced to add ſeveral words to ſupply the ſenſe, for want of conſidering what *Balaam* alludes to by theſe expreſſions, and for want of attending to the words שתום *Satum*, and עלוי *Halui*, when joined to the word עינים *Henaim*, *eyes*, as here, or to any other member; for though the words do ſometimes ſignify, *open and ſhut*, *hidden and revealed*, yet when thus tacked to any thing elſe, do more properly ſignify, *witholden*, *and then looſened again*. We need then but ſuppoſe, that he alludes to the angel meeting him thrice in the

*** *Vid. Vol. II p. 85. & ſeq.* (80) *Num. xxiv. 3, 4.*

way,

bauching the *Israelites*, by the help of some of their most beautiful

way, and his eyes being holden from seeing him at the first and second meeting, and opened at the third, when the ass fell down under him, and *Balaam*, *not in a trance*, but upon his face to the ground, either through fear, or out of reverence.

The next is where he says, *that his* (Israel's) *kingdom shall be higher than* Agag (81); for though that were as certain which a learned rabbi observes, † that *Agag* was the common name of the kings of *Amalek*, as what he subjoins immediately after, that the first king of *Israel* gave the most signal defeat to that of the *Amalekites*; yet as the *Samaritan*, *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic* read *Gog* instead of *Agag*, and *Gog* doth generally signify the *Scythians* and northern nations (82), several interpreters have preferred this latter reading to the first, and not without good grounds (83).

The last expression we shall take notice of is where *Balaam* says, *that* GOD *had not beheld iniquity in* Jacob, *nor seen perverseness in* Israel (84); which cannot be true in a literal sense, since he could scarce behold any thing else. Nor can we think, with some predestinarians, that they were such favourites of the Almighty, as they were his chosen, that he could see no fault in them. Neither have those, who by perverseness and iniquity understand idolatry, succeeded better, since it is plain, they had so often made themselves abominable by, and been severely punished for it; and consequently neither can it be true in the sense that others have taken it, namely, that he did not behold any iniquity in them, because he had already forgiven it; seeing the contrary is plain from those heavy punishment which he inflicted upon them. The best sense therefore seems to be that of *Gataker*, namely, that GOD did not behold iniquity, &c. in them with approbation, as he is said to behold, that is, to approve the contrite, humble, &c. and that he is of purer eyes than to behold, that is, to approve evil. To this we may add further, that the particle ב *Beth*, doth often signify against, and is accordingly so rendered, not only by ours, but by most translations in the places quoted in the margin (85), and many more of the like nature; according to which, the words will run more naturally thus, *he doth not approve of any wicked practices against* Jacob, &c. This sense is still further confirmed by the words און *Aven* and עָמָל *Hamal*, which though we render *iniquity* and *perverseness*, do oftner signify *outrage*, *oppression*,

(81) *Ibid. ver.* 7. † *R.* Mos. Gerund *ap.* Munst. *in loc. vid.* Vol II *p.* 152. (82) *See* Jos. Mede's *Discourse on Gog and Magog.* (83) *Id. Vid* Calm. *Hist. Vet. Test* & Le Clerc's *Comm. in loc.* & *al* (84) *Num. xxiii.* 21. (85) *Exod. xiv.* 25. *xx.* 16. *Num. xii.* 1. & *xxiii.* 23. & *alib.*

deceit,

beautiful women. All that needs be added is, that it fully anſwered their hopes, and that the *Iſraelites* failed not to give into the ſnare, and to make work for repentance; for *Balak* ordered his ſubjects to celebrate a grand feaſt to *Baal-peor*, which is generally thought to be the ſame with *Priapus*, or *Adonis* [1], in which as we obſerved before ***, the moſt ſhameful kinds of lewdneſs uſed to be perpetrated, and to invite the *Iſraelites* to them. Theſe, being too eaſily prevailed upon, were ſoon enticed from one crime to another, by the fair women that were ſent among them for that purpoſe; that is, they fell from drunkenneſs to lewdneſs, and from lewdneſs to idolatry, and became ſo enamoured with thoſe fair deluders, that, obſerving in them a more than ordinary forwardneſs to follow them, they made no ſcruple to bring a great number of them into their camp; ſo that it was not long before the infection was become univerſal, and puniſhed by a plague, which carried off about twenty four thouſand of the offenders.

The Iſraelites debauched by the women to idolatry.

Their ſevere puniſhment.

IN the mean-time GOD, ſtill highly provoked at their diſobedience, which this ſevere puniſhment had not yet put an effectual ſtop to, commanded *Moſes* to erect a court of judicature, conſiſting of the heads of all the families, and to try and hang all that had been guilty of this rebellion and idolatry, without reſpect to friendſhip or kindred (Z); which was accordingly

[1] ISID. Orig. lib. viii. HIERON. in Hoſ. ix. vid. GOODWIN's, *Moſes* and *Aaron*, lib. iv. c. 3. CALM. Diſſert. LE CLERC's Com. in loc. *** Vid. Vol. II. p. 82.

deceit, machination, affliction, and the like; which therefore GOD ſeems here to declare, he would not ſuffer to be attempted or practiſed againſt his people (86).

(Z) Though we have given this place a different ſenſe from our own, and moſt verſions, which make GOD to command *Moſes* to take all the heads of the people, and to hang them up in the face of the ſun (87), whether guilty or not, we hope, thoſe who underſtand the *Hebrew* will readily own, not only that the words are capable of our interpretation; but likewiſe, that the context, as well as the reaſon of the thing, doth naturally lead one to it. For, whatever ſhifts commentators have made uſe of to juſtify the other verſion, ſuch as that thoſe heads were, either all as deep in the guilt, as thoſe that were under them, which is not probable; or that they were guilty of a ſhameful neglect, in not oppoſing the growing miſchief, and puniſhing the offenders (88), both which

(86) *Vid.* Le Scen. & *Eſſay on a new verſ. p.* 118. (87) *Num. xxv.* 4. (88) *Ita* Abrabanel *in phiraſh hatorah.*

cordingly done, and about one thouſand more were put to death. By this time the greateſt part of the people, being come a little to themſelves, were bewailing their folly at the door of the tabernacle, when they were ſurpriſed with an inſtance of the moſt unparallelled boldneſs, in one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Simeon* named *Zimri*, who had brought a young *Midianitiſh* princeſs into the camp, and in ſight of *Moſes* and of the whole congregation, was leading her into his tent. However, their impudence did not go long unpuniſhed, for *Phinehas*, the ſon of *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, being moved with a juſt indignation, and fired with a godly zeal, followed them cloſe with a ſpear in his hand, and at one ſtroke joined their bodies in death, where they were joined in their ſin. This action was highly pleaſing to God as well as to *Moſes*, and the high-prieſthood was confirmed to him and his ſeed as a reward for his zeal. However, it is plain from the words of the *Pſalmiſt* [k], that he averted the divine vengeance more by his prayers to God, than by the puniſhment of theſe two offenders [l]. As for the authors and accomplices of this rebellion, they did not go unrewarded, *Balaam* was ſoon after killed in a ſet battle which *Iſrael* fought againſt five kings of *Midian*, who likewiſe fell on that day, whilſt the conquerors made a terrible ſlaughter of their ſubjects, putting them all to the ſword, women and children excepted; plundered and burned their cities, and

Zimri and Cozbi.

Are ſeverely puniſhed.

Balaam *with 5 kings of* Midian *ſlain.*

[k] Pſal. cvi. 30. [l] Numb. xxv. 7, 8.

might, probably enough, be out of their power, ſince even *Moſes* himſelf found them ſo often too headſtrong for him; yet it is plain from the directions which he gives thoſe judges in the very next verſe, *viz. to puniſh all that they found guilty indifferently*, that this command had nothing ſo unjuſt in it, as thoſe verſions intimate; and *Joſephus*, who followed the common verſion, was ſo well convinced, that it could not be palliated by any futile arguments, that he has choſen to ſuppreſs it wholly; and this is one main argument to us, that he underſtood neither the *Hebrew* nor the *Chaldee*, elſe he might as eaſily have fallen into our ſenſe of that command, as the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, rabbi *Salomon*, and other *Jews* after them have done, as well as the learned *Fagius* in his comment on the place, and others among the *Chriſtians*. How *Joſephus* has mutilated this place, and what account he has given of this defection, and the conſequences of it, the reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee in his antiquities (89).

(89) *Lib. iv. c.* 6.

carried

carried off a conſiderable booty † with them, which they brought to *Moſes* and *Eleazar*; and theſe ordered one fiftieth part of it to be diſtributed among the prieſts, and another fiftieth to the *Levites*. But though *Moſes* could not but be pleaſed with their victory and valour, yet the ſight of ſuch a number of *Midianitiſh* women, whom they had brought captive with them, and the remembrance of what the people had ſuffered upon their account, made him think it unſafe to ſpare their lives; he therefore ordered all thoſe that had ever known man, as well as the male children, to be immediately diſpatched, and that none but virgins ſhould be preſerved alive [m] (A).

Soon

† Vid. Vol. II. p. 90. [m] Numb. xxxi. 17, 18.

(A) We ſhall not need wonder at *Moſes*'s ſeverity againſt theſe women, when we conſider how zealous they had been to proſtitute themſelves, to debauch the *Iſraelites* into the moſt obſcene and beaſtly ceremonies. The antient *Jews* give us a very ſtrange account of the worſhip of this filthy idol, and affirm in particular, that it conſiſted in making a common jakes of his temple, from which, according to them, he was called *Baal-peor*; of which the reader may ſee more in *Munſter*'s bible (90). They add, that *Balaam*'s counſel was, to proclaim a kind of large fair, in which ſhould be expoſed great quantities of fine linen, which, he told *Balak*, the *Iſraelites* delighted much to wear, and that every booth where they were expoſed to ſale, ſhould have an old woman in the outward, and a young one in the inward apartment, beſides a conſiderable number of other places for eating and drinking: that the youths of *Iſrael* were eaſily drawn to the fair, where having refreſhed themſelves at the common booths, their curioſity did naturally lead to viſit the other ſhops alſo. Here the buſineſs of the old women without was to aſk a moderate price for their linen, and of the young ones within, to make a conſiderable abatement, or even to offer it at their own price; after which, that they might not make a dry bargain, ſhe offered the youth a bumper of *Ammoniti/h* wine, which at once ſet him on fire, and upon his aſking her the favour, ſhe anſwered, with all my heart, provided you'll pay your reſpect to this idol, and if he made any difficulty upon the account of his being an *Iſraelite*, ſhe anſwered, that he had nothing to do, but to break wind backwards, or eaſe himſelf before it, which he readily complied with, not knowing that that was the kind of worſhip that was paid to that idol (91). Something like ſuch a filthy ceremony ſeems hinted by the prophet (92), if rightly underſtood, where he ſays, that *the* Iſraelites *did withdraw themſelves*,

(90 *Vid.* Munſter *in Numb. xxv. ſub note* a. (91) Goodwin's *Moſes & Aaron, lib. iv. c.* 3. (92) *Hoſ. ix.* 10.

The Israelites *numbered.*

Soon after this defection to *Baal-peor*, *Moses* was ordered to take an account of all the children of *Israel* that were able to bear arms, that is, from twenty years old and upwards. *Josephus* says from twenty to fifty †*, but it is more likely to have been to sixty, and these were found to amount to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty, besides the *Levites*, who were numbered from one month and upwards, and amounted to twenty three thousand: this account was taken in the plain of *Moab*, near the river *Jordan*, over-against *Jericho*; and it is supposed, that the last punishment that befel the 24,000 adherers to the *Midianitish* deity, made a final end of the old murmuring generation, which had been excluded from entering into the land of *Canaan*; because upon examination, there was not one of them found in this new list which *Moses* took of the people, except *Joshua* and *Caleb*, according to the sentence pronounced against them [n] by God himself. The numbering of the people was no sooner over, than *Moses* received orders to direct the distribution of the promised land between the tribes to be made by lot, not into equal parts, but in proportion to the number of men in each tribe. As for that of *Levi*, it was not to have any inheritance with the rest but was otherwise provided for [o].

Zelophehad's *daughters portioned.*

When this order was published, there came five of the daughters of *Zelophehad*, of the tribe of *Manasseh* the son of *Joseph*, to petition *Moses* and *Eleazar* for an inheritance with their father's brethren, that his name might not be lost in *Israel*, seeing he had left no sons, but was dead in the wilderness, not for any sedition, but had shared in the common fate with the rest. Their request was approved by God, and readily granted by *Moses*, who allotted them a

†* Ant. lib. iii. cap. 12. [n] Numb. xxvi. 64, 65. [o] Numb, xxvi. 62.

or go aside *to blush*, or as the word may be rendered, *to stink when they came to* Baal-peor. However, it is plain, from the account of *Moses*, and some of the prophets, that there was something else more abominable in the worship of that idol; for the *Psalmist* says *that when they joined themselves to* Baal-peor, *they eat the sacrifices of the dead* (93): but whether that false deity was surnamed *Peor* from the mount of that name where he was worshipped, as *Isidorus* and St. *Jerom* think (94), or whether the mountain had its name from the idol, and this last from the filty ceremonies used in its worship, is neither very plain, nor very material.

(93) *Psal. cvi.* 28. (94) Isid. *Orig. lib. viii.* Hieron. *in ix. Hos.*

portion

portion in their kindred's inheritance accordingly. After which GOD was pleaſed to make a law, that for the future the eſtates of thoſe who died without iſſue male, ſhould be inherited by their daughters, and if they had no daughters, that then it ſhould go to the next of the male, and in defect of that, of the female line[p]. But there being ſtill ſome doubt remaining, namely, whether the latter might marry out of their tribe; that of *Manaſſeh* came ſoon after to *Moſes*, and repreſented to him the inconveniency of ſuch marriages, ſeeing thoſe heireſſes would carry their inheritance into other tribes, which might in proceſs of time, cauſe a great deal of confuſion, and probably leſſen one tribe and enrich another. This remonſtrance was likewiſe approved by GOD, who immediately declared, that neither of theſe daughters of *Zelophehad*, nor any heireſſes for the future ſhould marry out of their tribes, nor even out of their own family. As for the other females who had no inheritance, they were permitted to marry into what tribe they pleaſed [q].

Some regulations about the marriage of heireſſes.

IMMEDIATELY after this, GOD commanded *Moſes* to get up upon Mount *Nebo*, which is one of the mountains that make that long ridge which is called *Abarim* (B), and to take a view of the promiſed land, ſince his rebellion in the deſert of *Zin* had debarred him from entering into it, and he was ſhortly to die in that very mountain, from whence he beheld it. *Moſes* was nothing ſurpriſed at the news of his approaching death, which he only looked upon as a haven of repoſe, after a life of the greateſt trouble and fatigue. Neither was he ſolicitous to have his commiſſion tranſmitted to his children, or in the leaſt diſpleaſed to ſee his own ſervant appointed his ſucceſſor before them; but, finding his end ſo near, he made it his chief buſineſs, during thoſe few remaining days, to ſettle things in the beſt order he could. The firſt care he took was to have *Joſhua* confirmed his ſucceſſor, in the moſt public and authentic manner,

Moſes *commanded to take a view of* Canaan *from* Nebo.

Cauſes Joſhua *to be proclaimed his ſucceſſor.*

[p] Ibid xxvii. 1, 2, & ſeq. [q] Ibid. xxxvi. 1. ad fin.

(B) *Abarim* was a long ridge of mountains, that reached from the tribe of *Reuben* into the land of *Moab*, on each ſide the river *Arnon*; but the extent of which is not eaſy to fix. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* do mention them more than once: the former places it about ſix miles weſtward of *Heſhbon*, and ſeven eaſtward of *Livias* (95). The mounts *Piſgah*, *Peor*, and *Nebo*, where *Moſes* died, were part of the ridge *Abarim*, or as the original has it, עברים, *Habarim*, which ſignifies either *paſſes*, or *paſſengers*.

(95) *Sub voc. Nebo & Bel-phegor.*

ner,

ner, to prevent any oppoſition from his own family after he was dead. To this end he brought him forth in ſight of all *Iſrael*, layed his hands upon him, and having preſented him to *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, and given him all neceſſary directions, and in particular, that of conſulting God upon all emergencies by the *Urim* and *Thummim* (C), he

(C) What the faſhion of the *Urim* and *Thummim* was, as far as can be known, ſhall be taken notice of when we come to ſpeak of the high-prieſt's garments, of which they were an appendage. In the mean time we beg leave to obſerve, that *Joſhua* could not be that prophet like *Moſes* whom God promiſed to raiſe, and commanded under ſevere penalties to obey (96), as our modern *Jews* affirm, and ſome *Chriſtians*, whom we forbear to name, have too eaſily granted. *Joſhua* was in many particulars inferior not only to *Moſes*, but likewiſe to the generality of the prophets, ſince he was to have recourſe to the *Urim* and *Thummim* upon all emergencies; whereas the former ſpoke to God face to face, and the latter were always ready to declare the mind of God to thoſe that came to conſult them. How could he therefore be the head, prophet, and director of ſuch a numerous nation, who wanted a director himſelf? Or, how could the people be charged to hear and obey him, who was himſelf to receive his orders from the high-prieſt? As for this divine oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which in the original ſignifies *light* and *perfection*; and the *Septuagint* and *Philo* (97) render by the words δηλωσιν and ἀληθειαν *manifeſtation* and *truth*, as having thoſe two diſtinct virtues; it was not to be conſulted by private perſons, but only by the judges whilſt *Iſrael* was governed by them, and afterwards by the kings, or ſuch as were ſent by them, or, according to the *Talmudiſts*, by the אב בית דין, *Ab-beth-din*, or the head of the *Sanhedrin* (98), and even by the general in time of war, as in the caſe of *Joſhua* (99). *Spencer* indeed thinks, that the head of the nation alone, and he in his own perſon, was allowed to conſult the *Urim* (100); but the contrary ſeems more probable from *David*'s conſulting the Lord by *Abiathar*, before he was ſettled upon the throne (1). However that be, this ceremony of conſulting by *Urim*, &c. was not performed without great ceremony. The high-prieſt alone was the perſon to apply to, he was to be dreſſed in his pontifical robes, particularly his breaſt-plate, and to go into the holy place, though not into the holy of holies, towards

(96) *Deut. xviii.* 15. *Vid. John i.* 45. *Acts iii.* 22. *vii.* 37. (97) *In vit. Moſ. & lib. de monarchia, c.* 2. (98) *Talm. Tract. in* יומא *Joma, cap.* 7 & § 5. *Vid.* Fag. *in Exod.* xxviii. *Moſes & Aaron lib.* iv. *cap.* 7. § 8. *vid. & Judg. i.* 1. (99) *De Legib. ritual. Hebr. lib.* iii. *Diſſert.* 7. *c.* 1. 8. *& alib.* (100) *Vid.* Meyer *de feſt dieb. Hebr. cap.* 4. § 43. & 51. (1) 1 *Sam. xxiii.* 4. *xxx.* 7. 8.

which

he cauſed him to be proclaimed head and general of all *Iſrael*[r].

As

[r] Ibid. xxvii. 16. ad fin.

which he was only to turn his face, when he enquired of the Lord. Again, he was not to be conſulted upon trivial matters, but upon thoſe of the greateſt moment, ſuch as concerned the public good, and upon any ſudden and unexpected emergency, as the *Jews* do prove from thoſe places of ſcripture where ſuch counſel was aſked (2). Laſtly things relating to faith or practice were not to be enquired by the *Urim*, becauſe they had the old precepts quoted by *Iſaias* (3), *to the law and to the prophets.*

But how this divine oracle gave its anſwer, whether by the unuſual luſtre of the ſtones in the breaſt plate, when the anſwer was favourable; and by their dimneſs in the contrary caſe, as *Joſephus* (4), and others after him, have imagined; or, as others think, by virtue of the name יהוה, written, or engraven, in, or between, the double breaſt-plate (5); or, 3dly, by the prominency of the letters engraved upon the twelve ſtones of it, which the high-prieſt being then inſpired knew how to range ſo as to give a true anſwer; which opinion is almoſt univerſally received by the *Jewiſh* Rabbies (6); (as for inſtance, they ſay, that when *David* enquired whether he ſhould go up into any of the cities of *Judah*, and the Lord anſwered עלה, *go up* (7), thoſe three letters became prominent above the reſt;) or laſtly, whether GOD anſwered the high-prieſt *vivâ voce*, by an articulate voice, from the mercy-ſeat, where the cherubims covered the ark of the teſtimony, called therefore the oracle (8); from whence GOD promiſed, that he would meet and commune with *Moſes*, or, as the original has it, *inſtruct and talk with him*; which notion is embraced, by the majority of *Chriſtians*, as being indeed the moſt probable and conſonant to ſome inſtances in the text relating to this matter, and eſpecially to that where the children of *Iſrael* are blamed for making a peace with the *Gibeonites*, without conſulting פי יהוה, *the mouth of the Lord* (9): all theſe opinions, we ſay, are liable to many objections, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with, but conclude with the ſaying of a wiſe *Jewiſh* Rabbi (10), *that he is on the ſafeſt ſide, who roundly owns his ignorance in this point.*

(2) Abarban. R. Levi. Ben. Gerſ. *ap.* Buxt. *Hiſt. Urim & Thum.* (3) *Ch. viii.* 20. *Vid.* Maimonid. *Kele Hammikdaſh, cap.* 10. (4) *Ant. lib.* 3. *c.* 9. (5) *Rab.* Salom. *ap.* D. Kimch. *in Rad. vid. Exod. xxviii.* 15. (6) *Vid.* Zohar. *in Exod. ex lib. Jalkuth Siphre* R. Bechai *in Deut. xxxiii.* Maimon. *ubi ſupr. & al. mult.* (7) 2 *Sam. ii.* 1. (8) *Exod. xxv.* 22. *& alib.* (9) *Joſh. ix.* 14. *Hoſ. iii.* 4. (10) *Kimch. in Rad.*

How

As there elapsed somewhat above a month, between *Moses*'s receiving the news of his death, and the day in which he

How long the *Urim* and *Thummim* continued is not so difficult to decide: the *Jews* in general agree, that it lasted no longer than the tabernacle. It is a maxim with them, that God delivered his oracles during the standing of it by *Urim* and *Thummim*; by the mouth of his prophets, during the first temple; and by the *Bath-col* from the *Babylonish* captivity to the destruction of the second. *Spencer*, who has espoused their opinion, has backed it with several arguments *de congruo* †; but what weighs more with us than all his reasoning, is, that we do not meet with one single instance of the *Urim* being consulted from the building of *Solomon*'s temple; on the contrary, we read, that when *Hilkiah* the high-priest found the book of the law in *Josiah*'s reign, and that good king was not a little perplexed at the terrible threatnings pronounced against the transgressors of it, he sent to consult the prophetess *Huldah* about it (11), which he needed not to have done had the *Urim* still subsisted. All that can be objected against it, is, that *Moses*, in blessing the tribe of *Levi*, prays, that the *Urim* and *Thummim* may continue with Gon's holy one (12): but this doth not imply, that it should do so whilst *Levi* continued a tribe. Some have urged that passage where the prophet threatens the *Israelites*, that they should abide without king, prince, image, ephod, or teraphim (13): but it doth not appear to us, that any of the three last have any relation to the *Urim* and *Thummim*. As for what *Josephus* says, that the stones of the *Urim* had lost their lustre but about two hundred years before he wrote (14); that is, about 112 years before *Christ*; we think it not worth confuting, since it is allowed on all hands, that it ceased at the *Babylonish* captivity, if not before, and that it was one of those things in which the second temple came short of the first (15), as *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* intimate plainly enough (16).

We shall dismiss this note with reminding our readers, that the *Egyptians* had an oracle, or teraphim, which they called *truth*. This is plain from the testimony of several antient writers (17); but as to the question, whether they had it from the *Hebrews*, or these from them, we shall refer them to what has been said before in cases of the like nature †. Those who are desirous to know more of the subject, may consult at their leisure the authors quoted in the margin (18).

† *De Urim & Thum. c.* 2 § 2. (11) 2 *Kings xxiii. pass.* (12) *Deuter. xxxiii.* 8. (13) *Hos. iii.* 4. (14) Jos. *ubi supr.* (15) *Vid.* Prideaux's *Connect. part. i. lib.* 3. (16) *Ezra ii.* 63. *Nehem. vii.* 65. (17) *Vid.* Ælian. *var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap.* 34. Diod. Sicul. *lib. x. & al.* † *Vol. II. p.* 367. *note* (R), *& p.* 556. *note* (Y). *& p.* 559. (Z). (18). Prideaux *ubi supr.* Curiæus, Basnag. *Rep. Jud. tom.* 1. *lib. ii. c.* 2. Le Clerc's *Comm. in Exod.* Saurin's *Discourses on the Pentat.* Calmet's *Dict. sub. voc. Urim. Id. Comm. in Exod. & al.*

expired,

expired, he ſpent the beſt part of that time in making ſome further regulations. Amongſt other things, he had the pleaſure to ſee the twelve thouſand men whom he had choſen, that is, a thouſand out of every tribe, return from the total overthrow of the *Midianites*, we mentioned a little before, loaden with the richeſt ſpoil, and to order the diſtribution of it: one half of which he allotted to the conquerors, and the other to thoſe who had not gone to the war, reſerving, as we ſaid before, one fiftieth part of each for the prieſts and *Levites*; which diſtribution ſeems to have paſt afterwards into a law [r]. What added ſtill more to his joy was, that the chief captains, upon a ſtrict enquiry, had not found one man miſſing of all that went upon this expedition, and expreſſed ſuch thankfulneſs for it, that they preſented to the Lord an offering of the gold-rings, bracelets, and ornaments which they had taken, amounting to the weight of ſixteen thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſhekels, all which was depoſited by *Eleazer* in the tabernacle as a monument of their gratitude [t]. It is likewiſe ſuppoſed, that it was during this interval, that he diſtributed the land of *Sihon* and *Og* to the two tribes and half [u].

Part of the Midianitiſh *ſpoils offered to* GOD.

AND now, as the *Iſraelites* were on the eve of entering into the promiſed land, no time could be more proper to remind them of his former commands, of driving out the *Canaanites*, and deſtroying their idols, temples, groves, and all the monuments of their idolatry; forewarning them at the ſame time, that in caſe they neglected to drive the inhabitants out of the land, they would prove as thorns in their ſides, and an inexhauſtible ſource of vexation and trouble, and of the ſevereſt puniſhments from GOD [w]. At the ſame time he appointed the limits of the land which they were to conquer, and the diſtribution of it by lot (D) according to GOD's

Idols of Canaan *to be deſtroyed.*

The limits of the land appointed.

[r] *Vid.* Numb. xxxi. 28. 2 Maccab. viii. 28. [t] Numb. xxxi. 50. & ſeq. [u] USSER. Ann. p. 24. [w] Numb. xxxiii. 51. & ſeq.

(D) Nothing could be more prudently forecaſt than this partition of the land by lot, and making *Joſhua* and the high-prieſt the ſuperintendents of it, ſince it was the only one that could, and did, effectually prevent all murmurings and quarrels among that ſtubborn people. However, as the lots were to bear a proportion to the bigneſs of each tribe and family, it is ſuppoſed from what followed, that every tribe drew its lot for its own canton, after which there were proper perſons to meaſure out a quantity of land to each family, according to their bigneſs. But whether this laſt was

God's command, and committed the whole care of it to *Joſhua* and *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, at the head of the chiefs of every tribe [x], and they ſaw it punctually executed, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. But though theſe limits did not reach beyond the land of *Canaan*, ſtrictly ſo called [y], yet he had added thereto all the land of the *Amorites* on the other ſide *Jordan*, with all the tract of ground which reached from the wilderneſs, the mountains of *Lebanon*, and the river *Euphrates*, unto the *Mediterranean-ſea* as far as the *Nile*. Some further directions were alſo given concerning the forty eight cities and their ſuburbs, or rather diſtricts, which were to be allotted to the tribe of *Levi* [z]; ſix of theſe were to be cities of refuge for the man-ſlayer to fly to, three of which were to be on the one ſide, and three on the other of *Jordan*; to which he added a permiſſion to appoint three more, whenever the enlargement of their borders ſhould make it neceſſary [a].

The nearer *Moſes* drew to his end, the more ſolicitous he was to compleat his arduous taſk. Accordingly on the firſt day of the eleventh month, anſwering to our ſaturday, *February* 20, of the fortieth year of the *Exod* [b], the *Iſraelites* being ſtill encamped in the plain of *Moab*, he aſſembled the people about him, and in a long and pathetic ſpeech recapitulated to them all that had happened ſince their departure out of *Egypt* till that time [c]. He adds indeed one circumſtance not taken notice of before, namely, his earneſt requeſt to God, that he might be admitted to go into the promiſed land, and his prayer being abſolutely denied [d]. All the reſt is what has been already ſaid in this ſection, except what relates to the laws he made, which we reſerve for another place. He concludes with exhorting them to continue faithful to God, and with the ſevereſt threatnings in caſe of diſobedience.

Moſes's ſpeech to the Iſraelites.

This ſpeech was ſoon followed by another of a much greater length [e], in which more particular mention is made of all God's mercies and judgments, promiſes and threatnings;

A ſecond ſpeech of Moſes.

[x] Numb. xxxiii 54. [y] Joſh. i. 4. & ſeq. [z] Numb. xxxv. paſſ.
[a] Numb xxxv. 13. [b] Vid. Usser. Ann. p. 24. [c] Deut. i. ii, iii, & iv. ad ver. 4. [d] Ibid. ch. iii. 23. & ſeq. [e] Ibid. from ch. iv, to xxvii.

done by this, or by any other method, whether the ſubdiviſions between the families were likewiſe carried on by lot or otherwiſe, ſure it is, that we do not read, that it occaſioned any broils or jealouſies among them (19).

(19) *Vid. Joſh.* xiv. xv. *& ſeq.*

and

and wherein the bleſſings and curſes, which were to be the fruit of their obedience, or diſobedience, are expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively terms; after which he reminded them of the continual murmurings and rebellions of their fathers, and the ſevere judgments that followed them. Thoſe he interſperſed with a ſummary of all the laws which the divine providence had calculated for their welfare, in which thoſe of the decalogue are repeated almoſt word for word (E); which he concludes with a moſt elegant deſcription of the ſolemn and dreadful manner in which they were delivered from mount *Sinai*. He cloſes the whole with a moſt pathetic exhortation to obedience, and a ſubmiſſive reliance on that amazing goodneſs, that had ſo graciouſly choſen them

(E) All the difference betwixt thoſe two places is in the fourth commandment: in this *Moſes* expreſſes the injunction thus; *keep the ſabbath-day in order to ſanctify it, as*, or, *in the manner, in which the Lord has commanded*; unto which he ſubjoins theſe two reaſons, namely, firſt, that the ſervants might enjoy the benefit of reſt as well as their maſters; and ſecondly, that GOD had appointed that day of reſt, to put them in mind that they had been ſervants in *Egypt*, out of which the Lord had brought them, with a mighty hand and ſtretched-out arm, for that is the plain meaning of the text here; whereas in *Exodus*, theſe two reaſons were omitted, and another given which is not mentioned here, namely, that GOD ſanctified the ſeventh day, becauſe in it he had reſted or ceaſed from his work of creation. From this ſeeming difference and ſome other arguments foreign to our preſent purpoſe, ſome divines have inferred, with ſome probability at leaſt, that not the ſeventh, but a ſeventh day, or one in ſeven, had been inſtituted at, and obſerved from, the creation till the *Exod*, and if ſo, moſt likely the firſt day of the ſeven; but that in memory of this great deliverance, it was ſuperſeded and changed into the ſeventh day, on which it was to continue till a much nobler redemption, namely, that which *Chriſt* wrought for us, made the leſſer give place to it; at which time it was to return to its firſt inſtitution (20). We ſhall not take upon us to affirm any thing in ſo delicate a point; only this, we beg leave to obſerve, that nothing can ſo well account for appointing the obſervation of the *Moſaic* ſabbath in ſo indolent and inactive a manner, as the reaſon here given, that when they found the ſweetneſs of reſt, and enjoyed it even beyond what nature required, they might be the more ſenſible of the goodneſs of GOD, in delivering them from that thraldom in which their labours, though beyond meaſure exceſſive, had been without the leaſt intermiſſion †.

(20) *Vid.* Bedford's *Chronol. p.* 298. § 13. 378, & *ſeq.* † *Vid.* Vol. II. *p.* 465. (C).

before any other nation of the world, not for any merit of theirs, but that he might display his almighty power in favour of them, in order to be glorified by them and future ages, as well for the great mercies he had shewed to them, as for the heavy punishments he had inflicted upon the neighbouring nations for their wickedness and idolatry [f]. And lest their prosperity should in time make them forget their divine benefactor, he prescribed unto them a form of confession, which they were to make every year, when they came to offer the first fruits of their land; in which they were to acknowledge their having received it from GOD. It was prefaced with these remarkable words, *A* Syrian, *ready to perish, was my father, and went down into* Egypt; then follows a short account of the *Egyptian* bondage, their deliverance from it, and induction into a land flowing with milk and honey; and concludes with begging, that GOD would accept of this offering as a thankful acknowledgment for it [g].

A form of acknowledgment prescribed.

After this he directed *Joshua* and the elders how to erect a copious altar upon mount *Ebal*, of unhewn stones covered over with plaister, upon which they should write a fair transcript of all these laws, copies of which he delivered to the *Levites* to keep (F) [h]; and how to set up the blessings and curses

Blessings and curses to be set up on mount Ebal *and* Gerizim.

[f] Deut. ix. pass. xxxii. pass. & al.
[g] Ibid. xxvi. pass.
[h] Ibid. xxvii. 5. & seq. xxxi. 9.

(F) The words which our version renders, to write very plain, and we, by a fair transcript, are in the original באר היטב *Baer-hetebh*, in the infinitive mood, that is, in order to be distinctly and easily read. What the contents of this law were, which was to be thus written or engraven upon the altar, or more probably along the sides of it, is not agreed. For whilst some will have it to be the whole *Pentateuch*, which the *Jews* call by way of excellency התורה, *Hathorah*, the law (21), and *Josephus* mentions only the blessings and curses (22), others as absurdly confine it to the bare decalogue; but the most probable opinion is, that it was that summary of all the laws which is contained in the book of *Deuteronomy*. Accordingly, when it is said there (23), *that the kings of* Israel *shall be obliged to write a copy of this law with their own hand*, it is more likely to have meant those that are contained in *Deuteronomy*, than either the whole *Pentateuch* or the bare decalogue, not only because the former

(21) Ma'imon *Halak Melak.* Jos. Karo. *Keseph Mishn. Vid.* R. Simeon *in Talkul.* & *al. mult.* S. August. *in Deut. xvii.* 18. Grot. *ibid.* Danhawer. Schikard. & *al. in loc.*
(22) *Ant. lib. iv. c.* 8.
(23) *Deut.* xvii. 18.

contains

curſes upon mount *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, in full ſight of all *Iſrael*, ſix tribes of which, namely *Reuben*, *Gad*, *Aſher*, *Zebulun*, *Dan*, and *Naphtali*, ſhould ſtand upon the former, and thoſe of *Simeon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Iſſachar*, *Joſeph*, and *Benjamin* on the latter, and ſhould alternately anſwer *amen* to all the bleſſings and curſes when they proclaimed and ſet them up there, which was accordingly done in *Joſhua*'s time [i], as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. And that there might be nothing wanting in theſe his laſt inſtructions, he preſcribed a kind of exhortation, which was to be ſpoken aloud at the head of the army, by a prieſt appointed for that purpoſe (G), whenever they were going to engage their enemies, in order to inſpire the people with an unſhaken truſt in GOD, and aſſurance of victory. He ordered likewiſe, that a proclamation ſhould be made at the ſame time by proper officers, to permit not only all that had left a wife, houſe, or vineyard unenjoyed, but even all thoſe whoſe fear or puſillanimity might diſcourage the reſt, to return home. And laſtly, how they ſhould behave themſelves towards thoſe cities that accepted of their profer-red peace, and thoſe which rejected it [k].

[i] Joſh. viii. 33. & ſeq. [k] Deut. xx.

contains the ſum and ſubſtance of all the laws in the other four books of *Moſes*, but likewiſe becauſe they are here enforced by the moſt powerful motives (24).

(G) This prieſt was either then, or in proceſs of time called אמרכל *Amercol*, from *Amar*, to *ſpeak*, and *Col*, *all*, becauſe he was to direct his ſpeech to the whole army. And though the *Jewiſh* nation hath had no need of ſuch an orator of a very long ſeaſon, yet they ſtill retain the name and notion of it in their game of cheſs, which, with regard to the analogy it bears to a fighting army, differs only from ours in their diviſion of each opponent's ſide into church and ſtate, and calling the former by eccleſiaſtic names, as follows: the queen is with them the כוהן גדול *Cohen-gadol*, or high-prieſt. Her biſhop is the סגן *Sagan*, or the next in dignity to the high-prieſt. The knight they ſtyle כוהן משוח *Cohen Maſhuach*, by which is meant that prieſt that was anointed by the high one for the war, in order to ſupply his place, whenever GOD was to be conſulted by *Urim*; and the laſt, or the rook, is the *Amercol* above-mentioned. As for thoſe on the king's ſide, they name the firſt his vicegerent, or the ſecond perſon to him, the ſecond his יועץ *Jobatz*, his counſellor, and the laſt is his generaliſſimo (25).

(24) *Vid* Le Scen. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ. p.* 92. Abarb. Luther. & *al.* (25) *Vid.* Dr. Hyde's *Shahilud.*

He

The old covenant ratified by the whole nation.

HE ſoon after aſſembled the whole nation, men, women, and children, in order to make them renew the covenant which their fathers had made with GOD in *Horeb*; and as he enforced the obſervance of it by the moſt engaging motives, ſo did he at the ſame time endeavour to deter them from the breach of it by ſuch threatnings, as proved no leſs than prophetical of thoſe miſerable ſlaveries which they underwent afterwards for their diſobedience [1], not only during the time of the judges and the *Babyloniſh* captivity, but much more ſince their rejection of the *Meſſiah*. There was one remarkable thing in this prophetic warning which ought not to be paſſed by, which was, that under whatever captivity and diſperſion they happened to groan, if they applied themſelves to GOD by prayer and an humble acknowledgment of their ſins, they ſhould ſtill be delivered from it. This was exactly verified by the event, for they no ſooner turned to GOD, but he either ſent them a deliverer ſoon after, as in the time of the judges, or ſome prophets to comfort them during their captivity, and to fix the time of its duration; as in that of *Babylon*. This needs not to be wondered at; the crimes, for which they ſuffered in theſe, Idolatry, murders, rapine, extortion, and the like, were of too glaring a nature, not to force the deepeſt remorſe and acknowledgment, whenever they ſmarted for them. It was far otherwiſe in their laſt ſin, their rejection of the *Meſſiah*; his mean birth and appearance, his ſufferings and death, and many other diſadvantageous circumſtances, were ſo oppoſite to thoſe glorious notions they had imbibed of him, and his religion ſo pure and ſpiritual, that their prejudices made them eaſily overlook all the viſible proofs he gave of his divine miſſion. And after they had once condemned him, they had too great a notion of their own ſagacity and uprightneſs, ever to feel, or at leaſt own, the injuſtice of the deed. We may add, that their poſterity has followed their ſteps and has been ſo far from ſuppoſing, that the *Sanhedrin* could have been guilty of ſo fatal a miſtake, and ſo horrid a crime, as the rejecting and murthering the *Meſſiah*, that they are ſtill fully perſuaded, that it would have been the very firſt that would have acknowledged him. This is the ſource of their unbelief, and ſince they have ever ſince rather gloried in that deed, than acknowledged and repented of it, we need ſeek no farther for the cauſe, why their captivity and diſperſion has proved ſo ſevere, of ſo long a duration, and without the leaſt comfortable prophecy, or even

[1] Ibid. xxix. paſſ.

proſpect

proſpect of GOD's putting an end to it. But to return; *Moſes* having cauſed this covenant to be ratified by the whole aſſembly, no doubt with a ſuitable ſolemnity, he commanded the *Levites* to depoſite a copy of it, which he delivered to them, in the ark, and concluded with calling heaven and earth to witneſs for the truth of what they had heard from him, for the reaſonableneſs of thoſe laws which GOD had given them, and for the certainty of thoſe bleſſings or curſes, which would infallibly follow the keeping or the breach of them [m]. However, in order to fix theſe important truths more ſtrongly in their minds, he compoſed a pſalm or canticle, in which they are expreſſed in the moſt elegant and lively language, and having cauſed it to be read before all the people, he delivered it to *Joſhua*, to be hereafter learned by heart by them and their poſterity. This inimitable piece of antient poetry, as far as our language can reach to the beauty of the original, is thus prefaced [n]: Moſes's *ſong.*

Attend ye heavens, whilſt I ſpeak, give ear O earth to the words of my mouth. The preface of it engliſhed.

Let my doctrine deſcend like drops of rain, and my ſpeech diſtil as the dew.

Let them fall as a gentle ſhower upon the tender herb, and as the rain that falls upon the graſs.

And, whilſt I invoke the name JEHOVAH, *reſound the greatneſs of our* GOD.

His works, even the works of this our ſtrong rock, are perfect, and all his ways are equity.

He is a faithful GOD, *without deceit, for he is juſt and righteous.* And ſo on (H).

THE

[m] Deut. xxx. and xxxi. [n] Ibid. xxxii. ad ver. 45.

(H) We beg leave to aſſure our readers, who do not underſtand the *Hebrew* tongue, that we have not departed from our verſion in the ſketch we have given of this incomparable ſong, with any other deſign than to come up ſomewhat nearer to the genius and beauties of the original than that doth, though we own it impoſſible to come up wholly to it; for which reaſon we willingly excuſe ourſelves from going farther in the verſion. The *Jews* do juſtly eſteem it a moſt elegant epitome of the whole *Pentateuch*, becauſe it makes mention of the greatneſs and magnificence of GOD, of the creation of the world, of the deluge, of the confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of the nations, of the call of *Abraham*, and of his poſterity, and of all that the divine goodneſs had done for them; of their murmurings, rebellions, idolatries, and of their inheriting the promiſed land; of the worſhip of the one only true GOD, of the reſurrection

THE lecture of this divine ſong being ended, *Moſes* went on with acquainting the people, that, ſince it was not the will of GOD that he ſhould go with them into the promiſed land, they muſt now look upon *Joſhua* as their leader, aſſuring them, that they could not fail of ſucceſs in their conqueſt of it, provided they faithfully obſerved the covenant which they had ſo lately renewed with GOD. He then delivered a written inſtrument of it, and a duplicate of the laws to be preſerved in the ark, with an order, that this latter ſhould be publickly read before the whole aſſembly at the feaſt of the tabernacles, every ſabbatic or ſeventh year °. He added ſome few laws, one againſt falſe prophets, another againſt magic, and a third for the expiation of murder, when the author of it could not be diſcovered.

His laſt bleſſing to the twelve tribes.

And now his talk being at an end, and GOD having commanded him to go up to mount *Nebo*, and to reſign his commiſſion with his ſoul there, as ſoon as he had taken a view of the promiſed land; he had now nothing left to do but to gather the tribes about him, and to pronounce his prophetic bleſſing upon them. The text tells us, that he was a hundred and twenty years old, and that neither his ſight nor his natural ſtrength were in the leaſt impaired; and we may add, that, if one may judge of that of his mind by the ſtyle of this his laſt ſpeech, and by the beauty and energy of the expreſſions, it ſeems to have received an addition at the ſight of his departure, and of his people's approaching happineſs. The preface and concluſion of it are couched in as ſtrong and elegant terms, as the moſt divine enthuſiaſm could inſpire a prophet with. However, as we have already ſpoken of it in another place, and ſhewed how it agreed with that of *Jacob* †, which we there endeavoured to explain throughout, we ſhall not dwell any longer upon it at preſent. And here it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that our *Engliſh* verſion was certainly right to inſert the word *not* in the latter part of the 6th verſe of this chapter, *, *let* Reuben *live and not die, and let* not

° Ibid. xxxi. 10. & ſeq. † Vid. Vol. II. 439 & ſeq. * xxxiii.

ſurrection of the dead, and of the future life. But we much queſtion whether theſe two laſt will be ſo univerſally granted unto them, as all the reſt may and actually is, becauſe the words from which they prove them, the Lord killeth and *maketh alive* (26), may eaſily admit of another ſenſe, it being commonly uſed for preſerving alive, and even for forbearing to kill.

(26) Deut. xxxii. 39.

his

his men be few; which is certainly the true ſenſe according to the genius of the original, which often omits that negative in the ſecond hemiſtic, though any verſion that did not ſupply it would make it ſpeak contrary to its plain meaning [p]. This is what the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* have done, in order to render this latter part of the verſe applicable to the tribe of *Simeon*, of which *Moſes* had made no mention throughout this prophecy; but herein 'tis plain they miſtook the ſenſe of the text, not only from what we have juſt now hinted, but alſo becauſe *being few in number* would have been a curſe rather than a bleſſing, and was more particularly eſteemed ſuch by the *Iſraelites*; in which caſe that tribe alone would have been curſed, whilſt all the reſt were highly bleſſed, whereas they are ſaid to be all bleſſed in the very firſt verſe; beſides it is certain, that *Simeon* had his bleſſing, ſince he had an inheritance allotted to him as well as the reſt [q]. We need not therefore look for any other myſtery or reaſon for this omiſſion of *Moſes*, than that this tribe was wholly intermixed with that of *Judah*, according to their father's prophecy [r], and conſequently ſhared in all its bleſſings, thoſe only excepted which *Jacob* had confined to the latter; and hence it came to paſs, that theſe two tribes did generally go hand in hand in all their expeditions [s].

Why Simeon *is omitted in this bleſſing.*

THE *Jewiſh* lawgiver had no ſooner ended this prophetic ſpeech, than he obeyed the divine call, and in the ſight of all *Iſrael* went up to mount *Nebo*, from the ſummit of which he beheld all the land which GOD had promiſed to *Abraham*'s poſterity. *Joſephus* adds [t], that he was accompanied by *Joſhua*, *Eleazar* and the ſeventy, to the mount, and that, whilſt the two firſt were taking their ſorrowful farewel of him, a cloud conveyed him away into a certain valley; but the text ſeems rather to intimate that he went up alone. Be

Moſes goes up to mount Nebo.

that how it will, the author of this laſt chapter, whoever he was, aſſures us, that he died immediately after, and that the Lord conveyed him into a valley in the land of *Moab*, over againſt *Beth-peor* (I), and there buried him in ſo private a place,

His death, burial and character.

[p] Compare Pſ. vi. 1: and xxxviii. 1, See alſo Pſ. ix. 18. as they are in our bibles. [q] Joſh. xix. 1. 1 Cron. iv. 24. & ſeq. [r] Gen. xlix. 7. Vid Vol. II. p. 440. note (E). [s] Judg. i. 3. & ſeq. Vid. JUN. in Deut. xxxiii. 6. [t] Ant. lib. iv. c. 8.

(I) Though the text ſays, in the land of *Moab* (27), yet, it is plain, as the learned primate of *Ireland* obſerves, by comparing

(27) *Deut.* xxxiv. 5, 6. *& alib. compared with Num.* xxii. 26. *Deut.* iv. 46. *Joſh.* xiii. 20.

a place, that his ſepulchre was not known at the time of his writing [u]; to which we may add, that it never was diſcovered ſince [w]. Several inſpired penmen, and apocryphal writers, have ſince given us the character of this truly great lawgiver, beſides the above-mentioned *Joſephus*; but none has expreſſed it in fewer and ſtronger terms, than the author of theſe additions in the three laſt verſes of this chapter (K). His death happened

[u] Deut. xxxiv. 6. [w] Vid. HORN. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. BASNAG. Continuat. JOSEPH. tom. IV. lib. vi. c. 17. art. 13. BARTOLOC. Bibliot. Rabbin. tom. III. p. 928. & ſeq. CALM. Diſſert. on the death and burial of Moſes, at the head of his Epit. Canoniq. & al.

theſe with other places of ſcripture, that this valley was in the land of *Sihon* king of the *Amorites*, which the *Iſraelites* took from him, and aſſigned to the tribe of *Reuben*; and therefore, when it is here, and elſewhere, called the land of *Moab*, it can mean no more than the land which *Sihon* had conquered from them, and the *Iſraelites* from him (28).

(K) Nothing is plainer from the text, than that *Moſes* did really die and was buried; and *Joſephus* tells us (29), according to our copies of him, that the ſcripture affirms him to be dead, leſt people ſhould think, becauſe of the excellency of his perſon, that he was ſtill alive and with GOD; notwithſtanding which, the ſuperſtitious *Jews* have fallen into various notions about it; ſome abſolutely denying his death, and others, without taking notice of that circumſtance; affirming him to have been tranſlated into heaven (30). Thoſe of the *Chriſtians* who have embraced this wild notion, do ground it upon his appearing with *Elias*, at the transfiguration upon mount *Tabor* (31), and upon that conteſt which *Michael* and the devil had about his body, which we find mentioned by St. *Jude* (32); though the moſt probable inference that can be made from ſuch a diſpute, if any ſuch there was, is, that the devil wanted to bring *Moſes*'s body to light, that he might thereby enſnare the people to idolatry, or rather to λειψανολατρία, the worſhip of relics, which therefore *Michael* oppoſed with a zeal worthy of an archangel (33). However, this circumſtance ſeems, in all probability, to be quoted by the apoſtle from an apocryphal book, intitled περὶ Ἀναλήψεως Μωύσεως, or the aſſumption of *Moſes*; ſomething like which we find in ſome *Jewiſh* writings (34). Other rabbies, though they believe that he was ſo far dead, as that there was a ſeparation of ſoul and body, yet deny his dying a common death, becauſe he is ſaid to have died על פי יהוה, that is, as we rightly tranſlate it,

(28) *Vid.* Uſſer. *Ann. p.* 25. (29) *Ant. loc. citat.* (30) *Vid.* Maimon. *procm. ad Talmud.* (31) *Mat.* xvii. 1. & *ſeq.* (32) *Jud. ver.* 9. *Vid.* Fabric. *Apoc. Vet. Teſt.* (33) Uſſer. *Ann. ubi ſup.* & *auct. ab eo citat.* (34) *Vid.* R. Nathan. פרקי אבות

according

happened on the firſt day (according to *Joſephus* and archbiſhop *Uſher* ‡, or on the ſeventh according to the generality of the

‡ Ant. & Ann. ubi ſup.

according to the word of the Lord; but according to their literal ſenſe of it, *upon the mouth of the Lord*; from which they affirm, that *Moſes* having begged of GOD not to deliver up his ſoul to the angel of death, breathed it out in a kiſs, which the Lord was pleaſed to give him (35).

As to his writings, beſides the *Pentateuch*, which is univerſally received by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, as penned by him, if we except *Abenezra* and *Spinoza*, among the *former*, and ſome late writers among the latter, if their avowed principles can permit us to call them *Chriſtians*, who denied him to be the author of it, and have been learnedly confuted by a late author (36); beſides the books, I ſay commonly called the five books of *Moſes*, there have been ſome other works attributed to him, though without any certainty, ſuch as the book of *Job*, of which we have already ſpoken in another place †. eleven pſalms, *viz.* 90, 91, 92, and ſo on to the 100th. *Origen* believes him to have tranſlated the book of *Job* from the *Syriac* into *Hebrew* (37); though he is ſcarce followed by either *Jew* or *Chriſtian*. A few fragments of other books are likewiſe quoted by ſome of the antients, as wrote by him; ſuch as, 1. His Apocalypſe, out of which St. *Paul* is by them ſuppoſed to have taken thoſe words (38), *for in Chriſt Jeſus neither circumciſion availeth any thing*, &c. 2. His leſſer *Geneſis*. 3. His aſcenſion. 4. Aſſumption, mentioned a little above. 5. His teſtament, and ſome other myſterious books (39).

Some Rabbies attribute to him likewiſe a treatiſe entitled בְּאֵר, משה *Beer Moſheh*, or באר חכמה *Beer Chokmah*, *the fountain of wiſdom* (40). As for the leſſer *Geneſis*, St. *Jerom*, who quotes a paſſage or two out of it, tells us, that they had it in *Hebrew* in his time (41). The *Sethites*, an ancient ſect of heretics, quoted likewiſe two of the aforementioned books, namely his teſtament, and his myſterious books or diſcourſes, but all theſe were ſo far from bearing any authority in the church, that they fell into contempt and oblivion, as faſt as chriſtianity prevailed.

The wonders of his life have been no leſs multiplied by the Rabbies than his writings; we ſhall juſt hint ſome of them. They

(35) *Vid.* Gaulmin's פטירת-משה. (36) Abbadie *Verit. de la Relig. Chretienne pt.* 1. † *Vid.* Vol. II. *p.* 481. (37) Orig. *in Job.* (38) *Galat.* v. 6. vi. 15. (39) Syncell. *ex parv. Gen.* Pet. Crimit. *De honeſt. Diſcipl. lib.* xvii. *c.* 1. Clem. Alexand. *ex Eupolem. Stromat. lib.* i. Iſidor. Hiſpal. *lib.* i. Orig. *c.* iii. Cedren. Glycaſ. *& al. vid. etiam* Fabric. *de Apoc. V. T.* (40) R. Shabtai Strim. *vid.* & Wolf. *Bib. Rabbin. Numb.* 1582. (41) *Epiſt.* 127. *ad Fabiol. Manſ.* 18. & 24. *Vid.* Calm. *Hiſt. V. Teſt. t.* i. *p. penult.*

the latter *Jews*) [x] of the twelfth month, which is called *Adar*, and in the hundred and twentieth of his age; the last forty of which

[x] Vid. Sedar holam Rab. cap. 10. MAIMON. Præf. ad. Misnaioth, &c.

tell us, that he was born circumcised: that *Pharaoh*'s daughter, whom they call *Bathia*, being all over leprous, was cured by the touching of the little ark in which he was exposed: that at three years of age she brought him to her father, from whose head he took the crown to put it upon his own, for which *Balaam*, who was then at that court, advised *Pharaoh* to put him to death, but the other magicians chose rather to try first whether this action was designedly done by him, or through childishness; upon which they set before him some diamonds and burning coals, and the angel *Gabriel* forced his hands towards the coals, one of which he put to his mouth, and burnt himself, which was the occasion of his stuttering, and that he saved his life by it. That he was afterwards condemned to lose his head for the murder of the *Egyptian*, but that his neck became so hard, that the sword, instead of hurting him, recoiled with such force, that it killed the executioner; and that the king becoming dumb on a sudden, and the rest of the spectators being struck blind or deaf, gave *Moses* an opportunity of running away without opposition.

Being retired to the king of *Æthiopia*, who was then in *Armenia*, and *Balaam* having caused an insurrection in *Æthiopia*, *Moses* put himself at the head of the king's army, and besieged *Balaam* in the metropolis, who endeavoured by his magic to obstruct his approach, by an innumerable multitude of serpents, which he caused to surround the city; but *Moses* having charmed them, took the town, married the queen whose consort had been killed at the war, and reigned in *Æthiopia* forty years, till his queen complaining of his coldness towards her, caused a rebellion, which obliged him to retire to *Jethro*, where he got the miraculous rod, of which we gave an account in a former note ‡, and married his daughter *Zipporah*: that her father having stipulated that her first-born son should not be circumcised, two angels were sent by GOD, who swallowed him up to the place of circumcision, which made *Zipporah* retrieve the fault, and save her husband by the circumcision of her son.

As for the manner in which they say that *Moses* received the divine law, it is so absurd that we should not trouble our readers with it, were it not to point out to them the spring from which *Mohammed* did pump out all the rhapsodies of his *Kôran*. These grave gentlemen thought it not enough for their lawgiver to have gone up and received it upon mount *Sinai*, but they make him take a journey to heaven in a cloud; and add, that he met in his

‡ *Vid.* Vol. II. *p.* 499. *note* (Z)

way

which, the laſt month excepted, he had ſpent in the government of the *Iſraelites*. The people mourned for him one whole

way *Kemuel* the chief of a legion of angels, who endeavoured to come up to him, but that he was repulſed ſome thouſands of miles back, by his pronouncing the name of GOD, conſiſting of twelve letters. Soon after this he was terribly frighted by the angel *Adarniel*'s voice, which was ſo dreadful, that it was echoed from no leſs than two hundred thouſand ſpheres, all ſurrounded with a white fire. *Moſes* was juſt ready to run away, when GOD heartened him up again, and bid him put the ſpirit to flight by pronouncing the name of GOD written with ſeventy two letters, which made him cry out as he fled; *how happy art thou* Moſes *to know thoſe things which the very angels are ignorant of*. They add that the two tables which *Moſes* brought down from heaven being made of the fineſt ſaphire-ſtone, he enriched himſelf exceedingly by the chips that fell off in the carving and poliſhing of them; which is no great wonder, if they were ten or twelve cubits high, as ſome of them pretend (42).

The *Mohammedans* have not only embraced all theſe rabbinical dreams, but have very much improved them. The reader may remember what they ſay concerning this laſt circumſtance of the two tables being brought from heaven and carried thither again †. We ſhall not trouble the reader with any more of their reveries, thoſe who are fond of ſuch things, may find them at large in Monſieur *Herbelot*'s *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, under the article *Mouſſe* (43). In the mean time as the character of this lawgiver has been univerſally known by the antients, ſo has it been as much leſſened and blackened by ſome, as it has been exaggerated by others beyond all modeſty and truth, according to their different prejudices and intereſts. *Joſephus* in his book againſt *Apion* (44), has not only recorded, but fully anſwered all that *Manetho* had ſaid to leſſen the glory of it; and what that learned *Jew* has ſaid there, will equally confute what *Juſtin* out of *Trogus* has ſaid of him (45). On the other hand ſome late authors, by comparing what we read of *Moſes* with what the fables tell us of *Bacchus*, *Mercury*, &c. have found ſo near a reſemblance in the characters, that they have not ſcrupled to affirm, that the heathens had applied what they had read of the former to the latter, concerning which the reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the learned *Huetius*'s *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, a work which could hardly have met with ſuch a ſtrenuous and bitter oppoſition from the *Carteſian* philoſophers, had it bore any other title than that of demonſtration.

(42) *Vid. Elleſham rab. in Exod.* xxxiv. *Reb.* Saf. *in loc. Pirke Aboth. Phetirath Moſhe.* Six. Sienn. & *al. ap.* Calm. *dict. ſub. voc.* Moiſe. † *Vid* Vol. II. 561. *at the end of note* (A). (43) *P.* 647. & *ſeq.* (44) *Lib.* i. (45) *Lib.* xxxvi.

month.

month, according to the cuſtom of the nation for the death of any eminent perſon, after which *Joſhua* entered into his office, and ſoon after that into the land of *Canaan*, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next ſection.

In the mean time it will be proper to obſerve here, that the ceremony of circumciſion was diſcontinued during the whole time of their abode in the wilderneſs [y]; for which no proper reaſon can be well aſſigned, unleſs it be either becauſe their frequent moving from place to place would have made it dangerous for thoſe children who were circumciſed before a march, or that, the deſign of circumciſion being to keep the people in from intermingling with other nations, it became leſs neceſſary in the wilderneſs, where they were in leſs danger of ſuch a mixture [z]. But neither of theſe reaſons is ſatisfactory; for as to the firſt, beſides that their marches happened but ſeldom during the laſt thirty eight years, as we obſerved before †, it would have been more ſafe to have diſpenſed with the time, and, inſtead of the eighth day, to have performed it on the next encampment, than to have wholly omitted it, ſeeing there were ſome particular bleſſings belonging to it, which they were deprived of that died without it. For which reaſon therefore it did not become leſs neceſſary, though the preventing a mixture were allowed to have been the main deſign of its inſtitution. For that could not authoriſe them to diſpenſe with a poſitive precept, though none of thoſe neighbouring nations had been circumciſed, which was not the caſe, ſeeing the *Edomites*, and perhaps alſo the *Midianites*, were. But whatever be the reaſon of this omiſſion, one may conclude from it, that that ceremony was not ſo neceſſary to ſalvation as ſome, both *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, have imagined; among the latter of which, ſome have run to ſuch an extreme of ſuperſtition, as to cauſe thoſe children of theirs, that happened to die before they were circumciſed, to receive it before they buried them.

Before we diſmiſs this ſection, it will be expected, no doubt, that we ſhould give ſome account of the order and manner of encamping and marching uſed by the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs, becauſe it is not only curious, but uſeful, in order to underſtand ſeveral places of holy writ that allude to it, both in the old and new teſtament [a], eſpecially in the

[y] Joſh v. 2. & ſeq. [z] Basnag. Rep. Hebr. Tom. I lib iii. c. 3. Le Clerc. Grot. & Saurin, &c. † Vid. ſup. p. 9. [a] See Sir Isaac Newt. Obſerv. upon the prophecies, p. 259. & alib. Med. Clav. prophet. paſſ. & al. prophetical

prophetical books. It is plain from the ſhort account which *Moſes* has left us of it [b], that it was preſcribed to him by God himſelf. And indeed, if we conſider their vaſt multitude, their untoward genius, the great mixture of other nations that joined themſelves to them, and the quantity of lumber which they were forced to carry with them, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that any man, how wiſe and experienced ſoever, could be equal to ſuch a taſk without a ſupernatural aſſiſtance. 'Tis true indeed, that the word *wilderneſs*, by which the ſcene of their forty years wandering is called, ought not to be taken too literally, ſeeing they did generally encamp near inhabited towns and villages, whoſe territories could furniſh them with proviſions for themſelves, and paſture for their cattle, and when that failed, they were often miraculouſly ſupplied; but nevertheleſs, to provide for all other exigencies, which muſt needs be ſuppoſed to happen in ſuch a numberleſs hoſt, to ſettle ſuch excellent order and diſcipline in it, as to prevent confuſion, diſorders, and defection, to breed up ſuch a number of excellent ſoldiers, and to teach them to encamp and decamp, to march and to fight in ſo regular a manner as they did, whatever *Moſes* might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who underſtood doubtleſs as much of the art of war as any other nation then did, ſeems ſtill to have been above the power of a mere man. And this conſideration ſhould, one would think, ſtop the mouths of thoſe who can find nothing of military art worth admiring, except in the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*.

HOWEVER as the ſubject has been copiouſly handled by other pens [c], who have been forced to ſupply the ſuccinct account of *Moſes* out of the writings of the *Talmudiſts* and other antient *Jews*, not to ſay ſometimes out of their own heads; we hope, our readers will eaſily excuſe us from launching farther into theſe particularities, than we have good grounds for from holy writ. Though where we find any thing in the *Talmud*, *Joſephus*, or any of the Rabbies, that carries a face of probability, or gives any light to the account we have in the text, we ſhall venture to give it in a note.

THE text tells us, that *they were to pitch their tents every man by his own camp, tribe, and ſtandard, throughout the whole hoſt: that the tribe of* Levi *was to encamp round the tabernacle, and have the charge and cuſtody of it; and that*

[b] Num. i. 51. & ſeq. [c] BASNAG. ex CUNÆO. Rep Hebr. Tom. II. c 18. CALM. & al.

the

the reſt of the tribes ſhould pitch their ſtandards with the enſigns of their father's houſe round about it, at an equal and convenient diſtance from it[d]. This diſtance, let it have been what it would (L), compoſed not a perfect ſquare, becauſe the tabernacle and its court were oblong, much leſs a circle, as ſome have fancied it, from the word round about taken too literally, but an oblong ſquare, in the centre of which was the tabernacle with its court in length one hundred, and in breadth fifty cubits[e]. Parallel to each of the four ſides of it, and at a proper diſtance between it and the other tribes, was that of *Levi*; along the eaſt end was *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, with the reſt of the family of *Aaron*, at the head of the four claſſes of *Levites*. As for *Moſes*'s pavilion, all that he has told us of it, is only, that it ſtood on the ſame ſide with thoſe of *Aaron*'s children[f]; though we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was in the moſt honourable place of the whole camp, as he was their chief and lawgiver, and neareſt the tabernacle, to which he was obliged to repair upon all emergencies; but whether we may conclude

[d] Num. i. 52. & ſeq. ii. 1, 2. & ſeq. [e] Vid. Exod. xxvii. 18. [f] Num. iii. 38.

(L) The Rabbies affirm this diſtance of the tents of the tribes, except that of *Levi*, to have been two thouſand cubits, which they therefore call a ſabbath-day's journey, becauſe they were not allowed to go farther on that day. This was the diſtance between *Jeruſalem* and the mount of *Olives* (46). This ſpace of two thouſand cubits ſeems well grounded, it being the diſtance which GOD commanded the people to keep from the ark, when they were on their march. They affirm moreover, that there was likewiſe a diſtance of three miles between every tribe, which if true muſt form a ſquare of near thirty ſix miles about. *Joſephus* indeed doth not tell us what that diſtance was, but he calls it a great one, and adds, that there were as ſpacious ſtreets, lanes, markets, ſhops, &c. in the camp, and in as regular an order, as could be ſeen in the moſt polite cities (47). However, the moſt rational *Jews* extend not this diſtance between tribe and tribe beyond two thouſand paces, nor that which each tribe took up beyond four thouſand (48). To which they add, that in the centre of the camp there was a ſpace of eight thouſand paces ſquare, of which the inmoſt four thouſand was for the tabernacle, and the tribe of *Levi*, and the reſidue, which was between theſe and the other tribes, was for paſture ground for their cattle.

(46) *Vid. Acts* i. 12. (47) *Ant. l.* iii. *c.* 12. (48) *Vid.* Baſnag. *ex* Cun. *Rep. Heb. tom.* ii. *c.* 18.

from

from his ſituation, that the tabernacle ſtood eaſt and weſt, that is, with the holy of holies towards the eaſt, and the entrance into it facing the weſt, as *Cunæus* and others do [g], is not very material. 2. On the weſt ſide were the *Gerſhonites* under *Eliſaph* the ſon of *Lael*, in number ſeven thouſand five hundred: 3. The *Kohathites* under *Elizaphan*, the ſon of *Uzziel*, in number eight thouſand ſix hundred: and laſtly, the *Merarites* under *Zuriel*, the ſon of *Abihail*, in number ſix thouſand two hundred; and theſe two laſt encamped along the ſouth and north ſides. All theſe together made an army of twenty two thouſand three hundred. † (M). Each of theſe had their particular functions and charges allotted to them, both as to the worſhip of God, and the cuſtody of the tabernacle, with all its *apparatus*, as may be ſeen by the text [h]. This is all that can be affirmed with any certainty concerning the *Leviticſh* camp, which the Rabbies affect to call *the little hoſt, or camp, of the Lord*; probably becauſe we find that name given to them, where mention is made of *Hezekiah*'s reſtoring them, ---- *to ſing the praiſes of* GOD *within the gates of the Lord*'s *camp* [i], whereas the other tribes are commonly called *the grand army*, or *the great hoſt.*

As the tribe of *Levi* made four ſmall bodies on each ſide the tabernacle, ſo did the other twelve make four large camps parallel to them, each body conſiſting of three tribes. That of *Judah*, whether becauſe it was the moſt conſiderable, it muſtering ſeventy four thouſand ſix hundred fighting

[g] BASNAG. ex CUN. ubi ſup. CALM. & al. † Vid. ſup. p. 28. [h] Numb. iii, & iv. [i] 2 Chron. xxxi. 2.

(M) This tribe was not numbered at the firſt recenſion of the people, but ſome time after. However, if the reader compares the amount of it mentioned in this place (49), with that of the three claſſes of which it conſiſted, he will find that it comes ſhort of the odd three hundred, which are therefore ſuppoſed to have been the firſt born of that tribe, and therefore out of the caſe. And as the *Levites* were choſen out inſtead of the firſt-born of all the tribes, when the number of the former came to be taken, and was found to fall ſhort of the firſt-born of the latter by two hundred eighty three, this overplus was redeemed at the rate of five ſhekels of the ſanctuary, and the money given to the ſons of *Aaron* (50).

(49) *Num. iii.* 39. Munſt. *in loc.* (50) *Numb. iii.* 41. & *ſeq. Vid.*

men, or in consideration of the sceptre, or the *Messiah*, being promised to it, had the post of honour, and encamped on the east side behind the priests at the head of two other tribes; namely, that of *Issachar*, consisting of fifty four thousand four hundred, and that of *Zebulun*, of fifty seven thousand four hundred men; so that this body amounted to one hundred eighty six thousand four hundred fighting men; but whether he encamped on the right hand of the other two tribes, as the *Jews* think, or which is more probable, seeing he was as it were their head and general, in the centre betwixt them, is neither certain nor material; the same may be said also of the heads of the other three bodies.

REUBEN was at the head of the next body, and his camp on the south side; his tribe consisted of forty six thousand five hundred men, and *Simeon* with fifty nine thousand three hundred, and *Gad* with forty five thousand six hundred and fifty, marched under his banner; this body consisted of one hundred fifty one thousand four hundred and fifty.

THE next was *Ephraim* at the head of forty thousand five hundred of his own tribe, under whom *Manasseh* led thirty two thousand two hundred, and *Benjamin* thirty five thousand four hundred, in all one hundred eight thousand one hundred; these encamped on the west side.

THE last was the tribe of *Dan* with sixty two thousand seven hundred, with that of *Asher*, consisting of forty one thousand five hundred, and *Naphtali*, of fifty three thousand four hundred, in all one hundred fifty seven thousand six hundred, and these were on the north side of the tabernacle. Thus the *Israelitish* host amounted to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty fighting men, exclusive of the *Levites*. To which if we add the old men above sixty, and the young men under twenty, their wives, daughters, servants, slaves, and strangers, which, as we shewed before, amounted in the whole to little less than three millions, their vast number of cattle, waggons, and other lumber, the least space that can be allowed for such a prodigious camp must be above twenty miles, though we supposed the spaces between each tribe, to have been much less than the *Jewish* doctors affirm (N).

THESE

(N) This prodigious camp is by the antient *Jews* called threefold, whereof the tabernacle with its precinct is called the *camp of the divine Majesty*, the next the *camp of* Levi, and the largest the *camp*

THESE four large bodies had each their general ſtandard (O), to which their own and the other tribes were to repair; under theſe were twelve more, one to every tribe, and under theſe again were thoſe of all the heads of families, amounting to fifty ſeven, according to *Moſes*'s own account [k]; and indeed leſs than that number cannot be ſuppoſed. What the colours, emblems, and devices of thoſe enſigns were, neither *Moſes* nor any inſpired writer has told us. The Rabbies have ſupplied all thoſe defects very plentifully; but though they are not always to be depended upon, yet ſome particulars they have given us, relating to thoſe of the four main bodies and thoſe of the twelve tribes, ſeem not to be ill grounded. Of the firſt they tell us, that *Judah* had the emblem of a lion, with this device, *Let* GOD *ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered* [l]; but the latter ſeems more proper for the enſign of *Levi*, if any belonged to that tribe, which is not improbable, becauſe thoſe were the words which were uſed by the *Levites*, when the ark was removing. As for the lion, it is the em-

[k] Num. ii. & xxvi. paſſ. [l] Pſal. lxviii. 1.

camp of Iſrael, and may well enough be compared to a cathedral in the heart of a city, round which are the biſhop, dean, canons, and inferior clergy, and round them the laity. The *Gemarrah* affirms (51), that it took up twelve miles in length and breadth, which they infer from that place in *Numbers* (52), where it is ſaid, that they pitched by *Jordan*, from *Beth jeſimoth*, even unto *Abelſhittim* in the plain of *Moab*, which, they ſay, is the diſtance between thoſe two places; but here we think there is no need of making the *Jewiſh* miles ſhorter than ours, as a certain author has done (53), without any foundation, only to juſtify the *Gemarriſts*, conſidering what a vaſt quantity of empty ground they allow between every tribe for paſture ground, and the like.

(O) The *Chaldee* and *Septuagint* have indeed rendered the original word נֵדֶל *Gedel*, enſign or ſtandard, the former by תקס, borrowed perhaps from the *Greek* τάξις, גבר על תקפה, and the latter by τάγμα. Ἄνθρωπος ἐχόμενος κατὰ τάγμα αὐτοῦ, every man to his own order, ſtation or rank, which phraſe the apoſtle doth ſeem to apply in a ſenſe ſomewhat different from this (54). However it is plain, that thoſe verſions muſt have ſuppoſed ſome ſuch thing as ſtandards ſet up in full ſight; without which it would have been impoſſible for them to repair every one to their own tribe and family.

(51) *Tract.* סטוה, *cap* 1 *ap.* Goodwin, *Moſ. & Aar. l.* vi *cap.* 8. § 4. *vote* 1. (52) *Ch.* xxxiii. 49. (53) Goodwin, *ibid.* (54) 1 *Cor.* xv. 23. *Vid.* Goodwin *ubi ſup.*

blem by which *Jacob* repreſented the tribe of *Judah* in his laſt will [m]; but they add, that it was painted of three colours on the ſtandard [n]. *Reuben*'s enſign had the figure of a man, to which ſome add that of a mandrake, alluding to thoſe he found in the fields when a boy [o]. That of *Ephraim* was an ox or calf, and ſeems to be taken from the words of *Moſes*'s bleſſing to that tribe; *his glory is like the firſtling of his bullock* [p]. To the tribe of *Dan* they gave an eagle, which agrees neither with *Moſes*'s bleſſing, which compares him to a lion's whelp, nor to that of *Jacob*, which compares him to a ſerpent in the way. However, in order to make it agree with the latter, they pretend, that the eagle was painted holding a ſerpent in his claws [q]; but we have ſtill a better authority for theſe four emblems, namely, 1. The viſion of *Ezekiel* [r], which is univerſally allowed to allude to it. 2. The pſalmiſt repreſenting the congregation of *Iſrael* under theſe emblems [s] (P), and laſtly, St. *John* in his apocalypſe repreſenting the faithful by the four beaſts about the throne of GOD, crying night and day, *holy, holy* [t], and ſo on; from which it is moſt likely, that the four evangeliſts came afterwards to have the ſame emblems more particularly appropriated to them.

THAT every tribe had beſides their particular ſtandard of a different colour, and with a different emblem, and motto, if they uſed any ſo early, can hardly be queſtioned, and that

[m] Gen. xlix. 9. [n] Ita RR. JONATH. ABR. Ben Levi. Cabal Hiſtor. ap. Cunæum. ubi ſupr. [o] Gen. xxx. 14. [p] Deut. xxxiii. 17. [q] Vid. ABEN EZRA & FAG. in Num. ii. [r] Ch. i. 10. [s] Pſ. lxviii [t] Revel. iv. 6 & 7.

(P) The pſalmiſt here deſcribes the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth, particularly whilſt in the wilderneſs, their marches, encampments, order, and many other circumſtances, in a moſt elegant and poetic manner, and amongſt other alluſions uſed there, he repreſents it under that of חַיָּה, *Hajah* (55), which our verſion rightly enough renders congregation, but in the original doth properly ſignify *life*, beaſt, or living creature; and being compared to that which is mentioned in *Ezekiel*, which had all theſe four figures, of a man, lion, ox, and eagle, is juſtly concluded to allude to theſe four general ſtandards, repreſenting the *Iſraelitiſh* congregation, as it doth that of the faithful under *Chriſt* in the revelations (56).

(55) *Pſal. lxxiii.* 10. (56) *Vid* Mede. *Sir* Iſaac Newton, *in Apocal.* Tremel. L'abbadie & *al. in Ezek. i.* 10.

theſe

theſe two laſt might be taken from thoſe alluſions which *Jacob* made uſe of in his laſt bleſſing, is far from improbable; and thus for inſtance, *Naphtali* might have a large tree, or a hind, in his enſign †, *Iſſachar* an aſs couching under his burthen, *Benjamin* a wolf [u], and ſo on, beyond which we dare not venture to affirm any thing (Q), much leſs concerning the enſigns of the principal families, which other authors have thought fit to give us [w]. One thing more however is certain, that they had likewiſe a ſeparate camp for lepers, for thoſe who had running ſores, or any infirmities of that nature, or had defiled themſelves by touching a dead body, and the like; all which were excluded from this grand one [x]. Some other orders *Moſes* gave them to preſerve cleanlineſs and decency, which need not be dwelt upon.

† Vid. Vol. II. p. 446 note (O). [u] Gen. xlix. 14, 21, 27, &c. See alſo an antient apocryphal book called the Teſtament of the Twelve Patriarchs. [w] Baſnag. ubi ſupr. CALM. & al. [x] Numb. v. 1. & ſeq.

(Q) The Rabbies add, from what authority is more than we can gueſs, many other particulars relating to thoſe twelve ſtandards; as firſt, that their colour anſwered to that of the twelve ſtones in the breaſt-plate of the high-prieſt (57), on which the name of each tribe was engraven; but the misfortune is, that they are far from agreeing in aſſigning the names and colour of thoſe ſtones; beſides, another difficulty ariſes which they do not anſwer, which is, that *Levi* had its own name and ſtone, which they affirm to have been, ſome a beril, others a ſaphire, &c, on the breaſt-plate, though it be not here numbered with the other twelve, but inſtead of it, that of *Joſeph* is divided into *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*. Concerning the four grand ſtandards they add, that each of them had three letters taken from the names of their three firſt patriarchs *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*. *Judah* had א י י, *A. I. I. Reuben* ב ג ע, *B. TZ H. Ephraim* ר ח ה, *R. CH K.* and *Dan* מ ק ב, *M. K. B.* But theſe, with the learned interpretations of them, as well as ſome other wonderful things which they do tell us of this camp, ſuch as that, wherever they pitched it, there ſprang up a fountain before the tabernacle, which divided itſelf into ſtreams, which ran through and ſupplied every tribe with water, which we have elſewhere confuted †: that the miraculous pillar which went before them did lower the mountains, raiſe the vallies, &c to make the way eaſier for them, with many more of the like nature, we willingly leave to thoſe who have either a *Jewiſh* faith to believe, or a *Jewiſh* conſcience to retail them.

(57) *Vid.* R. Jonath. *paraph. in Num ii.* 5. † *Vid. Vol. II. p.* 544. *note* (T).

As to the order of their decamping and marching, of their engaging in battle, and ſuch like, as they are more particularly preſcribed by *Moſes*, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the principal heads relating to each of them, and removing ſome few difficulties that occur; and refer our readers for the more circumſtantial parts to the text itſelf, and to thoſe who have treated on them more at large [y].

IN their decamping, whilſt in the wilderneſs, the firſt thing they were to obſerve was the ſignal from the miraculous pillar, of which we have already ſpoken †, which *Moſes* immediately took care to have communicated throughout the camp by two ſilver trumpets made by GOD's command [z]; and becauſe theſe were uſed for other ſignals, ſuch as the calling the elders to the tabernacle, proclaiming of anniverſary feſtivals, and the like; they were differently blown according to the ſignal they were to give, that is, for inſtance, ſingly when to call the elders; jointly when to call the whole congregation; with a conſtant and even ſound when they proclaimed a march; and with a tremulous interrupted one, when they ſounded to battle. To theſe the apoſtle ſeems to allude, when he ſays. *If the trumpet gives an uncertain ſound, who will prepare to battle* [a]? As ſoon therefore as the firſt ſignal was given for marching, every tribe ſet about making ready for it, and this took up ſome conſiderable time, eſpecially to the prieſts and *Levites* [b], who had the tabernacle with all its utenſils to take down, cover, and pack up (R), and

[y] Vid. BASNAG. ubi ſupr. c. xix. † Vid. Vol II. p. 529.
[z] Numb. x. 1. & ſeq. [a] 1 Cor. xiv. 8. [b] Vid Numb. iv. & alib.

(R) There ariſes a difficulty between the command here given about the taking down the tabernacle, with the vail, and covering, &c. and the prohibition for any but the high-prieſt to go into the ſanctuary, ſince even he was not allowed to enter it above once a year (58). This ſeeming contradiction is generally ſolved by the common anſwer, that GOD can diſpenſe with his own laws. Others confine the entrance, permitted here to the ſons of *Aaron*, only to the holy place, whilſt the high-prieſt alone went into the moſt holy one, to take down the vail, cover the ark, &c. and this ſeems probable enough by comparing what is commanded in the 4th and 10th chapter of *Numbers*, if we can ſuppoſe one ſingle perſon, and he not over young, to have been ſufficient for all this. But a learned critic has given us another

(58) *Exod. xxx.* 10. *Levit, xvi.* 2. & *ſeq. Heb.* 9. 7.

ſolution,

and ſet part upon waggons for that purpoſe, and part to be carried upon men's ſhoulders (S). By that time the *Levites* had got every thing ready for the march, the ſecond ſignal was given; for it is not to be doubted, but the other tribes could be ſooner in readineſs than they; and then all that bore arms repaired to their ſtandards, whilſt the invalids, women, children, and carriages marched towards the rear. Upon the next ſignal the tribe of *Judah*, at the head of the other two that belonged to his camp, began to march; and theſe were followed, according to the moſt general opinion, by the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites*, who guarded the waggons loaded with

ſolution, which we think is more ſatisfactory ſtill (59), which is, that this entrance was only forbidden whilſt the tabernacle was ſet up, and the cloud which was the known ſymbol of the divine preſence, continued to cover the holy place, but when that was removed, and the ark or mercy-ſeat had been covered, or perhaps ſhut up in ſome proper repoſitory ‡, then it might be lawful for the inferior prieſts to come in, and aſſiſt the high-prieſt and his ſons in the removal of the reſt.

S) Another ſeeming contradiction is, where it is ſaid, that as ſoon as the ark was covered, which was to be with a treble covering, they ſhould put in the ſtaves of it (60). Whereas it is ſaid elſewhere (61), that the ſtaves ſhould never be taken out; beſides, how was it poſſible to put them in, after the ark had been packed up in ſo many coverings. Some therefore inſtead of *they ſhall put in*, read, *they ſhall lay, or put on*, the ſtaves, namely, upon men's ſhoulders; but ſince the original may as properly be rendered, *and they ſhall let the ſtaves abide in*, that is, they ſhall cover it over without taking them out, probably leſt the ark might be ſeen through the holes of the covering through which the ſtaves muſt afterwards have been put in; there is no occaſion to ſeek for a better ſolution than this, as the author above quoted juſtly obſerves (62). All the other utenſils of the tabernacle had likewiſe their particular coverings, under which they were carried, as the moſt proper way to ſtrike an awe upon the people. And therefore the opinion of thoſe who think, that the ark was uncovered, when carried in proceſſion round the walls of *Jericho*, and into the camp of *Iſrael*, by the two ſons of *Eli*, ſeems ſomewhat abſurd, eſpecially conſidering, what terrible puniſhments were denounced and actually inflicted on thoſe who ventured to look upon it. It is therefore more probable, that it had, in ſuch caſes at leaſt, a ſky-blue covering thrown over it. But this by the by.

(59) Baſnag. *ubi ſupr.* ‡ *See the next note.* (60) *Numb.* iv. 6. (61) *Exod.* xxv. 15. (62) Baſnag. *ibid.*

the

the boards, ſkins, and pillars belonging to the tabernacle. Upon the next ſignal, *Reuben* and his two tribes began to move; after whom came the *Kohathites*, bearing the ark, altar, table, and other utenſils upon their ſhoulders, ſo that by that time they were got to their journey's end, the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites* had ſet up the tabernacle, and got all things ready for their reception (T). The ark and its bearers were guarded by the tribes of *Ephraim*, *Benjamin*, and *Manaſſeh*, as ſoon as the third ſignal was given. To this alludes that of the Pſalmiſt [c], *Thou that ſitteſt between the cherubims ſhine forth before* Ephraim, Benjamin, *and* Manaſſeh. Laſt of all came the tribes of *Dan*, *Aſher*, and *Naphtali*, eſcorting the invalids that none might be left behind. For which reaſon this body is called the rear-ward, or, as our margins more properly word it, the *gathering hoſt* [d]. However, it is plain, that this order was not always obſerved; for firſt, with reſpect to the ark, there are ſome places where it is ſaid, it went before them [e] upon ſome emergencies; and with reſpect to the whole body, though they kept this excellent order of marching in columns, as often as the lands through which they paſſed would permit it; yet when they were obliged to croſs whole ridges of mountains, they were then forced to make the beſt of their way, ſome over heights, others through the valleys, preſerving ſtill the beſt order they could

[c] Pſal. lxxx. 1. 2. [d] Joſh. vi. 9. Vid. MUNST: in loc. GOODWIN's Moſ. & Aaron. lib. vi. c. 4. art. 3. See alſo Numb. x. 21. & ſeq. [e] See Numb. x. 33. Joſh. iii. 6.

(T) It is not eaſy to gueſs how far ſuch a camp may be ſuppoſed to go in a day, by marching in that regular manner: an author often quoted upon this ſubject (63) has pretended to prove, that they did not exceed two miles a day, from what is ſaid of one of their marches (64), that they took up three days in going from *Sinai* to *Kibbroth-hattaavah*, which, he ſays, is not reckoned above ſix miles, according to the calculation of ſeveral authors. But who knows how far this ſmall progreſs might be owing to the ruggedneſs of the ways, to ſome mountains interpoſing, or to ſome other reaſon not taken notice of by the hiſtorian; this therefore can by no means be an argument, that they never marched farther in one day, ſeeing in an open country ſuch an army might eaſily march above ſix times that ground, if not more.

(63) *Id. Ibid.* (64) *Numb. x.* 33.

far

for their own ſafety (V). All that can be added upon this ſubject is, that when the ark was taking up for the march, *Moſes* uſed to ſay, *Ariſe, O Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee*; and when the prieſts ſet it down, he ſaid, *Return, O Lord, unto the many thouſands of* Iſrael [f]. Theſe words are ſtill uſed to this day by the *Jews*, when they fetch the roll of the law out of its repoſitory, and when they carry it thither again.

CONCERNING their method of engaging with their enemies, order of battle, and the like, we have nothing certain, but what has already been occaſionally mentioned before. Such as the having one prieſt anointed to be conſulted by *Urim*, inſtead of the high-prieſt, who never went to the wars, the *Amarcol*, or exhorting prieſt, who is thought to be the ſame with the former by ſome authors [g], and whoſe ſpeech, at leaſt the ſubſtance of it, has been preſerved to us by the antient *Jews* (W): all that we can ſay farther on this head

[f] Numb. x. 35, 36. [g] CALMET & BASNAG. ubi ſupr.

(V) If it be objected here, that it was unſafe and impolitic to leave the women, children, invalids, and all their baggage in the rear, where they had been once attacked by the *Amalekites* as we have ſeen before †, all that can be anſwered to this is, that when they had once croſſed the *Red-ſea* and ſeen an end of their enemies, they thought themſelves ſafe on that ſide, and conſequently appointed that order of marching, which was certainly the moſt convenient where it could be followed with ſafety. But we need not doubt, but whenever they had any reaſon to apprehend being attacked in the rear, they placed them nearer to the van-guard. Neither do we meet with any other inſtance of ſuch an attack, for thoſe other nations with whom they had any encounters always came in front, and endeavoured to obſtruct their paſſage. However, though we have ſpoken in this the ſentiments of thoſe who have wrote upon the ſubject, yet we are far from thinking it improbable, that the wives, children, and moſt valuable baggage might march either with each body to which it belonged, or in the ſpaces that were between them whenever the ground permitted it

(W) Among other remarkable things in this ſpeech, were thoſe that follow: *Hear, O* Iſrael, —— *you are now going to engage, not againſt your brethren, not one tribe againſt another, by whom, if you chanced to be taken, you might expect to be uſed with mercy*: ——

† *Vid.* Vol. II. p. 153. 545.

Their manner of engaging.

head with any certainty is, that, as ſoon as the trumpets had given the ſignal for the engagement, the combatants gave a great ſhout and fell immediately upon their enemies [h]; an inſtance of which we find ſome time after, when they went to engage the *Philiſtines* [i]. This was no leſs practiſed by the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other warlike nations, who often increaſed the horrid noiſe with knocking their weapons againſt their ſhields [k]. With relation to their beſieging of towns we are ſtill more in the dark; all therefore that can be added here is, what the *Jews* tell us from a paſſage in *Joſhua* [l], that when he ſent to offer peace to the cities of *Canaan* before he entered it, he diſpatched three expreſſes to them: the firſt was to permit thoſe who had a mind to leave the country, to depart; the ſecond was to offer peace to thoſe that would make peace with him, and the laſt, to declare war againſt thoſe that refuſed the two former offers [m].

[h] Vid. CUN. & GOODWIN, ubi ſup. & JOSEPH. de Bell. Jud. lib. 3. ſupr. [i] Vid, 1 Sam. iv. 5. [k] POLYB. vid. CUN. ubi ſupr. [l] JOSH. xi. 19, 20. [m] GOODWIN ubi ſupr.

but againſt your enemies, into whoſe hands if it be your misfortune to fall, you muſt expect no quarter: .. let not your courage fail you; let not the neighing of their horſes, the brightneſs of their ſpears, the clattering of their ſhields, or the ſound of their trumpets diſhearten you —— God is in the midſt of you;—— your foes come againſt you with an arm of fleſh, but you truſt in the ſtrength of the Almighty; and ſo on (65). Part of this ſpeech we find to have been certainly dictated by *Moſes* (66), but whether the reſt was ſo or not, we dare not affirm. However, one thing is worth obſerving with reſpect to theſe words, *Thou art not going to engage againſt thy brethren, from whom thou mighteſt expect mercy*; that the tribe of *Judah* having been captivated by thoſe of *Iſrael*, ſo long after as in *Ahaz*'s reign, and theſe ready to uſe their captives with the ſame ſeverity as they did ſtrangers, a prophet of the Lord did ſtrenuouſly oppoſe it, and made the conquerors cloath, feed and anoint them, and ſend them back to their brethren (67).

(65) *Trad.* סוטה *cap. viii. vid.* GOODW. *Moſ. & Aar. lib. iv. c.* 8. § 14. (66) *Deut. xx.* 2. *& ſeq.* (67) *Vid. 2 Chron.* xxviii. 8, *& ſeq.*

SECT.

The Camp of the Israelites according to Reyherus

THE CAMP OF THE ISRAELITES

WEST
108100

THE CAMP OF EPHRAIM

Tribe of EPHRAIM 40500.	*Tribe of* MANASSEH 32200.	*Tribe of* BENJAMIN 35400.

Tribe of DAN 62700.

THE CAMP OF REUBEN
SOUTH
151450

Tribe of GAD 45650.

Tribe of SIMEON 59300.

Tribe of REUBEN 46500.

GERSHONITES 7500.
The Camp of God
Ally Levites 22000
KOHATHITES
MERARITES
The Tabernacle
Moses
Aaron

Tribe of ASHER 41500.

Tribe of NAPTHALI 53400.

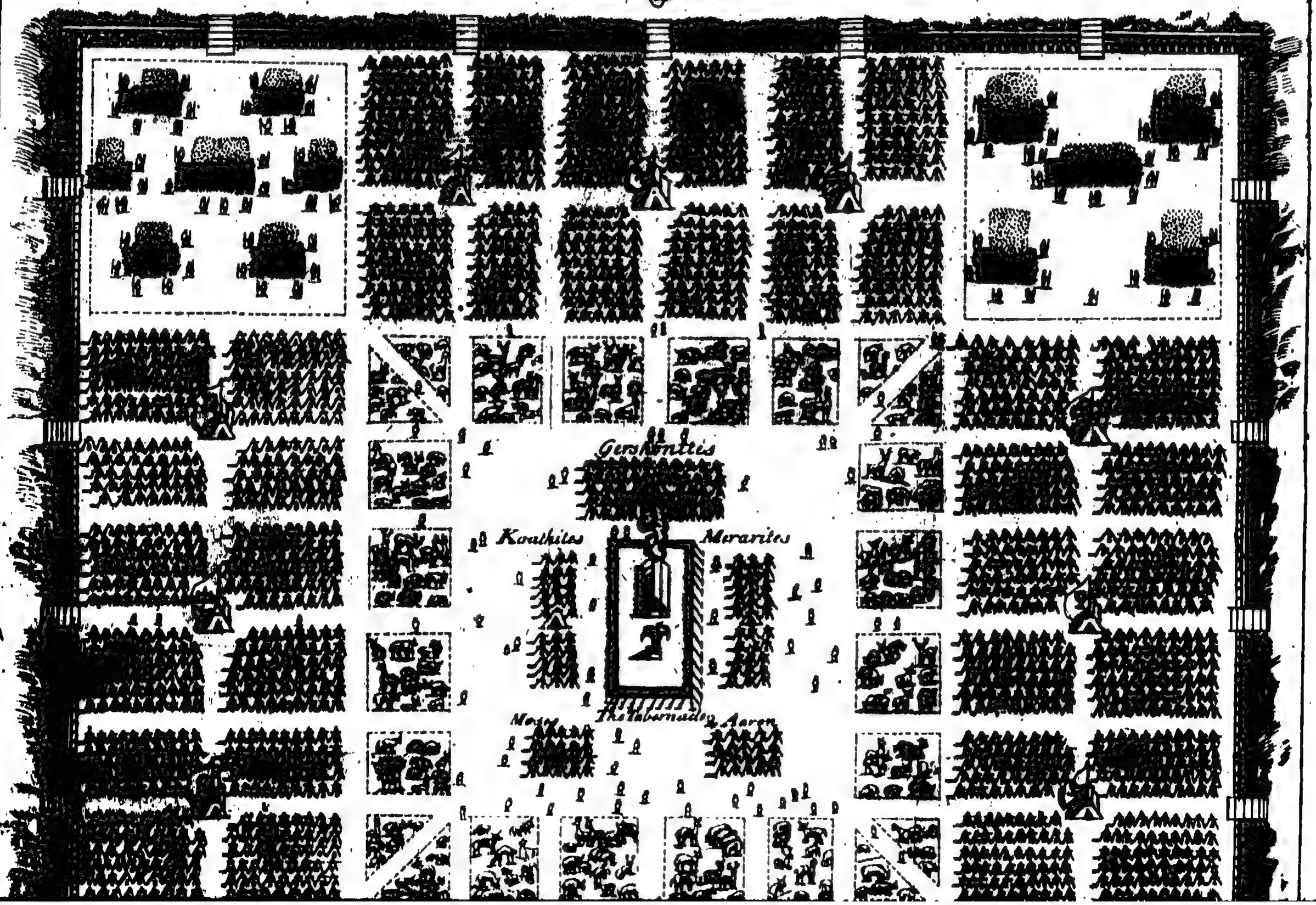
THE CAMP OF DAN
NORTH
157600

Tribe of ZABULON 57400.

Tribe of ISSACHAR 54400.

Tribe of JUDAH 74600.

THE CAMP OF JUDAH
186400
EAST



THE CAMP OF REUBEN
SOUTH
151450

THE CAMP OF DAN
NORTH
157600

THE CAMP OF JUDAH
EAST
186400

Tribe of EPHRAIM 40500

Tribe of MANASSEH 32200

Tribe of BENJAMIN 35400

Tribe of DAN 62700

GERSHONITES 7500

The Camp of God

Tribe of GAD 45650

Tribe of ASHER 41300

Ally Levites 22000

KOHATHITES

MERARITES

The Tabernacle

Moses

Aaron

Tribe of SIMEON 59300

Tribe of NAPTHALI 53400

Tribe of REUBEN 46500

Tribe of ZABULON 57400

Tribe of ISSACHAR 54400

Tribe of JUDAH 74600

The Camp of the Israelites according to Lamy

D. P. sculp.

SECT. III.

The HISTORY *of the* Jews *under* Joſhua.

The deſcription, conqueſt, and partition of the land of Canaan.

THE *Iſraelitiſh* camp continued at *Shittim*, near the river *Jordan*, and in ſight of the land of *Canaan*, during the days of mourning for *Moſes*, and the people, whom a forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, under a diſcipline intermixed with the greateſt tenderneſs and ſeverity, had rendered more tractable, and more ſenſible of GOD's paternal care, were only waiting for the ſignal for paſſing over the river *Jordan*; when their new general received freſh and repeated promiſes of the divine aſſiſtance in the conqueſt of the promiſed land [n]. Nothing leſs than ſuch an aſſurance could indeed have ſupported *Joſhua*'s courage in ſo arduous a task. He was now ninety three years of age, and had been trained up under *Moſes* at leaſt one third part of that time, ſo that he wanted neither experience nor ſagacity to foreſee all the difficulties he was to encounter with. He ſaw himſelf indeed at the head of ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, but on the other hand his army was clogged with an innumerable multitude of old men, women, and children, beſides ſervants, cattle, and other incumbrances. The very firſt ſtep he was to take was the croſſing of a large river, in doing which he knew himſelf equally expoſed to the arms of thoſe whom he went to attack, and thoſe whom he left behind. The nations he was to ſubdue were naturally warlike, of a gigantic ſtature and ſtrength, their towns well fortified by nature and art, their forces and intereſt united by the ſtrongeſt ties and alliances; they had all long ago taken the alarm, and had made the greateſt preparations againſt him, reſolved either to obſtruct his conqueſt, or loſe their lives in the defence of their country [o].

Year of the Flood, 1548. Year before Chriſt, 1451.

The ſtate of the hoſt of Iſrael.

THIS was the ſituation of the *Canaanites* and of *Joſhua*'s affairs, when he received the divine ſignal to prepare for the glorious conqueſt. His firſt care therefore was to make choice of two proper perſons to go privily to the land of *Jericho*, and examine what condition their cities and people were in. Theſe ſoon ſet out for this perilous expedition, and, having

Two ſpies ſent to Jericho.

[n] Joſh. i. [o] Ibid. ix. 1, 2. & ſeq. x. & ſeq. paſſ.

happily croſſed the *Jordan*, went and lodged at an inn-keeper's houſe (X) named *Rahab*, where they had not been long,

(X) We have ventured to give *Rahab* a more favourable appellative than moſt verſions have done, who make no ſcruple to call her a harlot; though it is plain, that the word זונה *Zonah*, doth as properly ſignify an *inn-keeper*, or *one who ſelleth victuals and drink, as a harlot*; for it is derived from the root זון *Zon*, which ſignifies *to give food*, and is the feminine participle active of that verb. And in this we have followed the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, which renders it by the word פונדקיתא, from פונדק, *an inn* (68); in which he is alſo followed by ſome of the moſt learned *Jews* who paraphraſe the word here by מוכרת מזון *Mokereth-mazon*, *a ſeller of victuals* (69); and *Kimchi* allows, that it may be rendered either way (70); to which we may add, that the *Septuagint*, and after them St *James*, have made uſe of the *Greek* word πόρνη, which is capable of both ſignifications, namely, *of a victualler* or *a harlot*, as *Junius* has fully proved it (71). And indeed, as the word in its primitive ſenſe doth properly ſignify the former, it is not unlikely that the freedoms which thoſe kind of women were wont to allow to their cuſtomers, might give birth to the latter ſignification, and, from an hoſteſs or a victualler, come in time to ſignify a harlot. But as it doth not appear by the text, that ſhe did drive both theſe trades, but rather the contrary, the faith which ſhe expreſſed in God, and her behaviour to his two ſervants, might well deſerve to have the moſt favourable conſtruction put upon her profeſſion. To which we may add, that it is not likely, that *Salmon* would, or indeed could, afterwards have lawfully married her, if ſhe had been ſuch a public woman; he who was a prince of the houſe of *Judah*, and one of the *Meſſiah*'s anceſtors.

However we do not pretend to enter into a ſcrutiny, how far her hoſpitality to her two gueſts was blameable or praiſe-worthy, or how far ſhe was guilty of betraying her country; much leſs ſhall we take upon us to juſtify the lye ſhe told the king's officers, as ſome have done with more zeal than diſcretion (72); but thus much may be ſaid on her behalf, ſetting even aſide her faith for which ſhe is commended in the goſpel; that if ſhe had heard of the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, *Sihon*, and *Og*, the king of *Jericho* could not be ignorant of it. It was therefore as natural for her to be terrified at it, and to provide for her ſafety, as it was for him to make a brave reſiſtance, or periſh in the attempt. To this we may add, that if what the ſcripture ſeems to intimate plainly enough, be true, that *Joſhua* was obliged to offer peace, before he made uſe of the ſword againſt any of the *Canaaniti∫h* nations †, it was as

(68) *Vid* ערוך *ſeu Lexic R Nathan.* (69) R. R. Salom. Jona. Levi Ben. Geriſh. *vid* & Munſt. *in loc.* (70) *In Rad.* (71) *Vid. Jun. in Epiſt. Jacob. ii.* 25, (72) *Vid. inter al.* Tremel. *in loc.* † *See before, p* 17. *note* (P).

lawful

long, before a ſtrict ſearch was made after them, by order of the alarmed king of *Jericho*. Their fear however was ſoon diſpelled by their hoſpitable hoſteſs, who ſent away the ſearchers by telling them out of her window, that two ſtrangers had indeed refreſhed themſelves at her houſe, but that they were gone ſince towards ſun-ſet, and might be eaſily taken if cloſely purſued. Their backs were no ſooner turned, than ſhe went to the two ſpies, to whom ſhe freely owned the panic dread that had ſeized not only that city, but all the land of *Canaan*, at the news of what the GOD of *Iſrael* had done in favour of their nation, both at the *Red-ſea*, and againſt thoſe kingdoms which they had ſo lately conquered. To this ſhe added, that being now fully perſuaded, that he was the only true GOD, againſt whoſe decrees all oppoſition would be not only vain, but dangerous, ſhe was now ready to ſave them from their imminent danger, upon condition they ſwore to ſave her and her family, when they became maſters of the city. An offer ſo generous and unexpected, joyned to ſo candid a confeſſion, could not deſerve a leſs reward, and the two ſpies, who in the condition they were in, would have purchaſed their ſafety upon much harder terms, were not long before they gave her all the deſired aſſurance, that not only ſhe and her family, but all that were found in her houſe at the taking of the city, ſhould be exempted from the common ruin. She kept them hid the remaining part of the time under ſome hempen ſtocks, and about midnight let them down by a rope out of one of her back-windows, which was contiguous to the city-wall, after ſhe had charged them to keep themſelves concealed in ſome cliff of the neighbouring mountains for two or three days, till their purſuers were returned home. Before they took their leave they agreed, that ſhe

Concealed by Rahab.

They ſwear to ſave her and hers.

lawful for her or any other ſubject to accept it, as it was glorious for a monarch to refuſe it. At leaſt we think, that the refuſal of ſuch advantageous terms from an irreſiſtible conqueror, at the riſk of being all infallibly maſſacred by him, for the ſake of a king, who, for ought that appears to the contrary, might be but a petty tyrant, and of a people whom fear had rendered incapable of making a defence, when perhaps the difference between being under the natural monarch, if he was really ſuch, or under the conqueror, was either inconſiderable, or, it may be, on the ſide of the latter; ſuch a refuſal, we ſay, would have been an inſtance of patriotiſm that could hardly be expected from a *Canaanite*, much leſs from ſuch a young inn-keeper as *Rahab* muſt have been, ſince ſhe was the mother of *Boaz* above thirty years after, as *Junius* has fully ſhewn in the place above quoted.

ſhould

ſhould hang a ſcarlet line out of her window, which ſhould be a ſignal to them, and a ſafeguard to her houſe. The risk they had run put a ſtop to their farther progreſs, and what they had learned at *Jericho* made it as needleſs as dangerous; ſo that, having happily eſcaped all further diſcovery, they returned to their camp on the third day, and related to *Joſhua* all that had happened to them [p], who could not but applaud himſelf, that he had made ſo much better choice than *Moſes* had done before upon the like occaſion.

Return to the camp and make their report.

THE conſternation, which they told him had overſpread itſelf throughout that whole land, was univerſally looked upon as a ſure omen of their future ſucceſs, and *Joſhua* failed not to improve it, by aſſuring them, that it was GOD himſelf who had injected ſuch a terror among their enemies, and that they had now nothing to do but to fight valiantly under his banner and protection. He then reminded the two tribes and half of their former promiſe of aſſiſting their brethren in the conqueſt of the land, and they on their part as readily promiſed to obey his orders at the peril of their lives [q]. However, as thoſe tribes compoſed an army of upwards of an hundred thouſand fighting men, *Joſhua* contented himſelf with leſs than one half, and left the reſt to defend their new poſſeſſions and families. After this he cauſed it to be proclaimed through the camp, that they ſhould paſs over *Jordan* within three days, during which time they ſhould make proviſion for victuals, ſeeing the manna was to ceaſe as ſoon as they had ſet foot on the other ſhore, and had taſted the bread of that country, as it actually did †; and then gave the ſignal for marching from *Shittim* to the neighbouring ſhore of that river.

They prepare to march towards Jordan.

As ſoon as they were encamped there, *Joſhua* ſent and communicated to every tribe the order that was to be obſerved in this ſolemn march. The prieſts bearing the ark were to begin the proceſſion, and as ſoon as their feet touching the water had opened a miraculous way [r] to them, each tribe was to follow in the ſame order as they had obſerved in all their marches, keeping however the awful diſtance, preſcribed of two thouſand cubits, from that ſacred ſymbol of the divine preſence *, whilſt thoſe that bore it were to continue in the middle of the river, till the whole hoſt of *Iſrael* had got ſafe to the other ſhore.

The order of croſſing that river.

To inſpire the people ſtill with a greater regard for this wonderful paſſage, they were commanded to ſanctify themſelves,

[p] Joſh. ii. [q] Ibid. i. 12. & ſeq. † Ibid. v. 12. [r] Ibid iii. 13. * Ibid ver. 4.

as had been formerly done upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions †, by waſhing their cloaths, avoiding all impurities, and abſtaining from matrimonial intercourſe, on the eve of their march. He charged likewiſe every tribe to ſend a man to him, to be ready to execute ſuch orders as he ſhould give them on the morrow; which was no ſooner come, than the prieſts began their march towards the river, and the people made themſelves ready to follow them in two columns, one above, and the other below, the ark. This march happened on a friday, on the tenth day of the firſt month *Niſan*, which anſwers to our thirtieth of *April*, and was the day on which the lamb was to be choſen and ſet by for the paſſover [r], about which time the waters of *Jordan*, being uſually ſwelled by the melting of the ſnows of the *Lebanon* and other neighbouring mountains, ſeldom or never failed to overflow its banks. As ſoon therefore as the prieſts that bare the ark had touched the extremity of it with their feet, GOD, who had promiſed to ſignalize their new general here, in as miraculous a manner as he had done their old one at the *Red-ſea*, cauſed the waters of the river from above to go back, and to riſe up in heaps far beyond the city of *Adam*, which is beſide that of *Zaretan* (Y), whilſt thoſe below, continuing their courſe towards the *ſea of the plain*, otherwiſe called the *Salt*, or *Dead-ſea*, opened a paſſage of about ſixteen or eighteen miles in breadth to the *Iſraelites*, till they were all got ſafe to the other ſide.

Which divides itſelf to open a dry paſſage.

† Vid. Vol. II. p. 411. & 548. [r] USHER's Ann. p. 25.

(Y) This city was afterwards called *Zeredathah*. It belonged to the tribe of *Ephraim*, and became famous for the fine copper-works which *Hiram* did caſt there for the temple of *Solomon* (73). As for the city of *Adam*, though ſome geographers place it upon the *Dead-ſea*, that is, below the place where the waters divided themſelves (74), it is plain from the text, that it was above it towards *Scythopolis*; ſo that if the place where they croſſed was about *Bethabara*, where *John* did baptize, as ſome think (75), the waters muſt have riſen near ſixty miles upwards. What adds therefore ſtill to the miracle is, 1ſt, that none of thoſe cities that were ſituate along the ſhore, where the waters roſe up to ſuch a height, were drowned, or even hurt, as we can find; and 2dly, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, right over-againſt whom they croſſed the river, did not make ſome bold attempt to have diſputed a paſs of ſuch conſequence, and obſtructed their croſſing; all which can only be attributed to the ſame miraculous power which kept the waters ſuſpended.

(73) 2 *Chron.* iv. 17. (74) Cellar *Geogr. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 13. (75) *Vid.* Calm. *comm. in Joſh. & Hiſt. V. T.*

DURING

DURING all the time of their croſſing, the prieſts continued with the ark in the midſt of *Jordan*, and waited only for *Joſhua*'s orders, when to come out and joyn the reſt of the camp. But *Joſhua*, who deſigned to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful tranſaction, commanded them to ſtand ſtill, till he had made thoſe twelve men, whom he had directed to wait about him, to take twelve large ſtones, one for each tribe, and lay them on one heap in the place where the ark ſtood, ſo that they might be ſeen afterwards from each ſhore, when the waters of the river were abated; and at the ſame time he made them take up twelve other ſtones from the bottom of the river, and to erect a monument with them on the ſhore; which was no ſooner done than the prieſts had orders to march with the ark, and leave the waters to retake their uſual courſe. *Joſhua*, who by this time was in as high eſteem with the people as *Moſes* had been before, failed not to charge them to tranſmit to their poſterity the occaſion and meaning of theſe two monuments[t], both which, if we may believe *Euſebius* and others, were ſtill to be ſeen many centuries after [v]. From this place *Joſhua* commanded the vanguard, which conſiſted of the forty thouſand men of the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manaſſeh*, to march towards the plains of *Jericho* [w], and theſe were ſoon followed by the reſt of the army, and encamped at *Gilgal*, about ſeven or eight miles from *Jordan*, and about three or four from *Jericho*.

Two monuments of it reared up.

IN the mean time the feaſt of the paſſover drew nigh, unto which no uncircumciſed perſon was to be admitted under the ſevereſt penalties; and yet at leaſt two thirds of the men were ſo. That ceremony had been intermitted during their forty years wandering, ſo that all that had been circumciſed beſides *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, were only thoſe who were under twenty years of age at the rebellion of *Kadeſh-barnea*, all the reſt were dead in the wilderneſs †; it was therefore neceſſary before all things that it ſhould be renewed out of hand: wherefore *Joſhua* was commanded to have it immediately performed. The circumſtance of time was altogether favourable for ſuch an operation; and their miraculous paſſage over *Jordan* had ſpread ſuch an univerſal dread among their enemies, that they now had no cauſe to apprehend being ſurpriſed by them, as the *Shechemites* had been by *Simeon* and *Levi*.

Circumciſion renewed.

[t] Joſh. iii, & iv. ANSELM. ALBERT. Hiſt. V. T. lib. 3. cap. 1.

[v] EUSEB. loc Hebr. ſub Bounos & Gilgal. JOB. MONACH. Vit. patr. & al. ap. Calm.

[w] Joſh. iv. 12, 13.

† Vid. ſupr. p. 28.

Beſides

Beſides, it was GOD that commanded, to whom they had all the reaſon in the world to commit their ſafety, ſo that his orders were chearfully and punctually obeyed. The ſharp ſtones which they made uſe of being more proper for the ceremony than knives or razors made of metal, as being leſs apt to cauſe inflammations, was a means of their being ſooner healed, and conſequently in a condition to celebrate the paſſover at the appointed time, as it was accordingly done; and GOD highly pleaſed with their obedience, told them, that he had now *removed, or rolled away from them, the reproach of* Egypt, that is, that he did no longer look upon them as *uncircumciſed* Egyptians, but as his own people, in memory of which the place was called *Gilgal*, or *rolling* (Z).

THIS

(Z) The text in this place (76) uſes an expreſſion which has puzzled ſeveral commentators, and even St. *Jerom*, as great an *Hebraiſt* as he was, to find out what this circumciſion was, that was performed a ſecond time. The generality of the *Jews* affirm that they had been circumciſed in the wilderneſs, but that one of the three parts of the ceremony, namely the puſhing quite back the remainder of the skin of the penis after the fore-part, was cut off, had been omitted during thoſe forty years, becauſe it put the infant to too much pain and agony. And that it was this operation which *Joſhua* cauſed to be performed, and which, being as troubleſome as the other two, is therefore here called a ſecond circumciſion (77). Another learned *Jew* (78), having taken upon him to prove from the words of *Jeremiah, I will puniſh the circumciſed that has a foreſkin* (79), for ſo he reads it, that it was poſſible to bring the foreskin again by art, ſome have thought that the *Iſraelites* had done ſo during their abode in the wilderneſs; for which they were ordered to be circumciſed afreſh. Thoſe *Chriſtians* who have embraced this notion, pretend to back it by the words of St. *Paul* (80), *if any man is called, being circumciſed,* μὴ ἐπισπάσθω, *let him not get a foreſkin again*, or, as we render it, *let him not become uncircumciſed* (81). To confute which St. *Jerom* has taken a great deal of pains to prove though perhaps without any reaſon, that this prepuce can never be recovered, when once cut off; and conſequently, that the circumciſion mentioned in *Joſhua*, muſt be underſtood of the circumciſion of the heart, and to have been performed with a ſpiritual knife. The truth is, that good father, though the moſt learned of all that bear that name, was ſo fond of the virginal, and ſo prepoſſeſſed againſt a matrimonial ſtate, that he has wreſted theſe words, thoſe of the apoſtle, and a vaſt number more out of the old and new teſtament in favour of his favourite opinion, right

(76) *Joſh. v.* 2. (77) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (78) *Rab. Nath. in Lexic.* ערוך *ſub. voc.* ערלה (79) *Jerem.* ix. 25. (80) 1 *Cor.* vii. 18. (81) *Vid. Druſ. ap.* Cunn.

The paſſover celebrated.

THIS was the third time of their celebrating that feſtival; the firſt was at their departure out of *Egypt*, and the ſecond on the next year, at the ſetting up of the tabernacle at the foot of mount *Sinai*, ſince when, whether for want of corn to make unleavened bread, or any other reaſon, it had been wholly intermitted till now; when, the text tells, the *Iſraelites* having provided themſelves with corn both old and new, they baked themſelves unleavened cakes with the former, and parched the latter in the ſheaves, and eat it inſtead of bread, this laſt being equally ſuitable to the feaſt, as being eaten without leaven. In this place it was alſo, that GOD, or, as ſome will have it [x], his angel appeared unto *Joſhua* in the plain, in the ſhape of a warrior, ſtanding at ſome diſtance from him with a drawn ſword. *Joſhua* knew him not, and was probably gone thus far alone to reconnoitre the city, and contrive the propereſt means of beſieging it: Being therefore ſurpriſed to ſee a man ſtand ſo near him in that hoſtile poſture, he aſked him, whether he was for or againſt *Iſrael*? and upon his anſwering that he was the captain of the LORD's hoſt, *Joſhua* fell down at his feet and worſhipped him, whilſt the viſion commanded him to ſhew the ſame reſpect to the place, as *Moſes* had formerly done at the ſight of the miraculous buſh [*]. He had no ſooner obeyed, and in the humbleſt terms expreſſed his readineſs to receive his command [y], than the Lord was pleaſed to direct the wonderful manner in which he would have *Jericho* beſieged, that the reſt of the *Canaanites* might be made ſenſible, that it was not an arm of fleſh that fought againſt them (A).

God appears to Joſhua.

WE

[x] GROT. LE CLERC, & al. Vid. Vol. II. p. 487. note (S) & alib.
[*] Vid. Vol. II. p. 496. at the end of note (V). [y] Joſh. v.

or wrong, and wrote with ſuch an air of triumph, and with ſo much heat againſt his oppoſers (82), that when he became ſenſible of it, he made no difficulty to cenſure himſelf for it in a pathetic apology, which is perhaps the fineſt piece of oratory that ever he penned, and may well atone for his indiſcreet zeal in favour of celibacy. However, all the difficulty in the words before us ariſes from miſunderſtanding the idiom of the original, and would have been eaſily removed if they had been tranſlated or paraphraſed thus:——*Let*, the ceremony of, *circumciſion*, which has been ſo long diſcontinued, *be renewed*, or, *ſet on foot* once more.

(A) Nothing could be more wiſely ordered than this miraculous manner of taking the city; not only to ſignalize the firſt conqueſt

(82) Hieron. *cont. Jovinian. in Joſh. in loc. & alib.*

of

WE have already given ſome account of the ſiege and taking of this place in the hiſtory of *Canaan* †*. All that needs be added to it here is, that the city, into which great numbers out of the neighbouring villages had retired, ſome to help to defend it, and others to ſave themſelves, had been cloſely ſhut up by order of the king, who commanded in it in perſon, no man being ſuffered to go in or out of it; and that on the ſeventh day, which was the ſabbath, the circumvection of the ark was repeated ſeven times with the uſual ſolemnity; the prieſts ſounding with the rams-horns (B), and the

†* Vol. II. p. 174.

of the *Iſraelites* in the land of *Canaan*, but likewiſe to inject ſuch a terror into its inhabitants, as might either make them more ready to accept their terms of peace, or, at the worſt, to induce them to ſave their own lives, by timely abandoning the country to the conquerors. To ſay that the latter was impracticable, is begging the queſtion; nay, the contrary ſeems plain from the *Gibeonites* finding means to ſend two different embaſſies to *Joſhua* ‡; though they could not do it without paſſing through ſome of the territories of the allied kings, as will appear by and by from the geography of that country.

(B) The original is שפרות היובלים *Shopheroth hajoblim*, which all the *Jews* in general (83), and after them very many *Chriſtians*, underſtand, as we do, of trumpets made of rams-horns *. And from the word יובל, *jobel*, the ſingular of it, they alſo think the *jubilee* to have taken its name, becauſe it was to be proclaimed by the ſound of that inſtrument (84). We ſhall have occaſion to offer a more proper etymon of the word, when we come to ſpeak of the jubilee itſelf; in the mean time there have not been wanting thoſe who have oppoſed this notion as ridiculous, becauſe they think it impoſſible to perforate them ſo as to give any ſuch ſhrill ſound (85), and therefore have ſuppoſed them to have been made of copper, in the ſhape of rams-horns. But this notion, as well as the impoſſibility of boring a ram's-horn, has been ſufficiently confuted by our learned *Spencer*. Sure it is, that it has a ſofter part in the inſide, which is eaſily drawn out whole by art, after which they are hollow all the way up, except about four or five inches towards the tip; part of which is ſawed off to make it

‡ *Vid.* Vol. II. *p.* 176. & *ſeq.* (83) *Ita Rabbin. ſer. apud.* Munſt. *in loc.* * Spenc. & Meyer. *de tem ſacr. ritib.* § 11. Goodw. *Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii. c.* 10. § 2. *& al. mult.* (84) *Id. ibid. vid.* & *R. Selomo. Ben. Melech in* Levit xxv. 10 (85) Maſius *in* Joſh. *vi.* 4. Bochart *Hieros. l.* 2. *c.* 43. Calm. & *al.*

The manner of taking Jericho.

the ſame guard of armed men marching before and after it, as had been during the firſt ſix days. The whole proceſſion, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, kept at ſuch a diſtance from the walls as to be out of reach of their ſhot, whilſt the beſieged, too well ſkilled in warlike affairs to think that a city was to be taken by ſuch whimſical marches, did probably conclude, that they were only making an aukward ſhow of their ſtrength. However, as ſoon as the ſeventh round was ended, the ſound of the trumpets was accompanied with an univerſal ſhout of all the beſiegers, and this was followed by the fall of the city-wall which opened a way into it, at which every man mounted the breach that was next before him. Their firſt care was to convey *Rahab* and all her family out of the city, and theſe were no ſooner got ſafely out, but the *Iſraelites* killed all the men, women, children, and cattle that were found in it, after which, having ſeized upon all the gold, ſilver, braſs, and other baſer mettals to be repoſited in the treaſury, they ſet the place on fire, and levelled it

Rahab *and her family ſaved.*

broad enough for the mouth, after which the reſt is eaſily bored. And we can aſſure our readers, that we have ſeen ſome of them made in that manner, and uſed by ſhepherds and ſwineherds in the ſouth parts of *Germany*.

Joſephus, who is very particular in deſcribing thoſe ſilver ones which *Moſes* made (86), ſays little or nothing of theſe here, but calls them plainly horns (87); only when he comes afterwards to ſpeak of thoſe which *Gideon* and his men made uſe of (88), he calls them rams-horns (89). However, let them have been made how, and of what they would, 'tis plain from this inſtance of *Gideon* and ſome others both before and after him, that beſides thoſe trumpets which were appropriated to the prieſts, to ſound before the ark, to proclaim feaſts, jubilees, and the like, whoſe number was increaſed to ſeven in *Joſhua*'s (90), and to ſix ſcore in *Solomon*'s time (91); (*Joſephus* ſays (92) two hundred thouſand, and adds, *that it was according to* Moſes's *command*, though upon what authority is hard to gueſs) beſides theſe, I ſay, 'tis plain, there were others for the war, which each general cauſed to ſound upon all exigencies. Thus *Ehud*, after he had privately killed *Eglon* king of *Moab*, ſounded the trumpet, and gathered *Iſrael* on mount *Ephraim* (93). And the ſame was afterwards done by *Joab*, *Abſalom*, and many more (94).

(86) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 12. (87) *Ibid. l.* 5. *c.* 1. (88) Judg. vii. 8. *& ſeq.* (89) *Ant. l. v. c.* 8. (90) Joſh. vi. 4. (91) 2 Chron. v. 12. (92) *Ant. l. viii. c.* 2. (93) Judg. iii. 27. (94. *Vid.* 2 *Sam.* ii. 28. xv. 10. *& alib.*

to

to the ground. *Joſhua* added a prophetic curſe on the man that ſhould afterwards attempt to rebuild it, importing that he ſhould lay the foundation of it in his firſt-born, and ſet up the gates of it in his youngeſt ſon [z], by which the *Jews* do underſtand, that all his children, from the biggeſt to the leaſt, ſhould die an untimely death before he had finiſhed it [a]. However, we find it literally fulfilled above five hundred and fifty years after by *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, who laid the foundations of it in his eldeſt ſon *Abiram*, and ſet up its gates in his youngeſt ſon *Segub* accordingly [b]. Such was the fatal end of *Jericho*, which *Moſes* choſe to call by the name of the city of palm-trees [c], by reaſon of the great number of them that grew in the plain round about it. To which *Joſephus* adds, that the tree from which flowed the famed balm of *Gilead*, and other odoriferous trees, did likewiſe grow in its neighbourhood [d], from whoſe fragrancy it is ſuppoſed to have been named *Jericho*, which in the original ſignifies odour (C). As for *Rehab* and her family, they had a place aſſigned them out of the *Iſraeliſh* camp, and ſhe was ſoon after incorporated into their commonwealth, by her embracing the *Jewiſh* religion, and her marriage to *Salmon* [e], head of the tribe of *Judah* as was hinted before; whether the reſt of her kindred followed

She is married to Salmon.

[z] Joſh. vi, 26. [a] Vid. MUNST. in loc. [b] 1 Kings, xvi. ver. ult. [c] Deuter. xxxiv. 3. [d] Jew. Wars. l. v. c. 4. [e] Matth. i, 5. Vid. USHER's Ann. p. 26.

(C) This however muſt not be literally underſtood, as if there had been no city of that name from *Joſhua* to *Hiel*, ſince we read of the city of *Palm-trees* in *Eglon*'s time (95), and of *Jericho* in *David*'s days, for there it was that he bid his ambaſſadors ſtay, till their beards which had been cut off by *Hanun* king of *Ammon*, were grown again (96). And *Joſephus* tells us, this new one was rebuilt not upon the ſpot of the old, the ruins of which, he ſays, were ſtill to be ſeen in his time, but at a ſmall diſtance from it (97), as ſhall be further ſhewn in the geography of *Canaan*. However, after *Hiel* had ventured to rebuild the old town, no ſcruple was made of inhabiting it; ſo that it became afterwards famous upon many accounts. Here the prophet ſweetened the waters of the ſpring that ſupplied it and the neighbouring countries: here *Herod* built a ſumptuous palace: it was the dwelling place of *Zacchæus*, and was honoured with Chriſt's preſence, who likewiſe vouchſafed to work ſome miracles there.

(95) Judg. iii. 13. (96) 2 Sam. x. 5. (97) Joſeph. *Ant. lib. v. c. 1. & al.*

her

her example or no, is neither certain, nor of great conſequence (D).

IN the mean time, though the wonderful ſucceſs of the *Iſraelites* againſt this city opened a way to new conqueſts, yet their general, wiſely conſidering the time which the making and dividing of them would take, during which his numerous army muſt be ſupplied with proviſions, choſe to make that fruitful plain the centre of his camp, from whence he might conſtantly draw out a ſufficient number of men to invade other territories, till they had ſo far enlarged their own as to admit of a diſtribution between the tribes, which was not done till ſix years after †. As ſoon therefore as *Joſhua* had ſettled the beſt order he could in his camp, he detached a body of three thouſand men againſt the king of *Ai*, whoſe capital was about ten or twelve miles diſtant from *Jericho*, where they rece ved an unexpected repulſe, with the loſs of about thirty ſix men. This defeat, how ſmall ſoever, did ſo damp the people's courage, that *Joſhua* was forced to have

The Iſraelites *repulſed at* Ai.

† Vid. Vol. II: p. 17.

(D) The *Jews* tell us, that *Joſhua* was very doubtful, whether the promiſe which the two ſpies had made to *Rahab* was lawful or not, and that he could not ratify it, till he had firſt conſulted *Eleazar* the high-prieſt and the ſeventy elders, who not only gave ſentence in her favour, but pronounced her worthy of a greater reward than ſhe had ſtipulated; upon which, as ſoon as ſhe had accompliſhed the days of her purification without the camp, on account of her being a *Gentile*, ſhe was admitted a proſelyte, and ſoon after married to *Salmon* the ſon of *Naaſſon*, and great grandfather of *David*. A *Romiſh* chronologiſt 98) ſays, upon the authority of the *Jewiſh* rabbies, that *Joſhua* married her, from which another writer of the ſame church has inferred, that it was a grand daughter of hers of the ſame name, that was afterwards married to *Salmon* (99; but, as we can ſee no foundation for either of theſe notions, we have choſen to follow the far greater majority of chronologers, and particularly the learned *Uſher*, who affirms, that it was this *Rahab* whom *Salmon* took to wife †. However, as it is forbidden, by the cxiith negative precept of *Moſes*, to make any affinity with any of the ſeven nations there mentioned (100), the *Jews* affirm her to have been of ſome other nation, and only an inhabitant of *Jericho* (1), which is not at all improbable, ſeeing they were ſo ſtrangely intermixed, as we have ſeen elſewhere ‡.

(98) Genebr. *Chronol. p* 13. (99) Berruy. *Hiſt. de Peup de Dieu. Age iii. l.* 1. † Uſh. *Ann. p.* 26. (100) Deut. vii. 1. & *ſeq.* (1) *Vid.* מצות לא תעשה : *ſub* מצוה : cxii.
‡ *Vid.* Vol. II. *p.* 157. & *ſeq.*

recourſe

recourſe to GOD, who immediately anſwered by *Urim*, as is ſuppoſed, that his commands had been ſacrilegiouſly infringed, and ordered him to diſcover the guilty perſon by lot, and (E) to puniſh him with immediate death. *Joſhua* loſt no time, and having caſt lots from the tribes to the families, *Achan*, the ſon of *Carmi* of the tribe of *Judah*, was found to be the ſacrilege, who, at the general's requeſt, confeſſed that he had concealed ſome of the accurſed plunder of *Jericho*. His crime was no ſooner verified by the ſearch that was made in his tent, than he, his children, cattle, and all he had, were conveyed to the adjacent valley, which was from that time called the valley of *Achor*, or *Trouble*, from the trouble which this crime had brought upon the people, and there the former were ſtoned to death, and the reſt burnt (F); after which they reared up an heap of ſtones, for a monument of his crime and a determent to the reſt [f].

Achan's *crime puniſhed.*

THE army being thus purged, as *Joſephus* words it, they had much better ſucceſs, not only in their next expedition againſt

[f] Joſh. vii.

(E) How theſe lots were caſt is neither plain from ſcripture, nor agreed about by commentators, though we have a great many inſtances of their being made uſe of, both to diſcover guilty perſons, not only by the *Jews*, as in this and the caſe of *Saul* (2), but by other nations, as we find by the hiſtory of *Jonah*; and for ſeveral other purpoſes bad as well as good. As to the manner in which the ceremony itſelf was performed, except the calling of the tribes one after another till it came to the right, and ſo down to the inferior branches of each family till they came at laſt to ſingle perſons, as in the two caſes above-mentioned, except this we have nothing certain about it. *Joſephus* (3) only ſays, that it was done before the high-prieſt and ſeventy elders. To this other *Jews* add, that they were made to paſs before the ark, and that the high-prieſt was directed by the *Urim* to pitch upon the right tribe, family, *&c.* (4). However that be, the lawfulneſs of this way of caſting lots cannot be denied, ſeeing it was not only countenanced, if not preſcribed by GOD, but afterwards practiſed even by the apoſtles (5), though the heatheniſh ſuperſtition which did ſince mix itſelf with it, and the vile purpoſes to which it has been put, hath made it exceeding dangerous, if not altogether criminal.

(F) The law againſt ſacrilege condemning the tranſgreſſor to the flames, and GOD commanding the perſon here guilty to be burnt

(2) 1 Sam. xiv. 38, *& ſeq.* *Vid.* Munſt. *in* Joſh. vii. (3) *Ant. l. v. c.* 1. (4) (5) Acts i. *ver. ult.*

accordingly

Canaan *conquered in ſix years*

againſt *Ai*, but alſo againſt the whole land, the conqueſt of which was, though not perfectly, finiſhed in ſix years. But as we have already given ſome account of it in the hiſtory of *Canaan* **, we ſhall, to avoid prolixity and repetition, refer the other material circumſtances, that have been either but lightly touched upon there, or poſtponed as foreign, ſuch as the ſetting up the tabernacle in *Shiloh*, engraving the law on ſtone, ſetting up the bleſſings and curſes, and the like to the next article of the geography and partition of the land, where the whole will be more diſtinctly ſeen at one view.

The ſun ſtands ſtill at Joſhua's *prayer.*

IN the mean time our readers will not perhaps think it amiſs, if we venture to ſubjoin here ſome few, we hope not improper, remarks upon thoſe two miraculous tranſactions which happened at this time; namely the ſtopping the courſe of the ſun by *Joſhua*, and the remarkable rain of hail-ſtones, which did ſuch a terrible execution upon the confederate army of the *Canaanites*, both which happened on the ſame day [g]; but having been but barely mentioned before ‡, and having no connection with what is to follow, can no where be more properly offered than in this place. We need not tell them, how many, otherwiſe learned men, among the *Chriſtians* have ſcrupled to fall in with the *Copernican* ſyſtem, in this and many other countries free from the inquiſition, upon a miſtaken notion, that it is point blank

**, Vid. Vol. II. p. 177. [g] Joſh. x. 11. & ſeq. ‡ Ubi ſupr.

accordingly (6), the *Jews* affirm, that *Achan* was actually burnt (7); and whereas it is ſaid in the text, that he was ſtoned (8), they think it to have been done accidentally by the people, who were ſo highly provoked, that they could not forbear caſting ſtones at him as he was led to execution (9). However, their large comment on this place obſerves judiciouſly enough, that he was alſo guilty of the breach of the ſabbath, becauſe it was on that day that *Jericho* was taken, and therefore, that as he had been guilty of a double crime, ſacrilege and ſabbath-breaking, ſo he received the double puniſhment preſcribed, ſtoning and burning (10). The *Jews* add, that the place where the 3000 men were routed by the men of *Ai*, was called שִׁבְרִים, *Shebarim*, breaches or defeats from the defeat which they received there, as עָכוֹר, *Achor* was from the grief which *Achan* cauſed them.

(6) Joſh. vii. 15. (7) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (8) *Ibid. ver.* 25. (9) Munſt. *ibid.* (10) *Bammidbar Rab. in loc.*

contrary

contrary to ſeveral expreſs teſtimonies of holy writ, among which this of the ſun and moon ſtanding ſtill is ſtrenuouſly urged by them; whilſt others, from a contrary principle, have been induced to queſtion its divine authority, becauſe it favoured ſo abſurd a one as that of *Ptolemy* is now generally allowed and proved to be. It was doubtleſs this laſt error which gave occaſion to thoſe two witty, though prophane, ſayings reported of that great philoſopher *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, that *if the ſyſtem of the earth's ſtanding ſtill were true, the whole univerſe was but a bungling piece of mechaniſm; and that if he had been admitted into* GOD's *counſil at the creation, he could have ſaved him a world of trouble* †.

Now it is plain, that theſe two extremes might have been eaſily avoided by two very obvious obſervations, namely, 1ſt, that the expreſſions here made uſe of, *ſun ſtand thou ſtill upon* Gibeon, and ſo on, are figurative, and incapable of a literal ſenſe (G); and 2d, that the ſyſtem which places the earth

† Vid. BACON's Apophthegms.

(G) The words literally run thus: *Sun be thou ſilent in, or upon,* Gibeon, *and thou moon in the valley of* Ajalon; and in the next verſe it is ſaid, that they ſtood ſtill accordingly; now it is plain, that thoſe two luminaries were neither in, upon, or even over, theſe places in any other than a relative ſenſe, and that they had a different ſituation with reſpect to thoſe that were one mile eaſt or weſt of the place where *Joſhua* ſtood. We may venture to add, that it was impertinent to make the moon ſtand ſtill with the ſun, upon any other ſuppoſition than that *Joſhua* had the ſolar ſyſtem in his thoughts when he uſed thoſe expreſſions, becauſe the preſence of the moon was uſeleſs to him as long as he had that of the ſun, but if he only prayed, that their light might continue in *ſtatu quo*, till he had accompliſhed his conqueſt, which is certainly all he meant, he could not but know, that upon the earth's ſtanding ſtill, both the ſun and moon, and all the reſt muſt ſeem to do ſo. It is plain our great philoſopher Sir *Iſaac Newton*, who was ſufficiently maſter of the *Hebrew*, was not frighted by theſe, or any ſuch popular phraſes from his favourite ſyſtem, though no man payed a greater deference to the authority of the ſcriptures than he did; and that he thought it ſufficient that the effect was the ſame, whether the ſun or the earth were ſuppoſed to be ſtopped in their career.

If it be asked how it was poſſible for the earth to reſiſt, for ſo many hours, the impulſe of the circumambient fluid of the *Cartſians*, or of the attraction and gravitation of the *Newtonian* ſyſtem, or of whatever other mover that hurries it along, without causing an univerſal ſtop in the whole ſyſtem? beſides, that the objection

earth immoveable in the centre, and ſuppoſes the ſun, moon, and ſtars to turn round it, was the moſt univerſally received, the moſt adapted to vulgar capacities, and the freeſt from ſeeming difficulties, becauſe moſt agreeable to common appearances and obſervations; and that the groſs *Iſraelites* were ſo uſed to it, that had *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, or any other inſpired writer, known any thing of the ſolar one, yet it would have been improper, if not dangerous, to have ſo much as hinted at it. However, theſe conſiderations, though obvious and reaſonable, have been ſo far from being univerſally admitted, that a great number of authors, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, have ranſacked their brains to find out more ſatisfactory ſolutions, though with ſo little circumſpection and ſucceſs, that they have rather multiplied, than removed the difficulties which they endeavoured to avoid.

The ſyſtems of ſome authors concerning it examined.

AMONG the firſt ſome have affirmed, that the motion of the luminaries was only abated in its velocity, as that of a coach is from a full gallop to an even pace [h], from an expreſſion uſed there, that *the ſun did not haſten to go down about a whole day*. But whether or no they thought it eaſier to retard, than wholly to ſuſpend their motion, ſure it is, that neither of them could be done but by a ſupernatural power; the ſame may be ſaid of what ſome Rabbies affirm, that God ſubſtituted ſome meteor, or body of light [i], or that he retained the moon above the horizon to ſupply the ab-

[h] Chald. Paraph. R. LEVI Ben GERSH. & al. Vid. MUNST. in loc. & CALM. Differt. [i] R. ELIAKIM. B. NAPTHAL. שם טוב.

will be equally ſtrong, if not ſtronger, in the other hypotheſis of the ſun ſtanding ſtill, it may be anſwered, that the fact being altogether preternatural, we need but ſuppoſe a ſufficient power to have diverted that impulſe from the earth, and directed it to glide on each ſide of it, and then all the reſt might eaſily keep on their motion, though this ſtood ſtill all the while. However, we do not pretend to anſwer all the objections that have been raiſed againſt the poſſibility of this miracle from principles, which for ought we know, have no foundation but in the heads of thoſe who firſt invented them; we think it enough to ſay, that the ſupreme author of nature, who firſt gave motion to matter, and whoſe will alone appointed the laws of it, can either ſuſpend, or diſpenſe with them, whenever his own glory, or any wiſe ends of his providence, make it neceſſary, or expedient; to doubt of this is to deny the truth of all miracles, and unworthy of any anſwer.

ſence

ſence of the ſun [k]; but all theſe are modeſt men in compariſon to the learned *Maimonides*, who makes all the miracle of this tranſaction to have conſiſted in a bare wiſh or prayer of *Joſhua*, that the ſun might not go down till he had gained a complete conqueſt, and in God's granting his requeſt, not by ſtopping the ſun's career during ſo many hours, as we underſtand it, but by enabling that general and his army, to do as much execution in one, as would reaſonably have taken up two days [l]. After this we need not wonder, if *Spinoza*, the laſt among the *Jews* we ſhall mention, has ſtill improved upon him, and quite removed the difficulty by denying the miracle, and attributing the extraordinary length of that day to the bare refraction of the ſun's rays by the ſky, which was then more than ordinarily charged with hail, but which the people miſtook for the ſun's ſtanding ſtill. According to him *Iſaiah* was no better a philoſopher than *Joſhua*, when he attributed the change that happened upon *Ahaz*'s dial to the retrogreſſion of the ſun, rather than to a refraction of it from ſome cloud [m].

Maimonides *and* Spinoza *confuted.*

WE do very much queſtion, whether any of theſe, eſpecially the two laſt, would ever have been thought worth anſwering, or even mentioning, had they not been too cloſely followed by ſome very learned *Chriſtians*, proteſtants as well as papiſts. We ſhall only take notice of three of the moſt eminent of them, namely, *Grotius*, *Peirerius*, and *Le Clerc*, whoſe ſentiments, as well as what has been ſaid to confute them, we ſhall now give in as few words as the ſubject will admit of.

As for *Grotius*, though he doth not think it impoſſible, that God ſhould ſuſpend the courſe of the ſun, or make it appear upon our horizon after it is ſet, yet he is ſo far from granting that it was really done, that he thinks its not being mentioned, among other things of leſs moment, in the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* [n], to be a ſtrong argument againſt it (H). And therefore what is ſaid in *Joſhua*, that God hearkened

Grotius *confuted.*

[k] JOS. & DAV. KIMCHI. vid. מכלול. & Epiſt. ſupr. Mor. Nevoch. MAIMONID. [l] More Nevoch. part ii. c. 39.
[m] Tract. Theologico-Politic. c. ii. [n] Hebr. xi. ad fin.

(H) The misfortune is, that the argument will hold equally againſt ſeveral other miraculous tranſactions, which are likewiſe omitted by the apoſtle, though expreſly mentioned in holy writ; ſuch as the plagues of *Egypt*, all the wonders wrought by *Moſes* in

hearkened to the voice of a man, he thinks with *Maimonides* to mean no more, than that God, at his requeſt, granted him as much time and diſpatch as was neceſſary to gain a complete victory °.

Peirerius *confuted.*

Peirerius, mentioned before † for his extraordinary ſkill in accounting for all ſcripture miracles in a natural way, ſup-

° Comm. in Joſh. x. 14. † See before, p. 9. note (L).

the wilderneſs, the miraculous paſſage over *Jordan*, and many more of the like nature. He doth not ſo much as ſpeak a word of the conqueſt of *Canaan*, or mention *Joſhua* among his worthies, though his character be ſo vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Gideon*, *Jephthah*, and others that are mentioned in that place. Beſides it is plain, the deſign of this chapter was only to give ſome few notable inſtances of the wonderful power of faith: to have enumerated all that is recorded upon the ſubject would have ſwelled it beyond the bulk of the whole epiſtle; and to have been too curious in the choice of them, eſpecially to thoſe of his nation, who knew all theſe things as well as himſelf, would have been too affected, and have ſavoured too much of art and human wiſdom, which was always carefully and profeſſedly avoided by the inſpired writers *.

Under this head we may rank another objection, namely, the ſilence of all the antient hiſtorians, which, it is urged, could never have been ſo univerſal, had ſuch a memorable tranſaction ever happened. But it ought to be remembered, that this fact is vaſtly previous to any prophane writer, either extant or quoted, ſo that it was eaſy for the remembrance or monuments of it, if there were any, to be loſt among a vaſt multitude of others, during the long and dark interval between it and the moſt antient authors. However, if light may be allowed to be fetched out of darkneſs, whence could the notion come into the poets heads of their demigods and heroes, having the power of lengthening days and nights, as beſt ſerved their warlike or amorous deſigns, but moſt likely from this wonderful event? How came *Jupiter*, for inſtance, to be ſuppoſed to have ſpun the night which he ſpent with *Alcmena*, to twice its natural length? or *Minervæ* to have done the ſame in favour of *Ulyſſes*, whilſt he was butchering his competitors, and making himſelf known to his wife (11)? and many others of the like nature (12); but though we could bring nothing out of prophane hiſtory to confirm this fact, yet would this be no fair argument againſt the truth of it, or the veracity of the writer, abſtracting even from his divine authority, if we judge of him with the ſame candor, as we do of any other hiſtorian.

* *Vid.* Luke xxi. 15. 1 Cor. i. 17, 21, 27. 2 Cor. i. 12. & *alib.*

(11) *Vid.* Hom. *Odyſſ. xxiii. ver.* 242, 243.

(12) *Vid.* Bacon. *Syren.* Huet. *Demonſtr. Evang.* Calm. *Diſſert.* & *al.*

poſes

poſes [P], contrary to all reaſon as well as the plain meaning of the text, that *Joſhua* only wiſhed for a longer day, about the time of the ſun's ſetting, upon which the land of *Paleſtine*, or perhaps the territories only about *Gibeon*, were enlightened by a kind of twilight, or ſomething like our *Aurora Borealis*, which, continuing long enough to anſwer *Joſhua*'s purpoſe, was miſtook by him for the ſun, though it was actually ſet as uſual; and made him and his army fancy that day to have been longer than any other by all that interval. But here the queſtion is, not how far theſe *Parelia*, or mock ſuns, can ſupply the abſence of the real one, but whether the hiſtorian's account can be capable of ſuch a forced interpretation. The text ſays expreſly, that the ſun ſtood ſtill in the mid-heaven (I) at *Joſhua*'s prayer, and that

[P] Præadamit lib. iv. c. 6.

(I) The words are בחצי השמים, *in the midſt of heaven*, or, *in the mid-heaven*, which is always underſtood, both by aſtronomers, and by the vulgar, to ſignify the place where the ſun is at noon; and that he haſted not לבוא *to go down*, or literally to decline towards its ſetting, during one whole day (13). What follows in the next verſe, that no day was ever like it, either before or ſince, doth plainly confirm it. However, as theſe authors ſeem to rely little on the authority of the text, whatever they pretend to the contrary, it will not be amiſs to try to confute them in their own way, by ſhewing, that their ſuppoſition of the ſun's being then near ſetting, when *Joſhua* ſtopped it, makes againſt their favourite hypotheſis, and leaves him not time enough for all the work which he is recorded to have done on that day.

It is expreſly ſaid, that the army marched all that night from *Gilgal*, and came early in the morning to *Gibeon*, where *Joſhua* engaged and beat the enemy, put them to flight, and purſued them from the aſcent of *Beth-horon* to *Azekah* and *Makkedah*; and that, as they were going down the deſcent of *Beth-horon*, theſtorm of hail fell upon them, after which he commanded the ſun to ſtand ſtill in *Gibeon*, and the moon in *Ajalon*. All this might be done eaſily enough before the ſun was paſt the meridian, and the ſituation of thoſe two laſt places ſhews, that it muſt have been about that time of the day. From the *Beth-horon* here mentioned, or lower *Beth-horon*, he purſued them to *Azekah* and *Makkedah*, which could not be leſs than twelve or fourteen miles, according to St. *Jerom*, who places the former at nine and the latter at eight miles, northward of *Eleutheropolis* †. There he is told that the five kings had hid themſelves in a cave, and he ordered the mouth of it to be ſtopped with a heap of ſtones, and then continues his purſuit till part of the

(13) *Joſh.* x. 13. † *Vid. Epitaph. Paulæ, & loc. Hebr.*

enemy

that his more than usual continuance above the horizon, or rather in the same situation, made that a longer day than ever was known before or since. Supposing then for once the whole army to have been so little acquainted with these kinds of lights, as to have fancied the sun still above the horizon, could they be so stupid as not to know his usual place at noon from that of his setting? but should we suppose even this, could they choose being undeceived, either by seeing it rise on the next morning at his usual time, or by the concurring testimony of other people who had seen him rise and set as at other times? And if they were undeceived, is it likely, that they would have transmitted an account of it in such terms, as must of necessity betray either their want of common sense, or common honesty? Lastly, can our author, or any of his admirers, if they really believe this book to be divinely inspired, suppose, that the holy Ghost would have suffered the *Hebrew* general, not only to have continued under such a delusion, but even to have transmitted it to posterity with the divine stamp upon it?

Le Clerc *confuted.*

The last person, we proposed to mention under this head, is the famous M. *Le Clerc*, who has not only embraced the sentiments of the two former, but has endeavoured to back them with new reasons. The two first are taken from *Joshua*'s expression, *Sun stand thou still upon* Gibeon, which can admit of none but a figurative sense; and from the literal one being contrary to the received solar system. We have already shewn above, that they prove nothing on either side of the question, and refer the reader to it. But he goes farther and says, 3. That providence is too sparing

enemy is killed, and the rest fled into fenced cities, and then returns to *Makkedah*. Here again he causes the mouth of the cave to be opened, and the five kings to be hanged till sun-set, and then to be taken down and buried again in the same cave. Can an army which had marched all the night, and fought all the day, be supposed to have pursued their enemies so many miles, kill them all the way they went, then come back to *Makkedah*, and execute and bury the five kings with such solemnity, after sun-set and by the help of a refracted light? And if so, what sun was that which they saw setting when they took the kings down? how much less probable is it still, that they should have done all this before the real sun-setting? The reader may further convince himself how much the situation of *Gibeon* and *Ajalon* is incompatible with the supposition we have been opposing, from the maps and geography that is to follow.

of

of miracles, to beſtow ſo ſignal a one, as the overturning the whole order of nature, upon a thing of ſo ſmall moment, as the defeat of the *Canaaniti∫h* army in one day rather than in two. To this it is added, that *Jo∫hua*'s prayer was too unreaſonable for GOD to grant in the ſtrict ſenſe it is commonly underſtood in, ſince the next day might have done as well, without lengthening this at the expence of ſo great a miracle (K): But is not this very preſumptuous, and may not ſuch a bold way of reaſoning, againſt the plaineſt facts mentioned in ſcripture, prove the ſource of endleſs errors and infidelity? Will it not equally hold againſt all the other miracles wrought from *Moſes* to *Chriſt* himſelf? Why were ſo many done in *Egypt*, when *Pharaoh* might have been ſoftened into compliance at a much eaſier rate? Why muſt the *Red-ſea* or the *Jordan* be miraculouſly divided, when the former might have been coaſted, and the latter forded at more places than one? In a word, why did *Chriſt* and his diſciples work ſuch a great number of miracles, when one or two great ones well known and atteſted, were ſufficient to prove their divine miſſion? Well might *Job* ſay, *vain man would be wiſe* [q]. 4. The ſame author ſuppoſes the account of this tranſaction to have been taken from the book of *Ja∫her*, or *the upright*, which, like other poetical works, eſpecially thoſe that are written in the eaſtern tongues, is too ſwollen and hyperbolical to admit of a literal ſenſe, and cannot be rightly underſtood unleſs reduced vaſtly below it. We ſhall not trouble

[q] Ch. xi. 12.

(K) The *Jews* indeed tell us, that the reaſon of the lengthening of this day was, becauſe the next was the ſabbath, which would have given the *Canaanites* an opportunity either of rallying or eſcaping, whilſt *Joſhua* and his army were at reſt (14); but, beſides that we have nothing but their bare word for it, it is plain from their own confeſſion, that it was not always unlawful for them to do execution on the ſabbath, ſince *Jericho* was ſo lately taken on that day, as we hinted before. Some *Chriſtians* however ſay, it was on a ſunday that the ſun ſtood ſtill (15). The learned *Uſher* ſays nothing of the day, or even the month, in which it happened, but only ſuppoſes it to have been towards the latter end of the year (16). As for the number of hours which that day laſted more than uſual, the text is neither plain, nor authors agreed, and therefore we ſhall affirm nothing about it.

(14) *Rabbin in Sedar Olam. vid* Munſt. *in loc.* (15) Serrar. Bonfrer. De Lyr *in loc.* (16) *Ann. p.* 26.

ourſelves with examining how unreaſonable the ſuppoſition of ſuch diſparate and unnatural hyperboles is, and eſpecially of their being afterwards cloſely followed by an inſpired hiſtorian, whoſe ſtyle is every where elſe rather in the other extreme; it will be ſufficient to ſay, that all this is affirmed gratis, and without any foundation. For who told *Grotius*, or our author, that the book of *Jaſher* was a poetical piece, abounding with ſuch hyperbolical flights? Sure it is, that no mention is made of it any where but in this place, and in the ſecond book of *Samuel* * ; and theſe would rather incline one to believe it to have been a hiſtory of *Hebrew* worthies, written, and continued, by ſeveral hands, and at different periods. But even this is upon the ſuppoſition that they are the ſame book, which yet doth not appear. The *Jews* indeed think ſo, but then they underſtand by *Jaſher*, or righteous, *Moſes* himſelf, and this book to be the *Pentateuch*, in which are contained ſeveral promiſes of the wonders that God was to work in favour of his people **. But, as this is owing to a ſuperſtitious unwillingneſs in them to own that any inſpired book could be loſt, they are not followed by any *Chriſtian*. However that be, M. *Le Clerc* has taken the pains to verſify the two places in queſtion, by the tranſpoſition of ſome words, in order to make it appear at leaſt probable, that the author of the book of *Joſhua*, in quoting them out of that of *Jaſher*, had only reduced them to hiſtorical proſe by the contrary tranſpoſition. But here we beg leave to obſerve, that it is at leaſt a very bold aſſumption to ſay, that a writer, who barely appeals to another for the truth of a ſingle inſtance, has taken the whole from him. The moſt that can be fairly concluded from ſuch an appeal is, that the fact is equally affirmed by both, either in the ſame or equivalent terms; but ſuch as an honeſt hiſtorian would never have uſed, who had had the leaſt ſuſpicion of their being ſo monſtrouſly exaggerated by poetic rhapſody; and that all that was meant by thoſe expreſſions of the ſun and moon ſtanding ſtill in the mid-heaven, and of that day being thereby ſo miraculouſly lengthened, was no more than that there remained ſo much light after their ſetting, occaſioned by ſome unuſual refraction, as made the whole army think thoſe luminaries to be ſtill above the horizon.

As to what our author adds, that it is more probable, that *Joſhua* ſhould pray for a longer day, when he perceived the ſun juſt going to leave him, than when it was at its

* Ch. i. 18. ** Vid. Munst. in loc.

height;

height; though it carries a great appearance of reaſon, yet can it by no means conclude againſt a poſitive text, backed with other circumſtances equally ſtrong on the other ſide. *Joſhua* might have his reaſons for what he did, though they are not recorded, nor we able to gueſs at them. He was an old experienced general, eager for a complete victory, which alone could ſave his new allies from the impending ruin, and able no doubt to compute what time it would take to atchieve it; ſo that his fear of loſing any part of it might make him pray, that the day might be thus prolonged, till he had gained the whole. But after all, where is the unreaſonableneſs of ſuppoſing, that GOD, who deſigned to ſignalize this day's action, by one of the greateſt miracles that ever was done, did himſelf inſpire the *Hebrew* general with that wiſh or prayer, which otherwiſe perhaps would never have come into his head?

BUT here it is further objected, that the occaſion was too inconſiderable to deſerve ſuch a ſignal miracle, ſince it was only the giving one inconſiderable nation an advantage over another, for which the next day might have done as well: but beſides, that this ſeems to ſet limits to the divine wiſdom and power, our author ſeems not to have examined the caſe thoroughly; we beg leave to do it for him, and to ſet it in a fairer light, by reminding the reader, that this battle was not fought offenſively, but defenſively on *Iſrael*'s ſide, and in order to ſave a people, whom they had ſolemnly taken under their protection, from being utterly deſtroyed upon that very account. The *Gibeonites*, as a free people, had a right to take all proper meaſures for their ſafety, ſo that *Joſhua* could not but look upon the confederacy formed againſt them as cruel and unjuſt, and conſequently, that it would have been baſe and diſhonourable in him to have refuſed them the deſired ſuccour upon any pretence whatſoever. To this we may add, that the honour of GOD himſelf was concerned in the preſervation of his new made proſelytes, whoſe alliance with the *Iſraelites* had been ratified in his name, by the mouth of his high-prieſt. Upon theſe conſiderations *Joſhua* loſes no time, but marches all that night to their aſſiſtance, and on the next day GOD is pleaſed to reward his faithfulneſs and zeal by a miraculous victory, which not only ſaves the oppreſſed by the total defeat of the oppreſſors, but makes at once the whole land of *Canaan* ſenſible, that a mightier GOD was on *Iſrael*'s ſide than any that was worſhipped there, by ſtopping the courſe of the ſun and moon, the two grand deities of thoſe idolatrous nations. Had *Iſrael*'s ſword alone gained the conqueſt, it

would have been imputed to their ſuperior valour and ſtrength; had there nothing more remarkable happened in it than the rain of ſtones or large hail, it might have been thought owing to chance, or, at beſt, been only known in that neighbourhood; whereas the ſtopping of the two great luminaries in the height of their career, thus univerſally felt, could not but convince thoſe unhappy people, that the gods which they truſted to were ſubject to that of *Iſrael*, as well as prove a moſt powerful determent to the latter from falling into the idolatries of the former.

What ſhews this laſt to be more than a bare conjecture is, that noble zeal which the nine tribes and half did expreſs ſome years after againſt their brethren on the other ſide *Jordan*, whom they ſuſpected to have ſet up an altar there with an idolatrous intent. This ſignal inſtance, being the more remarkable as it is perhaps the only one of that kind, is recorded by the divine hiſtorian †‡†, with all its circumſtances very much to their praiſe, and may be as properly inſerted here, as in any other place in this hiſtory, and is as follows.

The tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manaſſeh*, having aſſiſted the reſt in the conqueſt of *Canaan*, as far as was thought neceſſary, were honourably diſmiſſed by their brethren; but before they landed on the other ſide *Jordan*, they took care to erect an altar of a prodigious ſize upon the border of that river, in order to perpetuate the memory, both of the relation they bore to the other tribes, and of the wonders which God had wrought in their favour. However, their intention was ſo far miſtaken by their brethern, that they aſſembled themſelves at *Shiloh*, and there reſolved to enter into a bloody war againſt them, in caſe they could not diſculpate themſelves from the crime of rebellion and apoſtacy, which this new altar had given them cauſe to ſuſpect them guilty of. They therefore deputed ten of their chiefs, with *Phinehas* the high prieſt's ſon at their head, to go and enquire into the reaſons of this proceeding; and theſe were no ſooner come, than they began to charge them home with a manifeſt violation of God's law, and with a deſign of ſetting up ſome idolatrous worſhip there, ſince it was expreſly forbidden by *Moſes* to offer up any ſacrifices any where, but in the place which God was in due time to appoint. They reminded them of the heavy judgments which their former idolatries had brought upon them, and concluded their pathetic ſpeech with aſſuring them, that they were re-

†‡† Joſh. xxii. per tot.

ſolved

ſolved one and all to oppoſe, even at the peril of their lives, the introduction of any new worſhip, which might involve them in a greater guilt.

THOUGH their alarm and reproaches were ill-grounded, yet, being imputed to their heat of zeal, they were not in any ways reſented by the reſt; who, being heard in their turn, took GOD to witneſs, that they had not built that ſumptuous altar with a deſign to offer up any ſacrifices there, much leſs to withdraw themſelves from his worſhip at the place that was to be appointed; but, on the contrary, to prevent their poſterity from being debarred that privilege in proceſs of time, either by their being diſowned by the other tribes, or by a pretence that GOD had ſeparated them from the commonwealth of *Iſrael*, by ſetting the river *Jordan* as a barrier between them. This anſwer, which was couched in the humbleſt terms, and backed with the ſtrongeſt tokens of ſincerity, not only gave the deputies and the reſt of the nation a full ſatisfaction, but fully ſhews how great a change all thoſe wonders had wrought on both ſides, and turned their ſtrongeſt propenſity to idolatry into a dread and utter deteſtation of it. Upon the whole then, ſince this miraculous tranſaction of ſtopping the courſe of the two luminaries is recorded in words ſo expreſs, ſo free from ambiguity, and ſo incapable of any other interpretation, without doing the greateſt violence both to the text and to the character of the hiſtorian, we cannot ſee how it is poſſible to depart from the obvious meaning of the former, without denying the authority of the latter.

Some other objections urged againſt our ſide of the queſtion, ſuch as the intolerable heat to which *Joſhua*'s army muſt have been expoſed, had the ſun continued ſo long over their heads; the neceſſity there was of their ſtopping to refreſh themſelves with ſome ſuſtenance; and laſtly, that had *Joſhua* wrought a miracle, which ſo far exceeded thoſe of *Moſes*, he would have been greater than him: theſe, we ſay, would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to ſhew to what ſtrange ſhifts a favourite notion or ſyſtem will drive men of the greateſt learning. For 1ſt, the exceſſive heat of a vertical ſun might be allayed by interpoſing clouds and refreſhing winds: none certainly ought to be more ready to grant this ſuppoſition than they who think, not that that day was longer, but that more execution was done in it than uſual ‡ (L). As to

‡ Ita MASIUS, GROTIUS, LE CLERC poſt MAIMON. ubi ſup.

(L) We may likewiſe add here, that the effects of ſuch a violent heat, as is here ſuppoſed, might be nothing ſo dreadful or fatal as

to the next, we need not tell our readers, that nothing is more common in ſuch exigencies as theſe, than for the ſoldiers, who carry their proviſion in their ſnapſacks, to take a piece in their hands and eat it as they march. The laſt thing objected, that ſuch a miracle would make *Joſhua* a greater man than *Moſes*, contrary to ſome expreſs texts of ſcripture, is too jejune to deſerve an anſwer. *Moſes* and *Joſhua* were both inſtruments in the hands of GOD, to whoſe glory alone the greatneſs of the miracle redounds, without adding any preference to the one over the other, ſince one miracle cannot be ſaid to be greater than another, with reſpect to an Almighty power.

IT is plain then, that, if we admit the divine authority of this book, we cannot but look upon this tranſaction as altogether ſupernatural, and of the number of thoſe many which GOD was pleaſed to work in favour of the *Iſraelites*; it will be therefore needleſs to dwell long upon our next enquiry, how far the ſtorm of *hail-ſtones* that preceded it was ſo or not.

The rain of ſtones which fell upon the Canaanites.

HOWEVER, though we have ventured to give it the name of hail, not ſo much in compliance with the modern taſte, as becauſe the original is capable of that ſenſe without any great violence being done to it; yet it is plain to thoſe that underſtand it, that the moſt natural one is, that it was a ſhower of real ſtones (M). The misfortune is, that men, who

is pretended, eſpecially to a people inured to it from their infancy, as the *Iſraelites* had been, during the ſpace of forty years. Hiſtory furniſhes us with inſtances enough of marches and battles in as hot regions and ſeaſons at leaſt, though thoſe exceſſive heats were nothing ſo natural to the armies that were expoſed to them. Even theſe more northern climates have ſometimes, nay very lately, endured ſuch a degree of ſultry weather, during ſome weeks ſucceſſively, as came little ſhort of that of the torrid zone, without any of thoſe ill conſequences which are urged by the other ſide.

(M) The text literally runs thus, *And the Lord cauſed great ſtones to fall*, or *to be caſt, upon them, and many more died by the* אבני הברד, *Abne habarad, the hail-ſtones, than by the ſword*; and it is this laſt expreſſion that made the *Septuagint*, and, after them, *Joſephus* (17), and the author of *Eccleſiaſticus* (18), to underſtand them of a real hail of more than ordinary bigneſs, in which there is nothing but what is agreeable enough to the genius of the tongue, But on the other hand it is certain, that it is ſo far from being the obvious meaning of it, that the word *hail* ſeems rather to be uſed here to expreſs the vaſt quantity, bigneſs, vehemence, and execu-

(17) *Ant. lib. v. c.* 1. (18) *Eccleſ. xlvi.* 6.

tion

who are more afraid than hurted, are apt to run themſelves into greater difficulties than thoſe they endeavour to avoid; and whilſt they take ſuch care to ſcreen themſelves from the ſuſpicion of being over credulous, eſpecially in caſes which carry the appearance of a miracle, they not only call in queſtion the moſt pregnant teſtimonies of the like facts in prophane hiſtory, both antient and modern, but likewiſe caſt a diſtant reflection on the divine hiſtorian, and thoſe inſpired writers who have mentioned the ſame facts after him, as if they had deſignedly made choice of ſuch terms in their recording of them, as would make them appear more ſupernatural than they really were. For if nothing had fallen on the *Canaanites* but a common ſhower of hail, in which there was nothing extraordinary but the ſize, why muſt they be ſuppoſed to have exaggerated it at any ſuch rate?

BUT here our two learned critics, *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, who uſed to go hand in hand before, have taken a ſeparate *notion contract*: the former believes them to have been real ſtones, because he finds many parallel inſtances of it in prophane hiſtory; and indeed it is no more than what has been fully proved by ſeveral eminent authors on that ſide of the queſtion [r]. However, *Le Clerc* has not ſcrupled to affirm, that it was nothing elſe but a large ſhower of hail; to call teſtimonies alledged out of hiſtory mere forgeries, and the endeavours of ſome authors to account for it in a natural way trifling and not worth confuting. How eaſy he would have found the taſk, had he gone ſeriouſly about it, will be beſt known by an impartial view of the teſtimonies themſelves, and of what has been urged to prove the poſſibility of the thing from natural cauſes.

Le Clerc's *refuted.*

As to the firſt, we hope our readers will think it ſufficient for our purpoſe, to inſtance in two or three of the moſt pregnant and unqueſtionable facts recorded in antient hiſtory, and back them with ſome few of a more recent date, but too

[r] G. J. Voss. in loc. CALM. Differt. on the ſubject, and others.

tion of thoſe ſtones which then fell; and the expreſſion of flying and falling *as thick as hail*, is not only common to all the antient, but is likewiſe retained in moſt modern languages; for which reaſon ſeveral learned men have underſtood it of a miraculous ſhower of real ſtones, as being the moſt eaſy and natural meaning of the text (19).

(19). H. Grotius, Maſius, Bonfrer. Ger. Voſſ. Jun. Munſt. & *al. mult. Vid.* Calm. *Differt. on the ſubject.*

authentic

authentic to be ſo eaſily eluded: and if the latter are of ſuch a nature as to lead us to any eaſy diſcovery of their cauſe, we ſhall not be at a loſs for a ſufficient ground to admit the poſſibility, if not the reality, of the former. It is no wonder, that they who lived in the early ages of the world did look upon a ſhower of great ſtones as too miraculous to be credited without ocular demonſtration. Such prodigies happen ſo ſeldom, that we find the *Romans*, above a thouſand years after *Joſhua*'s time, very backward to believe the report of that which fell upon the mountain *Alba*, in the reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius* ſucceſſor to *Numa Pompilius*, till they had it confirmed by thoſe whom they ſent thither on purpoſe to examine it, who brought them word, that the fact was not only true, but that thoſe ſtones had fallen from the ſkies in the ſame manner as hail that is driven down by the wind [r]. They became in time more familiar and leſs queſtioned, eſpecially after that remarkable one which fell upon the ſame mountain, which the ſame author tells us [t] laſted two whole days. The ſame, or ſomething like it, is likewiſe affirmed to have been ſeen at *Rome*, *Capua*, *Lavinium*, and ſo many other places in *Italy*, by ſo many authentic authors [u], that we cannot ſee how they can with any modeſty be called in queſtion (N).

Inſtances of it out of hiſtory.

We

[r] T. Liv. lib. i. dec. 1. [t] Id. lib. xxv, xxx & xxxiv. Vid. CALM. ubi ſupr. [u] Vid. & de Bell. Afric. c. 47. AMAN. Bell. Civil. lib. iv. AUGUST. de Civit. lib. iii. c. 32, & al.

(N) To theſe various Inſtances, of which the authors quoted above, have given us ſeveral other particulars, ſuch as that thoſe ſtones that fell in that prodigious manner were ſometimes red-hot, and at other times cold, ſometimes like hard clods of earth, and ſometimes like ſand or duſt, we might add, what is likewiſe recorded by others of equal credit, of ſtones that have been obſerved to be carried for ſome conſiderable time in the air, and thence fallen with great violence upon the earth. Such was that which is mentioned by *Plutarch* to have fallen in *Thrace* into the river *Argos* (20), which *Anaxagoras* fancied to have fallen from the ſun (21), and which the author, from whom the former has it, tells us (22), was obſerved to fly about in the air like a luminous cloud, about the ſpace of ſeventy five days, during which time, ſeveral ſplinters did now and then break off and fly about like wandering ſtars before they fell down. The main ſtone itſelf was of ſuch prodigious bigneſs, that *Pythagoras* could by no means think with *Ariſtotle* (23),

(20) *In Vit. Lyſand.* (21) *Vid* Diog *in Anaxag. & Not.* Menag. *in Laert.* (22) Damachus *ap. Plut ubi ſup.* (23) *Meteorolog. lib.* 1. *c.* 7.

that

We might here alſo take notice of ſome other kinds of ſtony rains, mentioned by antient and modern authors, which are ſtill more natural, as being occaſioned either by vehement hurricanes, earthquakes, or by ſubterranean fires. Of the firſt ſort were thoſe which fell upon and routed the *Perſians*, when they went to plunder the temple of *Delphos* [w], and are affirmed by other travellers to be very frequent in ſome parts of *America* †. Thoſe that fell upon the *Gauls*, upon the like attempt, are attributed to a vehement hurricane by *Pauſanias*, but to an earthquake by *Juſtin* [x]. The laſt ſort is that which is cauſed by volcanoes and ſubterraneous fires; and theſe are ſo well known, that we ſhall mention but two remarkable inſtances of it, of a very late date, namely, that which preceded the ſurpriſing emerſion of the iſle of *Santorino* out of the *Archipelago* in the year 1707, concerning which we have the following account; that a dreadful noiſe had been heard ſeveral days, like that of thunder, or of great guns, during which volleys of ſtones all on fire were ſeen to riſe out of the ſea, and to fly up quite out of ſight like ſo many rockets, and then fall into the ſea again about five miles from the place whence they were thrown up. All this while the

Some cauſed by hurricanes and earthquakes.

[w] Vid. DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. lib. xi. † Vid. COREAL & FEUILLEE's Voyages. [x] PAUS. lib. i. JUST. lib. xxiv. ſub fin.

that it had been broken off from ſome rock, and carried up into the air by ſome vehement wind, becauſe, as he juſtly obſerves, it would have been impoſſible for it to have kept itſelf ſo long ſuſpended there, as *Damachus* affirms it to have done. *Pliny*, who tells us, that it was ſtill carefully preſerved in his time, ſays, that it was *magnitudine vehis* of the bigneſs of a four-wheeled cart, or rather of a loaded waggon, of a dark burnt colour. Such was that likewiſe which is recorded to have fallen in *Alſace*, in the midſt of a ſtorm of hail, in *November* 29, 1630, (24) which our author (25) tells us he has ſeen in the great church of *Anxiſſem*, where it is ſtill preſerved, and is like a large, dark, flint-ſtone, whoſe ſurface has been ſplintered by the fire, and weighs near three hundred pounds. Of the ſame nature were thoſe which count *Marcellin* relates to have fallen in *Thrace*, A. D. 1452, and ſeveral others. For if ſuch prodigious ſtones could either be engendered in the air, or carried up thither by the force of vehement winds, or of ſubterraneous fires, the like may be more reaſonably ſuppoſed of thoſe which fell upon the *Canaanites*, which had nothing ſo extraordinary either in their ſize, appearance, or effects.

(24) Geſner. & Anſ. de Boot. *Hiſt. Lapid. & Gem.* (25) Calm. *ubi ſupr.*

air

air was filled with a thick ſulphureous ſmoke, mixed with cinders, which with much difficulty diſperſed itſelf, and fell in ſuch abundance, that the nighbouring countries were covered with it, and with ſmall ſtones that fell with it. Something like this is what *Montfaucon* tells us happened in *Italy*, near the village *Tripergola*, whence, after ſeveral terrible ſhocks and earthquakes, during which the air was darkned, and the ground was covered with ſtones and duſt, which kept pouring down from the ſky during the ſpace of two days, at the end of which a mountain was obſerved to have reared itſelf in the midſt of the lake *Lucrino*; this happened according to our author in the year 1538 [y].

Others ingender in the air.

THE reader may find ſeveral other inſtances of the like, and perhaps of a more ſurpriſing nature, in ſome of the authors above-mentioned [z], which we forbear to dwell upon; all that we ſhall add, at preſent, is, a remark or two on the poſſibility of ſome ſort of ſtones, different from thoſe of hail, being ingendered in the air, according to the hint we have given in the laſt note. How common hail is formed in the clouds is too well known to want any explanation; that duſt, ſand, earth, and other ſuch materials, may be carried up a conſiderable height into the air by a ſtrong whirlwind, is no more than what is commonly obſerved; here then we need but ſuppoſe, that theſe, mingling themſelves with other exhalations, whether ſulphureous, bituminous, oily, vitrioline, and with the moiſture of the clouds, are there conglomerated and hardened by their own weight, by the preſſure of the air and clouds, and thence fall down when they can be no longer ſupported (O). There is nothing in all this but what is natural,

[y] Vid. MONTFAUCON's Diar. Ital. [z] G. VOSS. CALM. ubi ſup. GASSEND. in lib. X. DIOG. LAERT. de Meteor. Epicur.

(O) Of this nature ſeem to have been thoſe which, an author of credit (26) tells us, did fall in the neighbourhood of *Abdua*, to the number of twelve hundred, which he ſays were of the colour of ruſty iron, ſmooth and hard, and of a ſulphureous ſmell, not unlike in all theſe reſpects to thoſe which are commonly called thunder-ſtones, or bolts. Theſe he adds, were obſerved to fall from a vehement whirlwind, which appeared like an atmoſphere of fire, and were ſo large and heavy, that one of them weighed ſix ſcore, and another ſixty pounds.

To all this we may add, that theſe rains of ſtones were ſo far from being queſtioned either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*, that they

(26) Gardan. *de Variet. lib. xiv. c 72.*

A MAP *of the* Journey in the Wilderness, *and of the Conquest and Partition of the Land of* CANAAN, *by the* Children *of* Israel *according to this History.*



tural, and might, for ought appears to the contrary, have been the caſe of that which is mentioned in *Joſhua*. We ſee therefore no reaſon for having recourſe to allegory for fear of admitting the fact to be miraculous, as *Le Clerc* has, nor to the aſſiſtance of good or bad ſpirits, to prove the poſſibility of the ſuppoſed miracle, as others have done [a], ſince if any thing was ſupernatural in it, it was only the directing of that ſtorm to fall juſt at that time and place upon the flying *Canaanites*. However, the reader is at his liberty to attribute the phenomenon to which of theſe ſyſtems he pleaſes, though the ſeaſon of the year, the nature of the ſoil, of which we are going now to give the geography and natural hiſtory, and many other circumſtances, do rather incline us to aſcribe it to the laſt.

[a] MASIUS, BONFRERIUS, & al.

were looked upon both by them, and by other leſs polite nations, as ominous; who therefore never failed of conſulting the oracles, or endeavouring to avert the impending omen by ſacrifices, and other religious rites, which are reported to have laſted nine days (27), inſomuch, that theſe kinds of heatheniſh expiations have induced ſome chriſtians to believe, that the devil was the author both of thoſe prodigious rains, and of the ſuperſtitious rites that were uſed to avert them (28), in order to confirm mankind in their idolatry. But as ſuch overſtrained notions need not be confuted in the age we live in, we ſhall cloſe this note, and the ſubject, with obſerving, that it is not unlikely, that the fabulous ſtory of *Hercules* obtaining ſuch a ſhower of ſtones from *Jupiter* to cruſh thoſe enemies, which his arm and valour could not overcome (29), might owe its birth to this we are upon. We have already obſerved, under a former head, that the poets have joined in the character of that fabulous hero ſeveral characters and exploits, which they have taken from thoſe of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Samſon*, and other *Jewiſh* worthies (30); what makes it very probable, that this rain of ſtones is of that number, is, that thoſe enemies, againſt whom he procured it, are called *the ſons of Neptune* (31), which expreſſion, being diveſted of the fable, properly ſignifies any people that traffic by ſea, and is very applicable to the *Phœnicians*, and to their neighbours the *Canaanites*. But this we ſubmit to the reader.

(27) Alex. *ab* Alex. *Genial. Dier. l. v. c. 27. ap.* Calm *ubi ſup.* (28) *Vid.* Maſi. *in Joſh. x.* (29) Mela, *lib. ii. Gall. Narbon.* Plin. *lib. v.* Æſchyl. *ap.* Strab. *lib iv. & al.* (30) Girot. *de Verit.* Huet. *Demonſt. Evang.* (31) *Vid.* Melam. *ubi ſup.*

SECT. IV.

A Description of the Land of PROMISE.

THIS remarkable country, at firſt, a great part of it at leaſt, called the land of *Canaan* [b], or *Chanaan* (A) has been ſucceſſively known by ſeveral names; as the land of *Iſrael*, the land of *God*, the *Holy Land*, and ſimply the *Land*; as alſo *Judea* or *Judæa*, *Palæſtine* or *Pa-*

[b] See Vol. II. p. 157.

(A) This name ſometimes includes the whole land poſſeſſed by the twelve tribes, though it peculiarly belongs to no more than the country weſtward of the river *Jordan*. This being evident, and agreed on, we ſhall only obſerve that the *Jews* themſelves make a diſtinction between the land of *Canaan* promiſed to their fathers, and recommended for its abundance of milk and honey, and the lands of *Sihon* and *Og*, which were to the eaſtward of the river (1). *Moſes* plainly does the ſame in this expreſſion: *Until I ſhall paſs over* Jordan, *into the land which the Lord our God giveth us* (2). But we muſt not forget that *Canaan*, in the general extent of it, may be divided into the larger and the leſſer (3). The larger was to have extended to the *Euphrates* on the one hand, and the *Mediterranean* on the other (4). This was promiſed, but the *Jews* never had peaceable poſſeſſion of this wide dominion, though they, in a manner, ſubverted all the *Syrian* powers (5). The leſſer *Canaan* was confined to the land poſſeſſed by the nations particularly marked out for exciſion and expulſion (6). It is obſerved as an eſſential difference between the larger and the leſſer *Canaan*, that in the former, when the *Jews* beſieged a city, they were by GOD himſelf commanded to make offers of peace, while in the latter no conditions were to be granted on any account, but the People were to be deſtroyed and utterly rooted out (7). Again, the land on this ſide *Jordan* was eſteemed more holy than the land on the other; nay ſuch a wide difference was in this reſpect ſuppoſed to be between them, that the latter was even accounted unclean, if compared with the former, tho' poſſeſſed by the two tribes and a half (8). The one was barely called, *the land of your poſſeſſion*, the other, *the land of the poſſeſſion of the Lord* (9).

(1) *Vide* Reland. *Palæſt. illuſt. c.* 1. *pag* 5. (2) *Deut. ii.* 29. (3) *See Vol. II. p.* 295, *&c. Vide etiam* Reland. *ubi ſup.* (4) *Deut. xi.* 24. (5) *See Vol. II. p.* 273, *&c.* (6) *See Vol. II. p* 157. (7) *See* Fuller's *Piſgah-Sight, lib.* 1. *c.* 2. (8) *Vide* Reland. *ubi ſup. c.* 4. (9) *See Joſh. xxii.* 19.

Iſtine,

leſtine, *Syria Palæſtina*, *Syria*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Idumæa* or *Idumea*, and *Phœnicia* or *Phœnice*.

THESE are the various names that have in general been impoſed on this ſmall part. It was called the land of *Canaan*, as a great ſhare of it was originally poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of the ſon of *Cham* of the ſame name [c], who being expelled and cut off to make room for the *Iſraelites* [d], it thence was called after their name [e]; to which we ſhall alſo add, that it was ſometimes called the land of the *Hebrews* [f], and ſometimes the land of the *Jews* [g]. It was called the land of GOD, as it was immediately given by him to the poſterity of *Abraham*, the place of his more eſpecial choice, and as he cauſed it to produce in proportion as his worſhip was obſerved or neglected; as it was alſo the place which he ſelected for his royal ſeat, and as here it pleaſed him to dwell, and more particularly in the temple of *Jeruſalem* [h]. It was called the *Holy Land* firſt by the *Jews*, and ſince by the Chriſtians. By the *Jews* it was ſo called, as GOD declared it to be particularly his own, to be as it were his only ſeat, and ſolely appropriate to his ſervice; beſides, that GOD had promiſed it to his own people, upon the expulſion of the prophane and unclean nations (B). By the Chriſtians it obtained this ſame name, as it was the great and ſtupendous ſcene

[c] See Vol. II. p. 157. [d] See Vol. I. p. 262, &c. [e] 1 Sam. xiii. 19. 2 Kings vi. 23. Ezek. vii. 2. Matth. ii. 22. JOSEPH. Ant. vii. 10, &c. &c. &c. [f] Idem Ibid. l. xv. c. 7. [g] PAUSAN. lib. vi. c. 24. JOSEPH. ubi ſup. lib. 7. c. 9. [h] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſt. lib. i. c. 3.

(B) This region was holy to the *Jews*, as it was GOD's choſen ſeat, and as it had been promiſed to their forefathers upon the expulſion of its firſt prophane and unclean inhabitants; but much more to the chriſtians, as there it was their ſalvation was wrought and effected (10). But the *Jews* did not account their whole poſſeſſion to be equally ſacred, as we have obſerved in the note next above, and that the *Chriſtians*, ſeemingly at leaſt, give preference to ſome places above others, it may be needleſs to ſay. But the *Jews* particularly exalt this land far above all others elſe in the world, as they believe, that here is to be the reſurrection of the dead, and that perſons buried elſewhere cannot enjoy a re-union of the ſoul and body, 'till the body has been transferred to the land of *Iſrael* (11). *Abarbanel* (12) pronounces, that *whoſoever lives without the limits of the land of* Iſrael *is as he that is without God.*

(10) *Vide* Reland. *ubi ſup.* (11) *Vide eund. ibid.* (12) *Apud eund. ibid.*

of what was wrought and ſuffered for their ſalvation, and that of the whole world [i]. It is ſometimes ſimply called the *Land*, by way of pre-eminence, and as above all others; as when at the crucifixion it is ſaid, *there was darkneſs over all the Land*, which cannot ſafely be extended beyond the limits of this [k]. Whence it derived its appellation of *Judæa* is ſeemingly plain; *Judah*, being the head or chief of the tribes [l], communicated its name to the reſt; beſides, that the kingdom of *Judah*, ſtanding after the diſſolution of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, may have given farther ground for the extenſive (C) and general uſe of this name. There are other, but erroneous, accounts of the origin of this name. In ſhort, it was called *Paleſtine*, as being a part of that tract or region very early ſo denominated (D); and this is the name that has ſince

[i] Vide eund. ibid c. 4. [k] Vide eund. ibid. c. 5. [l] See Num. ii. 3. vii. 12, &c. Revel. vii. 5.

(C) That the name of *Judæa* not only comprehended what the *Jews* poſſeſſed on this ſide of *Jordan*, but alſo what they held on the other, is plain, from *Joſephus*'s (13) Ἰουδαία πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, or *Judæa beyond* Jordan, or the *Judæa* of *Jordan* (14), by way of diſtinction. For the portion of *Judah*, whence this general denomination derives its origin, was not bounded by the *Jordan*, but by the *Dead ſea*, or *Aſphaltite* lake (15). The extenſiveneſs of this name in honour of the patriarch *Judah* and his poſterity, is thus foretold by *Jacob*, according to thoſe who favour this tranſlation of the text, (16) Juda *te confitebuntur, (de nomine tuo dicentur) fratres tui*: Judah *thy brethren ſhall confeſs thee, or be called by thy name*. This verſion is approved by a man (17) of great eminence, tho' different from any other we have ſeen; but the completion of the prophecy in this ſenſe, having been moſt remarkably made good, may incline us to embrace it. The common interpretation is, *that his brethren ſhould praiſe him*, or *pride themſelves in him*, which in the judgment of ſome may imply what is ſuggeſted above. *Euſebius* (18) attributes the prevalence of this name to the efficacy of the ſame prophecy. *Alexander Polyhiſtor* (19) derives the name from the children of *Semiramis*, *Juda*, and *Idumæa*; while *Claudius Iolaus* (20) borrows it from one *Judæus*, the ſon of one *Sparto* who followed *Bacchus* to *Thebes*; abſurd fables.

(D) We have elſewhere obſerved, that tho' this name properly belonged to no more than what is commonly called the *Pentapolis*

(13) *Antiq. lib. xii. c.* 5. (14) *Vid.* Reland. *ubi ſup. c.* 6. (15) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (16) *Geneſ. xlix.* 8. (17) Reland *ubi ſupr.* (18) *Demonſtrat. Evang. lib viii.* (19) *Apud* Steph. Byzant. *in* Ἔβρων. (20) *Apud eund. ibid.*

of

ſince particularly prevailed with the chriſtian doctors and mohammedan writers [m]. It has alſo paſſed under the names of *Syria Palæſtina*, *Syria*, and *Cœle-Syria*, as being generally comprehended under the noted appellations of *Syria* [n], and *Cœle-Syria* [o], the antient cuſtom, as it is alſo at preſent, with the *Arabian* geographers [p]. How this country came to be known by the name of *Phœnice* we have ſufficiently explained already [q], and ſhall inſiſt no farther thereon. We have already obſerved, that the whole nation of the *Jews* were ſometimes called *Idumæans* [r]; and now add, as conſequential thereto, that the country of the *Jews* was ſometimes called *Idumæa*, from the *Edomites* who ſeized on the ſouthern parts of the country during the *Babyloniſh* captivity [s] (E). Theſe have been, and are, the ſeveral names of the land promiſed to

[m] Vide RELAND. ubi ſupr. c. 7. [n] See Vol. II. p. 233. [o] STRAB. lib. xvi. [p] See Vol. II. p. 234, &c. [q] See Vol. II. p. 294, in the notes. [r] See Vol. II. p. 134. [s] See Vol. II. p. 146. Vide etiam RELAND. ubi ſup. c. 9.

of the *Philiſtines*, it had the fortune to ſpread itſelf over almoſt all the neighbour region (21). We have alſo touched on the vague and uncertain uſe of this name, together with thoſe of *Syria* and *Phœnice* (22). *Dio Caſſius* (23), ignorant, as he himſelf confeſſes, of the origin of the name *Judæa*, tells us, that the name of *Paleſtine* was prior thereto; and *Julian* (24) ſpeaks of the *Jews* as a handful of people inhabiting a part only of *Judæa*. That the *Philiſtines* ſhould have been conſidered above the *Jews* by the idolatrous nations of old, is no wonder, and thence it muſt ſeemingly have happened, that *Paleſtine* has been ſo much the name of all this tract for ſo many ages, and with ſuch numbers of nations and ſects as it has been.

(E) This is what we have formerly obſerved (25). It has been remarked above (26), that *Alexander Polyhiſtor* derives *Judæa* from one *Juda*, the ſon of *Semiramis*, to whom he gives a brother by the ſame queen called *Idumæa*, who according to him muſt have communicated this his name to his country But not to inſiſt upon ſuch authorities, it is evident, that this name naturally flows from the *Edomites*, who, being vaſſals to the great monarchies, and ever active againſt the *Jews* (27), came into great conſideration with the heathen, who may have accounted them more honourable than the *Jews*, and have therefore propagated their name beyond its natural bounds. Whenſoever it happened, *Idumæa* was very often uſurped for *Judæa* (28).

(21) *See Vol. II p.* 190. (22) *See Vol. II p.* 294. (D). (23) *Hiſt. Rom. lib. xxxvii.* (24) *Contr. Chriſtianos.* (25) *See Vol. II p.* 146. (26) *In not.* (27) *See Vol. II. p.* 147. (28) *Vide* Reland. *ubi ſup. c.* 9.

to the deſcendants of *Abraham*, and theſe are the beſt and moſt ſuccinct reaſons we have to aſſign for their variety.

Situation and boundaries.

IT was a received opinion formerly, that this country was, as it were, the navel of the whole earth [t], and exactly in the midſt of the nations (F); a notion which may be well excuſed in thoſe who had ſo ſlight a knowledge of the ſtructure and extent of the world as the antients. Its ſite, with regard to the ſeveral people round about, may be gathered from the geography of the ſeveral countries that precede in this hiſtory; wherefore we ſhall touch no farther thereon, than to exhibit the boundaries that have been aſſigned to this favourite land: but not to enter into a long detail of critical niceties, we ſhall briefly and roundly ſay, that to the ſouth it had the mountains or land of *Edom* [u], and *Amalek* [w]; to the eaſt it had the *Aſphaltite* lake, the river *Jordan*, the ſea of *Tiberias* or *Galilee*, and the *Samachonite* lake; to the north it had the mountains of *Libanus* or *Antilibanus* rather, or the territory of the *Phœnicians*; to the weſt it had the *great* or *Mediterranean* ſea. We forbear to ſet bounds to the *Peræa*, or land beyond *Jordan*, and content ourſelves with what is more peculiarly the *Land of Promiſe*. Theſe were its natural bounds; but the bounds of the conqueſts and other acquiſitions are not ſo eaſy to be ſettled (G).

WE

[t] Vide eund. ibid. c. 10. [u] See Vol. II. p. 130. [w] See Vol. II. p. 150 & 151.

(F) This was alſo arrogated to themſelves both by the *Athenians* and the *Delphians*. The *Jews* borrowed this notion from paſſages in ſcripture, ſuch as theſe—*This is* Jeruſalem: *I have ſet it in the midſt of the nations and countries that are round about her* (29) —*that dwell in the midſt, or* (as it is in the margin) *the navel of the land*. Theſe expreſſions taken in too vulgar and literal a ſenſe, have tempted men (30) to pronounce *the land of* Iſrael *to be in the midſt of the habitable world*, and *to be the navel*, as it were *of the earth*. What the *Delphians* and *Athenians* had to ſay for themſelves, as to this particular, may be beſt deferred 'till we come to treat of them diſtinctly.

(G) We need only obſerve, that the river *Arnon* is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt northern boundary of the children of *Iſrael*, on the other ſide of *Jordan*. With regard to the boundaries on this ſide of the river, *Reland* (31) takes notice of a great difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* pentateuch; his words are *Quod ad terminos Palæſtinæ attinet deſcriptos*, Gen. x. 19. *eſt obſervatu*

(29) *Ezek.* v. 5. (30) Kimchi & Hieronym. *in Ezek. ubi ſup.* (31) *Ubi ſup. c.* 25.

dignum,

WE have already exhibited the diviſion of this land by the *Canaanites*, its firſt inhabitants [x], we are next to part it between the children of *Iſrael*. *Simeon* was the ſouthermoſt of all: he had *Edom* to the ſouth, the *Dead*-ſea to the eaſt, *Judah* to the north, to the weſt uncertain whether a deſert tract or inhabited land. *Judah* was the next: he had *Simeon* on the ſouth, the *Dead*-ſea on the eaſt, *Dan* and *Benjamin* on the north, the *Philiſtine* on the weſt; *Dan* had the *Philiſtine* and *Judah* on the ſouth, *Benjamin* on the eaſt, *Ephraim* and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on the north, the *Mediterranean*-ſea on the weſt; *Benjamin* had *Judah* on the ſouth, the *Jordan* on the eaſt, *Ephraim* on the north, *Dan* on the weſt; *Ephraim* and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* we join together in one common incloſure; they had *Dan* and *Benjamin* on the ſouth, the *Jordan* and part of *Iſſachar* on the eaſt, part of *Iſſachar* and *Aſher* on the north, the *Mediterranean* on the weſt; *Iſſachar* had *Ephraim* and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, the *Jordan* on the eaſt, *Zebulun* on the north, *Aſher* on the weſt; *Aſher* had the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on the ſouth, *Iſſachar*, *Zebulun*, *Naphtali* on the eaſt, the *Phœnician* on the north, the *Mediterranean*-ſea on the weſt; *Zebulun* had *Iſſachar* on the ſouth, part of *Jordan* and part of the ſea of *Galilee* on the eaſt, *Naphtali* on the north, *Aſher* on the weſt; *Naphtali* had *Zebulun* on the ſouth, part of the ſea of *Galilee* and the *Samachonite* lake on the eaſt, the mountains of *Antilibanus* on the north, *Aſher* on the weſt. To croſs on the other ſide; *Reuben* and *Gad* had their portion along the eaſtern banks of the *Jordan* between the *Dead*-ſea and the ſea of *Tiberias*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* lay along the eaſtern ſhores of the ſea of *Tiberias* and the *Samachonite* lake. In this order was the land on this and that ſide of the river divided and diſtributed to the children of *Iſrael* under *Moſes* and *Joſhua*.

Diviſion.

[x] See Vol. II. p. 158.

dignum, pentateuchum Hebræo-Samaritanum *non niſi duos treſve extremos memorare, uti fluvium* Ægypti & Euphratem *vel mare magnum, licet in codice* Hebræo *plurimorum aliorum locorum in finibus ſitorum fiat mentio. Contextus* Hebræus *ita habet*; & termini *Canaan* ſunt a *Sidone, Gerarам* uſq; *Gazam*, qua itur *Sodomam, Gomorram, Admam, & Tzeboim* uſq; ad *Leſcha*, Samaritanus *hoc comma ita exhibet*—— Et fuit terminus *Canaanæorum* a fluvio *Ægypti* uſq; ad flumen magnum *Euphratem*, & uſq; ad mare poſterius, i. e. *occidentale. Vides inſignem differentiam quæ inter* Hebræum & Samaritanum *codicem intercedit.*

SOLOMON

SOLOMON afterwards divided the land into twelve portions (H); but as the bare mention of this is sufficient for our present purpose, and as it is impossible, seemingly, to ascertain the limits and extent of each, we shall proceed to observe, that under the second temple, it began to be divided into tetrarchies and toparchies, greater and smaller parts; the greater were *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee* (I); the lesser were *Daroma*, *Gerarítica*, *Sarona*, and others (K); these were on this side of *Jordan*. The other side of the river was divided into *Gilead*, the *Peræa*, *Gaulonitis*, *Batanæa*, and *Decapolis*.

IN after times, and under the christian dispensation, it was comprehended, for the most part, if not quite, under the denominations of *Palæstina prima*, *Palæstina secunda*, *Palæstina tertia* or *salutaris*.

(H) It is said, (32) he appointed *twelve officers over* Israel, *to provide victuals for the king and his household: each man his month in the year made provision*. Now there was great inequality, as to extent at least, between the portions of land belonging to the tribes; so that to have taxed them alike had been a seeming hardship. It must therefore follow, that this new division was in equal parts, either in regard to extent or to production, and that this new division was very different from the old. *Reland* (33) has confronted *Josephus* with the scripture as to this matter, and to him we refer the curious reader.

(I) *Reland* (34), in the map he gives us of this division, makes *Idumæa* encroach considerably upon *Judæa*, but in his text takes no notice of it, either as a tetrarchy or toparchy. Perhaps he does this upon sufficient assurance, that *Judæa* and *Idumæa* were promiscuously usurped for each other, as we have observed before (35). To enquire farther into this were needless. We have only to add, that *Galilee* was twofold, the upper and the lower (36).

(K) *Pliny* (37), reckons up ten toparchies in this country; *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Joppa*, *Acrabatena*, *Gophna*, *Thamna*, *Bethleptephene*, *Orine*, *Herodium*. *Josephus* (38) has eleven, *Gophna*, *Acrabatta*, *Thamna*, *Lydda*, *Emmaus*, *Pella*, *Idumæa*, *Engadæ*, *Herodion*, *Jericho*; a very obscure piece of geography, which we shall not take upon us to illustrate.

(32) 1 *Kings* iv. 7. (33) *Palæst. Illust. lib.* 1. *c.* 29. (34) *Ubi sup. c* 31. (35) *See Vol. II. p.* 146, & *Vol. III. p.* 93 (E). (36) *Vide* Reland. *ubi supr.* (37) *Lib. v. c.* 14. (38) *De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c.* 4.

AGAIN,

AGAIN, it is divided into the hilly country and the low (L), which will naturally lead us, and no place more proper, to take a ſurvey of the more remarkable mountains, valleys, and plains. The midland, between the *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean*, is on all hands allowed to be particularly mountainous, while the land towards the ſea, mount *Carmel* excepted, and towards the river, is flat, except ſome gentle riſings, as at this day.

IT may be reckoned inaccurate in us to comprehend the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, or either of them, within the diſtrict before us, ſeeing they might have been more properly deſcribed in our geography of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, and we in part ſubmit thereto, and the rather as we have tacitly, as it were, admitted them to have been a part of the proper *Syria*, when we formerly deſcribed the cedars of *Lebanon* among the natural curioſities of that country [x]. But, having occaſion to make mention of theſe hills once more, we would venture here to ſupply our former omiſſions. Theſe mountains, as to their extent and ſituation with reſpect to each other, have been very obſcurely deſcribed by the antients, and very confuſedly underſtood by all the modern geographers, one ſeemingly excepted (M), who agrees very well with the only antients (N), who have ſpoken with ſome degree of clearneſs relating thereto. It is a confirmed opinion [y], that, whether you call them *Libanus* † *Mountains*

[x] See Vol. II. p. 236. [y] Vide RELAND. ub. ſup. c. 48.

(L) The *Jews*, in their *Talmud* (39), have a threefold diviſion of their country into mountains, valleys, and plains, allotting to each its peculiar (40), to the mountain the aſh, to the valley the palm, and to the plain the mulberry.

(M) *Maundrell* (41) is the perſon we mean; who has very ſatisfactorily diſtinguiſhed between the one and the other, which have been moſt unaccountably blended together, and confounded by all the geographers we have ſeen; but as we ſhall copy theſe mountains from his map publiſhed by *Reland* (42), we may ſave ourſelves the trouble of his verbal deſcription.

(N) We mean *Strabo* and *Pliny*, who make them two diſtinct ridges running almoſt parallel with each other.

(†) Some have affected to derive it from Λίβανος, *Libanus*, the *Greek* for frankincenſe; but *Reland* (43) very juſtly remarks, that they ſhould, in the firſt place, prove, that any ſort of that aromatic ever grew there.

(39) *In* Shevith. *c.* 9. 2. (40) *In* Gemar. *Hieroſolym.* (41) *Journey to Jeruſalem.* (42) *Paleſtin. illuſt.* (43) *In Paleſt. Illuſt. ub. ſup. c.* 48.

or *Antilibanus*, they derive their names from the whiteneſs of the ſnow which lies upon them; which ſome ſeem to think it perpetually does (O); while others aver, it is there but for a certain ſeaſon only (P). St. *Jerom* [z] ſays, that no hill in the *Land of Promiſe* is more lofty, more woody, or thicker ſet, than *Libanus*; and elſewhere [a] it is ſaid to be the higheſt of all *Paleſtine*. The cedars, once the great pride and ornament of theſe hills, are now, in a manner, extinct [b], though ſome few there are among the pines, cypreſſes, and other noble vegetables here produced. Finally, theſe mountains have, at ſeveral times, been a place of refuge and retreat for robbers and other deſperate people in great numbers.

MOUNT *Hermon* (Q) appears next, like *Libanus* capped with

[z] In Zachar. ix. [a] THEODOR. in Pſal. lxxi. [b] See Vol. II. ubi ſup.

(O) We have already touched (44) upon this; *Rauwolf* (45) will have it, that the ſnow reſts on theſe mountains all the ſummer long. *Le Bruyn* (46) ſays, theſe hills are ever covered with ſnow. *Sandys* (47) obſerves, that when he was in this neighbourhood, a *Moor*, returning from theſe *ſnow-topped* mountains in company with an *Engliſh* merchant, periſhed with the exceſſive cold, tho', at the ſame time, the heat in the valleys on both ſides was exceſſive. Prince *Radziville* (48) reports, that the ſnows on the tops of theſe mountains never melt away, tho' the heats here be far more intenſe and ſcorching than in *Italy*. *Phocas* (49) ſpeaks of the mountains as covered with ſnow from the head to the foot; which agrees well with what *Maundrell* (50) relates. We have been the more particular upon this, as well formerly (51) as now, becauſe it has been roundly and formally contradicted by a traveller of more than ordinary reputation.

(P) The perſon who ſo differs from all the reſt is Monſ. *De la Roque*, or rather the chevalier *d'Arvieux* (52); but it being ſo common for ſnow eternally to lie on the ſummits of great hills, the abſence of it he obſerved muſt very likely have been owing to ſome very extraordinary cauſe

(Q) It was alſo called *Baal-hermon* (53), and ſeemingly by other names, not ſtrictly to our purpoſe. *Hilarius* (54) derives *Hermon* from

(44) *See Vol. II.* 236, (D). (45) *Itinerary into the Eaſt Count part ii. c.* 1. (46) *Voyage au Levant, tom.* 2. *c.* 57. *p.* 286. *in* 4to. (47) *In his travels, book iii. p.* 212. (48) *Peregrinat Hieroſolym. p.* 27. (49) *Apud* Reland. *ub. ſup. c.* 48. (50) *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ.* (51) *See Vol. II p.* 236, (D). (52) *Vide ibid.* (53) Judges iii. 3. (54) *In* Pſ. cxxxiii.

with ſnow c (R), but for nothing more remarkable than the abundant dews which fall upon and about it (S).

MOUNT *Carmel* (T) on the ſkirts of the ſea is the moſt remarkable head of land of all the coaſt, at leaſt ſouthward of it, on all hands famed for its fertility (V), of particular note among the antients for being, above all others, the favourite place of *Pythagoras* (W); but by far more revered among

c Vide RELAND. ub. ſup. c. 49.

חרם *anathema*. *Hermon*, ſays he (55), is a mountain in *Phœnice*, whoſe interpretation is anathema—*It is reported*—*that the* angels, *when they deſcended from heaven for love of the* daughters of men, *aſſembled together upon this very lofty hill.* That it was a place of antient ſuperſtition may be not only gathered hence, but is alſo confirmed by *Euſebius* (56), who ſays, that on the top of it there was a famous temple, held in high veneration with the neighbouring Heathen about, in *Libanus* and *Paneas*.

(R) Travellers have but little on the remarkables of this hill.

(S) *We were*, ſays *Maundrell* (57) *ſufficiently inſtructed by experience, what the holy* Pſalmiſt *means by the dew of* Hermon, *our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night.*

(T) This was a name common to both a town and a mountain, and is equally applicable to any fertile and woody place; or it may be underſtood of purple, which was fiſhed at the foot of this ſame mountain (58). It was alſo a name common both to a mountain and a god (59). *Thevenot* (60) obſerving there are two *Carmels* mentioned by St. *Jerom*, ſuppoſes they are both mountains.

(V) This mountain *is rich in olives and wines when huſbanded, and abounding with ſeveral ſorts of fruit and herbs, both medicinable and fragrant; though now much overgrown with woods and ſhrubs of ſweet ſavour* (61). But according to another (62), *this mountain is round about, towards the ſea-coaſt, very bare and rough, that we may very well ſay with the holy prophet* Amos, *That the paſtures of the herdſmen ſhall look miſerably, and the top of the mountain dried up.* Others there are who do not ſpeak of this place, as it is at preſent, with any greater advantage, than, as it were a rock (63).

(W) It was antiently called ὄρος ἱερὸν Διὸς, (64) *the holy mountain of* Jupiter, if not rather as it is thought (65), ὄρος καὶ ἱερὸν Διὸς, *the mountain and temple of* Jupiter. The name of *Carmel* was

(55) *Ibid.* (56) *In Onomaſtico, ad vocem* Ἀερμὼν (57) *Journey from Alcppo to Jeruſ. p.* 57. (58) Bochart. *Hier. pt.* 2. *lib. v. c.* 9, *&c.* (59) Tacitus. (60) *Coſmog de Levant, p.* 180. 61) Sandys, *ub. ſup. p.* 203. (62) Rauwolf, *ub. ſup. p.* 225. (63) Theven. *Voy. au Levant, pt.* 1. *c.* 58. (64) Scyl, Caryand, *in Minor. Hiſt. vol.* 2. (65) *Vide* Reland. *Palæſtin. Illuſt. lib. i. c.* 50.

among the *Christians*, as here they supposed *Elias* sojourned in a cave, some time before he was ravished into heaven (X).

TABOR

common both to the mountain and a god (66). In short, in such high veneration it was, either for its advantages of nature, or the famed traditions of old *Paganism*, that here *Pythagoras* is reported (67) to have taken particular delight, and to have frequently amused himself alone in the temple. But *Tacitus* (68) denies there was here any temple, or image of a god, but an altar only and veneration.

(X) This is on all hands allowed, and on this account it came to be in such high esteem with the *Christians*, that it is seemingly early, that they began to distinguish it by particular marks of piety. There was here a very large monastery, which, by the envy of time and the rage of the enemy, being brought to decay, the ruins of it were, as we may say, a-new consecrated, by a *Calabrian* priest, urged hither to the work, by revelation, who gathered together about ten monks, and restored the venerable credit of the place (69). "From hence proceeded the order of frier *Carmelites*, "as successors to the children of the prophets there left by *Elias*, "who had their beginning, in the desert of *Syria*, in the year "1180, instituted by *Almericus* bishop of *Antioch*; and said to have "received their white habit from our lady; whom *Albertus* the "patriarch of *Jerusalem* transported first into *Europe*. There is yet "to be seen the remains of their monastery, with a temple dedi-"cated to the blessed virgin; under which a little chapel, or "cave, the antient dwelling of *Elias* (70). —— Some years ago, "without doubt, have a great many of this order [of *Carmel-"ites*] lived hereabout, as still to this day doth appear by their "cloisters and churches, which by age are so mightily decayed, "that they are left deserted and uninhabited (71). Their convent "now is not on the top of the mount, where they had a lovely "one before the christians lost the *Holy Land*, the ruins whereof "are still to be seen; but there is a very little one somewhat low-"er, and needs no more but three monks to fill it, who would "have much ado to subsist, if they had not some alms given them "by the *French* merchants of *Acre*, who go often thither out of "devotion.—Their church is the very spot where *Elias* abode, "which is very neatly cut out of the rock."—They have an excellent prospect, especially upon the sea (72). This mountain seems not to have much bettered its condition with regard to its religious state, though the late king of *France* did what he could to regain its former splendor (73), and the reason may be, because

(66) *Vide eund. ibid* (67) Jamblich. *in vita Pythag. c.* 3. (68) *Histor lib.* 2. (69) Johan. Phoc. *ap.* Reland. *ub. sup.* (70) Sand. *Trav. lib. iii. p.* 203. (71) Rauwolf's *Itinerary, pt.* 3. *c.* 1. (72) Theven. *Voy au Levant. pt.* 1. *c.* 59. (73) De la Roque *Voy. dans la Palest. in the preface.*

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TABOR is the next mount we are to ſurvey. There was a city of the ſame name. It was alſo called *Itabyrion* and *Atabyrion* (Y), and borrows its *Hebrew* name from its form (Z). It is remarkable for the regularity of its form, and proportion of its parts (A); for its being ſeated in the midſt

it has been pretty much the ordinary reſidence of an emir of the *Arabs* (74).

(Y) Names beſt known to the *Greeks*, and ſuppoſed to be derived from אתדבור, *a place where cattle was led to* paſture (75). Other places there were of the ſame name; in *Rhodes* there was a mountain called *Atabyrium*; in *Sicily* there was an *Alabyrium*; there was alſo a city of the ſame name in *Perſia*; and laſtly, another in *Phœnice* (76). There was a Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος, who was chiefly worſhipped in *Rhodes* (77): but what relation this *Atabyrian Jove* may have had to our mountain, does no where plainly appear, though that ſome he had may be eaſily conjectured, eſpecially if we recollect what has been ſaid of mount *Carmel*, that its name belonged both to the mount itſelf, and to a god (78).

(Z) טבור *Tabor*, is properly a navel.

(A) In the ſeventh century, it is deſcribed to have been of wonderful regularity, verdant and florid, to have had an ample plain at top, ſurrounded with a great wood, with a great monaſtery, and many cells in the midſt thereof (79). This monaſtery, or church, was dedicated to our Lord, *Moſes* and *Elias* (80). The ſame author adds, it was by the inhabitants called *Agæ Mons*; which muſt have been, in ſome ſort, a corruption of the *Greek* ἅγιον ὄρος, the *Holy Mount*, which denotes the veneration it was in, even in very early days, as well as at preſent. It ſeems to have been an antient tradition, that upon this hill, at the laſt day, four angels will, with four trumpets, raiſe the dead from the beginning of the world, that they may appear alive before the face of our Lord, in the valley of *Jehoſhaphat* (81). But not to inſiſt farther on the received ſanctity of the place, we will only add concerning its amænity as at this day, that "it has a plain area at "top, moſt fertile and delicious, of an oval figure, extended about "one furlong in breadth, and two in length. This area is en-"cloſed with trees on all parts, except towards the ſouth. It was "antiently environed with walls, and trenches, and other fortifi-"cations, of which it exhibits many remains at this day (82)."

Another traveller (83), deſcribing the appearance of it more par-

(74) Sand. *ub. ſup.* De la Roque, *ub. ſup.* (75) Hilar *in Onomaſt. ſacr. ap* Reland *ub. ſup. c.* 51. (76) Steph. Byzant. Ἐθνικά. (77) Polyb *lib. ix.* (78) *See before in the laſt note but one* (79) Adamnan. *de loc. ſacr. lib. xi.* (80) *Itin. Sr* Willibald. *ap.* Reland *ub ſup.* (81) Mandev. *c.* 10. (82) Maund. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 113. (83) Radzivil. *Peregrin. Jeroſol. p.* 43.

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midſt of a plain, at a diſtance from any other hill; for its fertility and beauty of production, and for its height (B); but above all for being the ſcene of the glorious transfiguration (†), which has derived on it the particular veneration of

ticularly, obſerves, that it ſeems to have been rather the work of art than of nature, and of wonderful beauty; that from the bottom to the top it looks like a continued ſpiral of cinder-coloured rock continually crowned with verdant trees, which agrees not amiſs with the cut the former has given us to repreſent this ſame mount. A third (84) tells us, that moſt of the trees on this hill are *hard oaks.*

(B) *Joſephus* writes, that this mountain is thirty ſtades or furlongs in height, and *Adamnanus* (85) agrees with him exactly therein; but that it falls much ſhort of this meaſure, whether conſidered perpendicularly, or obliquely, will appear by the undoubted teſtimony of modern travellers. *Maundrell* (86) ſays, he aſcended it in leſs than an hour, and *Thevenot* (87) computes the aſcent of it at not quite half a league, tho' at the ſame time he obſerves, that ſome of his company went up on horſeback; ſo that the acclivity ſeems to be not ſo abrupt, as is commonly imagined, by the ſugar-loaf ſhape of this hill. In ſhort, this account tends to depreſs the perpendicular height of it. Before we cloſe up this note, we muſt remember, that *Adamnanus* (88) gives the plain at top an extent of twenty five ſtades, which is very ſufficiently contradicted by *Maundrell*, in the note above.

† This place having been had in great veneration by the Chriſtians, as we have partly obſerved already (89), we have only to add, that there are ſtill ſome remains of the religious ſtate of it. Prince *Radziville* (90) writes, that on the top of it, there is a middling ſort of a church, between two cells, or chapels rather, according to him erected by St. *Helen*, on the ſpot of the tranſfiguration. *Thevenot* (91) has it, that there is here but one grott, and that but a little one, in which is a chapel, made up of four arches croſs-wiſe: that the firſt is the entrance only; the ſecond, oppoſite to it, the place where our lord was tranſfigured; that on the right-hand of this, the place where *Moſes* ſtood; that, on the left where *Elias*: thus does he ſeemingly differ from the former traveller. A third there is, (92) who varies from both, and tells us, that on the top of this mount, there is a grott, which ſeems to be a part of ſome old ruins, all lined with great ſtones, and with many vaults ſtill ſtanding. The ſame author tells us, the mount itſelf is ſo ſteep that there

(84) Theven. *ub ſup. c.* 55. (85) *Ub. ſup.* (86) *Ub. ſup.* (87) *Ub. ſup.* (88) *Ub ſup.* (89) *See before in the laſt note but one.* (90) *In Peregr. Teroſ. ub. ſup.* (91) *Voy. au Levant, ub. ſup.* (92) Le Bruyn. *Voy. au Levant, tom.* 2. *p.* 410.

is

of *Chriſtians* in almoſt all ages, but that here this ſplendid miracle was wrought is doubted by ſome (C).

MOUNT *Olivet*, or the mount of *Olives* (D), is the next that claims place, which, on ſome accounts, it may almoſt do before all others. It is about a mile diſtant from *Jeruſa-*

is no aſcending it on horſeback, which *Thevenot* contradicts (93). Finally, we have a fourth eye-witneſs (94), who ſeems to vary from the three in the deſcription he gives us of theſe remains, which is, that they are no more than *three contiguous grottoes, made to repreſent the three tabernacles St.* Peter *propoſed to erect, in the aſtoniſhment which poſſeſſed him at the glory of the transfiguration.*

(C) " Its being ſituated in ſuch a ſeparate manner has induced " moſt authors to conclude, that this muſt needs be that holy moun- " tain, as St. *Peter* (95) ſtiles it, which was the place of our bleſ- " ſed lord's transfiguration, related by *Matthew* (96) and *Mark* " 97). There you read, that Chriſt *took with him* Peter, James, " *and* John *into a mountain apart*; from which deſcription they " infer, that the mountain there ſpoken of can be no other than " *Tabor*. The concluſion may poſſibly be true; but the argument " uſed to prove it, ſeems incompetent; becauſe the term κατ' " ἰδίαν, or *apart*, moſt likely relates to the withdrawing and retire- " ment of the perſons there ſpoken of, and not the ſituation of the " mountain (98)." *Reland* (99) thinks it in ſome ſort raſh to diſpute a point, which has been ſo generally received for ſo many ages, but confeſſes himſelf in ſome doubt as to the thing, for many very ſtrong geographical and other reaſons, but particularly, becauſe there is no mention made of the name of this hill, as of the mount of *Olives*, mount *Carmel*, and others; the ſacred writers having been ſo very particular in naming the places where any thing memorable was wrought by Chriſt.

(D) By the *Greeks*, ὄρος ἐλαιῶνος or ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν; by the *Jews*, in their language, called the mount of *Unction*, or the mount of *Olives*, or oil It was alſo called the mountain of *three Lights*, becauſe it was lighted on the weſt by the fire of the altar; becauſe on the eaſt it received the earlieſt light of the ſun, before the city; and becauſe it produced much oil, an aliment of light (100). But it is rather ſuppoſed to have been called the mountain of three heads or tops, as *Sandys*, in the Cut he gives us of it, deſcribes it to be. For three ſummits it had, the *firſt*, in the middle, whence Chriſt aſcended into heaven, the *ſecond* to the ſouthward of it, called the mountain of *Offence*,; the *third* to the northward, and higheſt of all (1).

(93) *In the note before this.* (94) Maund. *ub. ſup.* (95) 2 *Epiſt. i.* 18. (96) *xvii.* (97) *ix.* (98) Maund. *ub. ſup.* (99) *Ub. ſup.* (100) Reland *Paleſt. Illuſt. lib. i. c.* 52 *Idem ibidem.* (1) *Vid. eund. ibidem.*

&c.,

lem, and commands the beſt proſpect over that city (E). It is ſaid to have ſometime been the reſidence of the *Shechinah* (F). It has been falſly, or rather inaccurately, ſuppoſed to have been in, or on, the skirts of *Galilee* (G). Of fame it was (H), and ſtill might be (I), for fertility. In eſpecial veneration held by the chriſtians (K) for what was here wrought, tranſacted,

(E) In this the bulk of travellers are agreed, it being the loftieſt eminence in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, and overlooking the higheſt part of that city. But this muſt be obſerved, that *Jeruſalem* being itſelf ſeated high, it from thence looks to be no very lofty hill; but from other places it appears a mountain (2). Hence a poet (3) calls it a ſmall hill.

(F) The *Jews* ſay it reſted here during the ſpace of three years and a half, to try whether or no the *Jews* would return to God, during which it cried out, *Return to me, O my children, and I will return to you*; and that, having expected in vain, it migrated again to its place (4) This is underſtood to have reſpect to the true *Shechinah*, our Saviour, who often ſojourned here, and would have recalled the *Jews* to the true worſhip of God (5).

(G) This miſtake certainly aroſe from the diſciples who were *Galileans*, tho' in a deſcription of this mount it has been roundly aſſerted, that but two furlongs thence was *Galilee*, and *Cana* where the marriage was, at which Chriſt turned the water into wine (6). Whence this extraordinary miſtake aroſe is pretty well explained to us; for on the higheſt ground of this mount there was formerly erected an high tower, in memory of the apparition of the two angels to the apoſtles, after the aſcenſion (7), from whence the tower itſelf had the name given it of *Viri Galilæi* (8); not to examine farther into this, hence the miſtake may very likely have derived its origin.

(H) It is thus deſcribed by an author (9) of the ſeventh century: few or no trees are there to be found, except the olive and the vine, according to the report of *Arculfus*; but wheat and barley there flouriſh in a moſt kindly manner: for the nature of the ſoil is quite productive.

(I) The weſt ſide of mount *Olivet* is "bedecked with olives, "almonds, fig trees, and heretofore with palms; pleaſantly rich "when huſbanded, and now upbraiding the barbarous with his "neglected pregnancy (10).

(K) This mount is much reſorted to by pilgrims who viſit *Jeruſalem*, nor do travellers, who have been this way, forget to enu-

(2) Phoc. *in Deſcript Loc. Ter. Sanct.* (3) Perdic. Epheſ. *in Deſcript Hieroſolym.* (4) *Vid. eund ibid* (5) *Vid eund ib.* (6) *Anonym ap eund. ib* (7) *Acts* i 10, 11. (8) Maundr. *Journ from Alep to Jeruſ pag.* 105. (9) Adamnan. *de Loc Sanct. lib* i *ap* Reland *ub. ſup.* (10) Sandys *ub. ſup.* 198.

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tranſacted, and fulfilled by our Saviour, and particularly for his aſcenſion into heaven; nor much leſs revered even by the *Mohammedans* (L).

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merate the ſeveral ſanctuaries of this famous eminence; but it will be enough for us to conſult one of them, who agrees almoſt to a tittle as to what is here to be ſeen. He (11) tells us, they here ſhew, "about two thirds of the way up, certain grottoes cut with "intricate windings and caverns under ground, theſe are called "the ſepulchres of the prophets. A little higher up are twelve "arched vaults under ground, ſtanding ſide by ſide; theſe were "built in memory of the twelve apoſtles, who are ſaid to have "compiled their creed in this place. Sixty paces higher you come "to the place where, they ſay, Chriſt uttered his prophecy con-"cerning the final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (12). And a little "higher, on the right hand of this, is the place where they ſay "he dictated, a ſecond time, the *Pater-noſter* to his diſciples (13). "Somewhat higher is the cave of St. *Pelagia*; and as much more "above that a pillar, ſignifying the place where an angel gave "the *Bleſſed Virgin* three days warning of her death. At the top "of the hill you come to the place of our bleſſed Lord's aſcenſion. "Here was antiently a large church, built in honour of that glori-"ous triumph: but all that now remains of it, is only an octago-"nal cupola, about eight yards in diameter, ſtanding, as they ſay, "over the very place, where were ſet the laſt footſteps of the ſon "of God here on earth. Within the cupola there is ſeen, in a "hard ſtone as they tell you, the print of one of his feet. Here "was alſo that of the other foot ſometime ſince; but it has been "removed from hence by the *Turks* into the great *Moſeh* upon "mount *Moriah*—About two furlongs from this place northward is "the higheſt part of mount *Olivet*; and upon that was antiently "erected an high tower—called *Viri Galilæi*. This antient mo-"nument remained till about two years ſince, when it was demo-"liſhed by a *Turk*, who had bought the field in which it ſtood." More of this ſort is added by other travellers, but this ſhall ſerve our purpoſe.

(L) The *Turks* pretend ſo great a veneration for the building over the print of our Saviour's foot on this mountain, that they have ſometimes denied the Chriſtians all entrance into it; ſo that they were allowed only to ſtand at the door, to perform their de-votions, and view the holy ſtone of impreſſion at the diſtance of about four cubits from them (14). This it ſeems was owing to the rigid humour of the governor of thoſe parts, tho' before it was free and open to both Chriſtians and Mohammedans (15), as it

(11) Maundr *ub. ſup.* (12) *Matt* xxiii. 37. (13) *Luke* xi. 1, 2. (14) Radziv. *Peregrin Jeroſolym. pag* 74. (15) *Idem. ibid.*

THE foregoing are the more remarkable of the greater mounts: the more remarkable of the leſſer are theſe, both on the one ſide and the other of the river *Jordan*; mount *Gilead*, mount *Baſhan*, mount *Gilboa*, mount *Gerizzim*, mount *Ebal*, mount *Sion*, and others we need not name.

Of the low country, and firſt of the valleys.

WE will not enter into a nice diſquiſition of what were properly vales, and what were properly plains, in this country: whoever contemplates the face of the country, ſo very remarkably diſtinguiſhed into high lands and low, may think it a needleſs task; and beſides, it has been done to our hands with all the accuracy and induſtry imaginable [d]. To proceed then, the vale of *Gerar* was where *Iſaac* ſojourned when he departed from *Abimelech* [e]. The vale of *Shittim* of ſituation quite uncertain. The vale of *Hinnom*, or the valley of the children of *Hinnom*, near the walls of *Jeruſalem* (M), remarkable for the ſuperſtition there practiſed in times of old (N). The vale, or valley, of *Salt*, of note for the overthrow of the *Edomites* [f] there. The vale of the *Rephaim*, called alſo the vale of the *Titans*, and of the *Giants* (O),

[d] Vide RELAND. ub. ſup. c. 54. [e] See Vol. II. p. 205. [f] See Vol. II. p. 145.

has been ſince (16). But notwithſtanding this pretended veneration on the part of the *Turks*, with regard to this and other places, it is ſhrewdly doubted (17), whether they do it "out of real devotion, or for lucre's ſake, and to the end that they may exact "money from the Chriſtians for admiſſion into them."

(M) *Euſebius* (18) writes it was cloſe, or near, to the walls of the city on the eaſt ſide; but *Reland* (19) is rather inclined to believe, it lay ſouthward of the ſame (20).

(N) This ſuperſtition we have already (21) dwelt on, and given a ſufficient deſcription of the ſpot in general (22).

(O) So rendered by the ſeventy and *Joſephus*; whence St. *Jerom* (23) haſtily ſuppoſes the *Rephaim* of ſcripture to have been the *Titans*, and giants of the fabulous antients. But that the *Rephaim* were one of the ten nations of the *Canaanites*, we have ſhewn elſewhere (24); nor have we forgot to obſerve all that can be well ſaid of them, down to their exit and migration (25).

(16) Sandys *ub. ſup.* (17) Maund. *ub. ſup.* (18) *Ad vocem* Ταμμουζ. (19) *Ub. ſup. c.* 54. (20) *See Vol. II. p.* 101. (21) *Ibidem.* (22) *Ibid.* (D). (23) *In Comment ad Gal. iii.* (24) *See Vol. II. p.* 158, (B). (25) *Ibid p.* 161, (E).

of

of uncertain ſituation (P). The valley of *Jehoſhaphat* (Q), mentioned but once in ſcripture [g], cloſe in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, and ſuppoſed to be the place of the laſt and general judgment (R). The vale of *Berachah* (S) in the wil-

[g] Joel. iii. 2, and 12.

(P) *Euſebius* (26) places it within the portion of *Benjamin*; *Bonfrere* will have it to be in the tribe of *Judah*; but we forbear ſo uſeleſs and uncertain an enquiry.

(Q) According to St. *Cyril* (27), it was a few ſtades or furlongs eaſtward of *Jeruſalem*, a bare ſpot, and fit for riding. *Aben Ezra* (28) takes it to be the ſame with the valley of *Berachah*, *Bleſſing*, or *Praiſe*, ſo called by *Jehoſhaphat* (29). *Kimchi* (30) takes it to be a valley in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, where, perhaps, *Jehoſhaphat* erected ſome building, or performed ſome memorable action. Concerning the ſituation of this valley, Sir *John Mandeville* (31) expreſſes himſelf thus, "between *Jeruſalem* and the "mount of *Olyvate* is the vale of *Joſaphathe*, under the walls of "the cytee.— And there righte nyghe, is the tombe of kyng *Jo-* "*ſaphathe* (*); of whom the vale berethe the name." He adds, "This *Joſaphathe* was kyng of that contree, and was converted by "an heremyte, that was a worthi man, and dide much gode." *Thevenot* (32) inſinuates the ſituation of it to be the very ſame, as does alſo prince *Radziville* (33), and the whole claſs of travellers, antient and modern.

(R) This tradition took birth from this text of ſcripture (34), *I will alſo gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of* Jehoſhaphat, *and will plead with them there for my* people, *and* for *my heritage* Iſrael, *whom they have ſcattered among the nations, and parted my land.* Hence, ſays *Reland* (35), the *Jews* have gathered that the general judgment is to be on mount *Olivet*; adjoining to which many have perſuaded themſelves this valley of *Jehoſhaphat* to be, tho' upon a very ſlender argument. *Reland* then is not ſatisfied with the ſituation of this valley, ſo univerſally laid down by travellers; and no body has ever conſidered the geography of theſe parts like him.

(S) In the *Latin* of the *Vulgate*, *Vallis Benedictionis*; in the *Greek* of the *Septuagint* Κοιλὰς Εὐλογίας, the valley of *Bleſſing*, or *Praiſe*. ſo called becauſe of the overthrow and miraculous rout of the *Moabites* (36), *Ammonites* (37), and the *Edomites* (38), or inhabitants of mount *Seir*, in their war combined againſt *Jehoſhaphat*.

(26) *In Onom. ad voc.* Εμεκ Ραφαιν. (27) *Comment. in loc. Joel.* (28) *Ap.* Reland. *ub. ſup.* (29) 2 *Chron. xx.* 26. (30) *Ap.* Reland. *ub. ſup.* (31) *Cap* 8. (*) *Vide etiam* Maund *ub ſup. pag.* 103. (32) *Coſmog. de Levant. pag.* 177. (33) *Peregrin. Hieroſolym. p.* 60. (34) *Joel, iii.* 2. (35) *Ub ſup* (36) *See Vol. II. p.* 94 *in the notes.* (37) *See Vol. II. p.* 107. (38) *See Vol. II. p.* 144.

derneſs of *Tekoah*. The valley of *Shaveh* (T), or the king's dale [h], famous for the interview between *Abraham* and *Melchizedek*. The valley of *Elah*, or of the *Terebinth* (U), where *David* ſlew *Goliath*. Others we forbear to mention.

Plains. We ſhall only take a curſory ſurvey of the plain part of this country, though a very conſiderable portion of it. In *Paleſtine* there are two *great plains*, the one properly ſo called, and divided by the *Jordan*, one hundred and fifty miles in length; the other called the great plain of *Eſdraelon*, or of *Legion* [i]. The former of theſe, according to *Joſephus* [k], extended from *Scythopolis*, on the ſea of *Tiberias*, to the *Aſphaltite* lake. In the New Teſtament [l] it is called the region about *Jordan* (W). Beſides, there was, as we juſt now ſaid, another *great plain*, which from the city of *Jezreel*, and *Legion* (X), is called the plain of *Jezreel*, or *Eſdraelon* (Y), or the *great plain* of *Legion* [m] (Z). Beſides

[h] Gen. xiv. 17. [i] Vide RELAND. ub. ſup. c. 55. [k] Antiq. lib. vi. c. 2. [l] Matth. iii. 5. [m] Vide RELAND. ub. ſup.

(T) In the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, it is called Κοιλὰς τοῦ Σαβη, or τὴ Σαβὼ; the valley of *Saba*, or *Saby*; which by the ſame is interpreted to mean, τὸ πεδίον τῶν βασιλεων, *the Field of Kings*.

(U) By *Aquila* and *Theodotian* rendered Κοιλὰς τῆς δρυὸς (39), *the valley of the Oak*.

(W) So the *Greek* interpreters have rendered it, περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (40), and τὰ ἔρημα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (41), or *the wilderneſs of* Jordan, and that ſuch it might, properly enough, be called, or at leaſt comparatively, will hereafter appear.

(X) Now ſuppoſed to be called *Legune* (43). *Reland* (44) thinks, this great plain was partly in *Samaria*, and partly in *Galilee*, and that thence we have the μέγα πεδίον Σαμαριτιδος, *Magnus Campus* Samaritidis of *Joſephus* (45).

(Y) So the ſeventy call it Πεδίον μέγα Ἐσδρηλὼν, with a little variation, the name either way being ſuppoſed to have been moulded by the *Greeks*, from the *Hebrew* name *Jezreel* (46). It being objected, that this valley of *Jezreel* appears not to have been conſidered as of any great dimenſion in ſcripture, confirmed by St. *Jerom*; it is anſwered, that to this great level it may have happened as to ſeas, which are divided into many portions, diſtinguiſhed by different names, borrowed from the more conſiderable places on the coaſts (47); ſo that the plain of *Eſdraelon*, or *Jezreel*, peculiarly

(39) Euſeb. *in Onomaſt. ad vocem* Ηλά. (40) 2 *Chron* iv. 17. (41) *Iſa. xxxv.* 2. (43) *See* Maundr. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſal.* (44) *Ub. ſup.* (45) *De Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. c.* 2. (46) *See* Wells's *Geog. vol.* 2 *ſub fin.* (47) Reland. *ub ſup.*

(Z). Beſides theſe, which are moſt remarkably diſtinguiſhed as flat parts of the country, the whole coaſt from mount *Carmel*, to the ſouthermoſt borders of the land, is a plain and a level; excepting here and there a gentle hill, or ſand-heap. This great extent was not all known by the ſame name under the ſecond temple [n]. The northern part of it, from *Joppa* to *Caſarea*, and no more as ſome will have it [o], was called *Saron* and *Saronas* (A). To the ſouthward of this was the plain of *Siphela* (B). The other plains,

[n] Vide eund. ibid. [o] Vide eund. ibid.

culiarly ſo called, may have been of ſmall circumference, while the name itſelf, by a uſual cuſtom among men, may have extended itſelf over the whole of what it was only a part; inſtances of which it were needleſs and endleſs to give.

(Z) *Euſebius* calls it, μέγα πεδίον Ἀγρεῶνος, *Campum Magnum Legionis*; and St. *Jerom* calls it, *Latiſſimum Campum*, vel *Campum Maximum*, or adding the name, *Grandem Campum Legionis* (48).

(A) In our verſion *Sharon* (49). It afforded excellent paſture, and it is obſerved, that it is no wonder the *Gadites*, or children of the tribe of *Gad*, who were chiefly addicted to a paſtoral life, ſought here to feed their flocks (50). But hence it has been miſtakenly concluded (51), there was another *Sharon* in the tribe of *Gad*. That this is a miſtake may be ſeen, where it is ſaid, the children of *Gad*— *dwelt in* Gilead, *in* Baſhan, *and in her towns, and in all the ſuburbs of* Sharon (52). Now would they have dwelt in the ſuburbs and not in the cities, if the country had been their own? is this likely? The truth is, *the ſuburbs were appointed for cattle— and for all their beaſts* (53). Is their *Sharon* then to be ſought for in the country, where they poſſeſſed not the cities, but took up with the ſuburbs? And ſince the country of *Sharon* was moſt noted and famous for the nurture of cattle, and ſeeing the *Gadites* did, in a particular manner, employ their time as graziers and ſhepherds far beyond all the tribes on this ſide the *Jordan*, why ſhould we croſs to the other ſide, in queſt of another *Sharon*? Thus is it that *Reland* (54) endeavours to deſtroy the notion of another place of this name on the other ſide of the river *Jordan*.

(B) So called from the *Hebrew* שְׁפֵלָה, extending itſelf weſtward and ſouthward of *Eleutheropolis*, though the name is equally applicable to the one plain and the other (55).

(48) *Vide eund. ibid.* (49) 1 *Chron. v.* 16. (50) *Vide* Reland. *ub. ſup.* (51) *Vide eund. ibid* (52) *Chron. ub. ſup.* (53) *Numb. xxxv.* 3. *Joſh. xiv.* 4. (54) *Ub. ſup.* (55) *Vide* Reland. *ub. ſup.*

as that of *Jericho* (C), which may be included in the *great plain* properly so called, we forbear to mention.

Wildernesses and deserts.

Of the wildernesses, or deserts of this country, we shall not have much to say; but by these we are not always to understand places quite uninhabited, and destitute of all useful production (D). The first of these is the wilderness of *Judah* [p] (E); and in this wilderness, as it is called, were the cities of *Bath-arabah*, *Middin*, and *Secacah*, and *Nibshan*, and the city of *Salt*, and *En-gedi*; six cities with their villages [q]. The wilderness of *Gibeon* [r]. *Josephus* [s] represents all the mountainous tract, from *Jericho* to *Scythopolis*, as quite barren and uninhabited; and under the same character includes all the space washed by the *Jordan*, from the sea of *Tiberias* to the *Asphaltite* lake (F). To these we

[p] Judg. i. 16. [q] Josh. xv. 61, 62. [r] 2 Sam. ii. 24. [s] De Bell. Judaic. lib. iii. c. 8.

(C) *Josephus* (56) writes, that *Jericho* stood in a plain, which others (57) call a vale; but, whether vale or plain, it must, by its situation, have been a part of the *great plain* divided by the *Jordan*; and may have been called the vale or plain of *Jericho*, by a rule we have observed five notes above, in speaking of the great plain of *Jezreel*

(D) *Reland* (58) observes, that the *Hebrew* word, which the *Greeks* render ἐρήμους, and the *Latins Solitudines*, does, in its strictest import, mean no more than barely an uncultivated place; and thereupon remarks, that tho' St. *John* is said to have proclaimed the gospel in the wilderness of *Judea*, it is plain, it was not such a desert as was quite wild and inhospitable, for that it had cities, whose inhabitants were the first auditors to whom the *Baptist* foretold the immediate advent of the Messiah. He then quotes *Jewish* doctors (59), who acquaint us, that the smaller cattle, as sheep, goats, and the like, were not fed in the land of *Israel*, but in *Syria*, and the wildernesses, as we render the original word, of the land of *Israel*. Upon the whole he supposes, that all such places were by the *Jews* considered in opposition to those which afforded corn, wine, and oil.

(E) Many, says *Reland* (60), are of opinion, that the wilderness of *Judah* was on the other side of *Jordan*, and there placed the wilderness of St. *John the Baptist*: but, by the authority of the *Jews* themselves, he sufficiently evinces this to be a mistake.

(F) Hence *Reland* (61), takes occasion to condemn the geographers, who rashly and presumptuously croud both sides of the

(56) *De Bell. Judaic lib. v c.* 4. (57) *Vide* Reland. *ubi sup.* (58) *Ibid. c.* 56. (59) *In Cod. Bava Rama.* (60) *Ub. supr.* (61) *Ibid.*

Jordan

we may add the foreſts or woods of this land; as the foreſt of *Hareth* (G), whither *David* retired. The wood of *Ephraim* [t], where *Abſalom* periſhed on an oak; and the foreſt of *Lebanon* [u], where *Solomon* built him a houſe. Others we paſs over.

HAVING thus taken a tranſient view of the mountains, plains, dales, and ſolitudes of the country before us, order requires us next to conſider the waters which are properly ſaid to have belonged to it; and firſt of the ſeas. Of theſe are, commonly and more accurately, reckoned but four, the *Mediterranean*, the *Dead*-ſea, the ſea of *Tiberias*, and the *Samachonite*-ſea. The *Mediterranean* was by the *Jews* called the *Great*-ſea, the ſea of the *Philiſtines*, the *Salt*-ſea (H). *Seas.*

THE *Dead*-ſea (†), or the *Aſphaltite* lake (I), called alſo

[t] 2 Sam. xviii. 6——9. [u] 1 Kings vii. 2.

Jordan thick with cities and villages; but, at the ſame time, makes allowances for their zeal and warmth of imagination, unguided by documents, or the leaſt degree of certainty.

(G) This foreſt was evidently within the tribe of *Judah*, by the words of the prophet *Gad*, who *ſaid unto* David, *abide not in the hold, depart, and get thee into the land of* Judah (63).

(H) *Bochart* (64) is angry with *Maimonides* for ſaying, the purple-fiſh was found in the *Salt*-ſea, imagining, he thereby meant the *Aſphaltite* lake; but that he meant the *Mediterranean*, and expreſſed himſelf not improperly, has been ſufficiently ſhewn (65).

(†) It is ſo called for that it breeds no fiſh, nor ſuſtains any thing that has life, becauſe of its exceſſive ſaltneſs (66). A late traveller (67) however ſays he has ſome reaſon to ſuſpect this, obſerving among the pebbles on the ſhore, two or three ſhells of fiſh reſembling oyſter-ſhells; and "that they were thrown "up by the waves, at two hours diſtance from the mouth of "*Jordan*;" which he mentions, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected they might have been brought into the ſea that way. As for the common tradition, that birds, attempting to fly over this ſea, drop down dead into it, the ſame traveller (68) ſaw it actually confuted by ſeveral birds, who flew over and about it, without the leaſt viſible harm.

(I) So called from the quantity of bitumen in and about it. It was antiently ſuppoſed, that great quantities of this combuſtible

(63) 1 Sam. xxii. 5. (64) *In* Hierozoico, *pt.* 2. *lib.* 5. *c.* 9. (65) *Vid.* Reland. *Pal. Illuſtr. lib.* i. *c.* 37. (66) *Vid* Hieron *in Comment.* ad Ezek. xlvii. (67) Maundr. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſalem, p.* 84. (68) *Ibid.*

ſubſtance

alſo the *Salt-ſea* (K). Much has been ſaid and ſuppoſed of this famous, or as moſt will have it infamous, lake; as that nothing will ſink in it, and that it roſe up from the ſubmerſion of the vale of *Siddim* *, where once, as is moſt generally concluded, ſtood the five cities of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, and the other three. On this account has it been abhorred and deteſted, and repreſented as a prodigious and everlaſting *monument* of the juſt judgment of God, to deter mankind from the ſins committed by thoſe, who thus drew down on them the fierce wrath and vengeance of the Almighty. Now, tho' it were a ſeeming raſhneſs to contradict what has been ſo very univerſally advanced and received among Chriſtians, with relation to the origin of this lake, it has all been very ſolidly contradicted, and, if it were lawful ſo to ſay, refuted even by the autho-

* See Vol. II. p. 159.

ſubſtance were thrown up by this ſea (69). And travellers (70) repreſent it as in great plenty on the ſhores of it. Whatever there might have been formerly, it ſeems, it is not now to be found every where upon the ſhore, tho' it is gathered in great quantities near the mountains on both ſides. It exactly reſembles pitch, and cannot readily be diſtinguiſhed from it, but by the ſulphureouſneſs of its ſmell and taſte (71). This bitumen ſeems not to have been ſufficiently, or at all, diſtinguiſhed from a ſort of combuſtible ſtones found on the ſhore; being a black ſort of pebbles, which being held in the flame of a candle ſoon burn, and yield a ſmoke of an intolerable ſtench (72); but have this extraordinary property, that by burning they loſe only of their weight, and not at all of their bulk.

(K) It is to the higheſt degree impregnated with ſalt; inſomuch, that *Galen* (73) ſuppoſes it in ſpecific gravity to be as much beyond other ſea-water, as ſea-water is beyond the water of rivers; and that it was impoſſible to immerge in it; and elſewhere adds, that by the addition of ſalt, it would be poſſible to make any water as bouyant as this. The ſame phyſician elſewhere has it, that the ſaltneſs of this ſea is attended with a bitterneſs and unpleaſantneſs. All this agrees well enough with what we are told of it at preſent, except that bodies will immerge in it, tho' not ſo eaſily as in other water (74).

(69) *Vide* Reland. *ub. ſup.* Brocard. *Deſcrip. Terr. Sanct. c.* 7. (70) Radziv. *Jeroſolym. Peregr. p.* 95. Brocard. *ub. ſup. &c.* (71) Maundr. *ub. ſup.* (72) *Idem ibid. vide etiam* Radziv. *ub ſup.* (73) *Apud* Reland. *ub. ſup.* (74) Maund. *ub. ſup.*

rity of ſcripture itſelf [y] (L). But, miſled by the common tradition, and blinded by an irregular zeal, travellers have for the moſt part (M) repreſented it as a place diſmal to behold, all ſulphureous, bituminous, and combuſtible. Nor has it not been ſeriouſly averred, that ruins of the five cities have been actually ſeen (N) in theſe later times. This

[y] Vide RELAND. ubi ſup. c. 38.

(L) It is *Reland* (75) who profeſſedly undertakes this taſk. To enter into a detail of his arguments would exceed our bounds, we ſhall therefore only touch on ſome principal heads, 1. He obſerves, that the five kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, and the reſt, are ſaid to have met in the vale of *Siddim*, as if it was not the place of their immediate abode. 2. The ſacred penman no where ſays, the five cities were in the vale of *Siddim*. 3. In the whole ſeries of ſcripture there is no mention made of the ſubmerſion of the ſame five cities. 4. He proves, that this ſuppoſed ſubmerſion is contradictory to many paſſages he cites of holy writ. He contends, that ſome, if not all, of the five cities, were not on the ſpot where now ſtands the *Dead*-ſea. The ſcripture itſelf is what he chiefly builds on throughout this whole argument; tho' he finds no mean authorities elſewhere to ſupport him in his opinion, which we leave to be diſcuſſed by ſuch as think it of importance ſufficient to require it.

(M) Geographers, ſays *Maundrell* (76), in their writings and maps, generally deſcribe a ſmoke aſcending from the ſurface of this lake, but for his part he could ſee nothing of the kind. It is alſo obſerved as a moſt wonderful circumſtance, that this lake, as *Joſephus* (77) obſerves, ſhould change colour three times a day, which prince *Radziville* (78) confirms as an eye-witneſs: in the morning, ſays he, it was blackiſh, at noon blueiſh, in the evening yellowiſh, and as it were mixed with ooze (79). A variety which plainly proceeds from natural cauſes, and is eaſily accounted for, by the nature of its ſituation and the land about it, with the help of a little optics. The infernal apples alſo mentioned by *Joſephus* (80) and *Tacitus* (81) to be on the borders of this lake, all fair and beautiful without, and all ſoot and aſhes within, which have, againſt all experience, exiſted in the fickly imagination of the ſuperſtitious votaries, who have fondly reſorted hither, are now concluded never to have been in nature (82); for nothing, not the leaſt trace of the kind is now to be found.

(N) Concerning this, we ſhall give you *Maundrell*'s own words (83), "I diligently ſurveyed the waters, as far as my eye could

(75) *Ub. ſup.* (76) *Ubi ſupr.* (77) *De Bell. Judaic. l. v. c.* 5. (78) *Ubi ſup.* (79) *Ibid.* (80) *Ubi ſupra.* (81) *Hiſt. l. v.* (82) *Vide* Maundr. *ubi ſupr*; *vide etiam* Radz. *ubi ſupr.* (83) *Ubi ſup.*

This ſea in its preſent ſtate is incloſed on the eaſt and weſt with exceeding high mountains, on the north it has the plain of *Jericho*, or, if we take in both ſides of the *Jordan*, *the great plain* properly ſo called; on the ſouth it is open, and extends beyond the reach of the eye. In length it is ſaid to be twenty four leagues, and in breadth ſix or ſeven. Its water is limpid and clear. On the weſt ſide of it is a promontory, where they pretend to ſhew remains of *Lot*'s metamorphoſed wife [z] (O).

Sea of Tiberias.

THE ſea of *Tiberias*, called alſo the ſea of *Kinnereth*, *Kinneroth*, *Chinnereth* [a], *Cinneroth* [b] (P), the water of *Geneſar* [c], lake of *Geneſarit* and *Geneſareth*, (Q), was alſo called

[z] MAUNDR. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p. 84, 85. [a] Num. xxxiv. 11. [b] Joſh. xii. 3. [c] 1 Macc. xi. 67.

" reach; but neither could I diſcern any heaps of ruins, nor——
" But yet I muſt not omit what was confidently atteſted to me
" by the father *Guardian* and procurator of *Jeruſalem*, both men
" in years, and ſeemingly not deſtitute either of ſenſe or probity,
" *viz.* that they had once actually ſeen one of thoſe ruins;
" that it was ſo near the ſhore, and the waters ſo ſhallow at
" that time, that they, together with ſome *French* men, went to it,
" and found there ſeveral pillars and other fragments of build-
" ings." *Maundrell* has, at leaſt, as much weight with *Reland* (84) as any modern traveller whatſoever, and perhaps more, but yet is unwilling to think, there ſhould be ſuch viſible remains of the original five cities.

(O) It ſeems the natives here have different ſtories at different times. They told prince *Radziville* (85), there was no ſuch thing as *Lot*'s wife's pillar of ſalt to be found, and about a century afterwards they tell *Maundrell* (86), that there is a ſtump of it ſtill left, and point out to him the very place where it is. In ſhort, it is almoſt wonderful, they cannot always find a lump of ſalt in ſuch a place as this, to perſonate what has been ſo eagerly inquired for and ſought after.

(P) Theſe names are ſuppoſed to be derived from a muſical inſtrument which is ſuppoſed to have been nearly of the form of this ſea: but *Reland* (87) chooſes to borrow the ſame from the city of the name, in the tribe of *Naphtali* on the borders thereof.

(Q) Theſe names are ſuppoſed to have been formed from the foregoing; but *Reland* (88) is rather inclined to have them from

(84) *Ubi ſup.* (85) *Ubi ſup.* (86) *Ubi ſup.* (87) *Ubi ſup.* c. 39. (88) *Ibid.*

the

called the ſea of *Galilee*. According to *Joſephus* * it was one hundred furlongs in length and about forty in breadth. The ſame hiſtorian [d] commends it for the temper of its water, which expoſed in the night to air, as the inhabitants near were wont to do in ſummer-time, became as cold almoſt as ſnow itſelf. It is every way by the ſame author ſet in oppoſition to the *Dead*-ſea; eſpecially as this afforded no ſort of fiſh, and the other abounded with it. The one is repreſented as a water every way pleaſant and agreeable, the other as every way forbidding and horrid.

THE *Samachonite* lake is next in order. Whence it derives its name is uncertain (R). It is chiefly remarkable for the thickneſs of its waters [e]. Its length was ſixty furlongs or about ſeven miles and a half; its breadth thirty furlongs, or about three miles and three quarters [f]. It is ſuppoſed, that this may be the lake mentioned by *Pliny* † on account of its odoriferous reeds; but this is mere conjecture. *Samachonite lake.*

NOT far from this is the lake of *Phiala*, the true ſource or fountain-head of the river *Jordan*, tho' whether it was ſo or not was long diſputed [g] (S). This name, which ſignifies a vial, was common to other waters of the ſame kind. It is ſituated in the midſt of a moſt delightful country, which is alſo ſo very opportune for buſineſs, that marts, or fairs, are here held all the ſummer long, by the neighbouring people [h]. *Lake* Phiala.

To paſs over other lakes and waters of inferior note and degree, we will proceed to the river *Jordan*, which riſing from the lake of *Phiala*, enters the *Samachonite* lake, whence *The Jordan.*

* De Bell. Judaic. l. iii. c. 8. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid. [f] Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 1. † Lib. xii. c. 22. [g] RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſtr. l. i. c. 41. p. 264. [h] SANCH. Secret. Fidel. Crucis. apud eund. ibid.

the country of *Genneſar*, on the borders of this ſame lake; celebrated by *Joſephus* (89), for fertility of ſoil and felicity of climate.

(R) In the *Greek* of *Joſephus*, it is written, Σαμοχωνῖτις λίμνη, and Σεμεχωνῖτις, which ſome derive from *Samach*, a fiſh, or from the plural *Samachon* (90).

(S) This doubt was ſettled by *Philip* the *Tetrarch*, who caſting ſtraws or chaff thereinto, they came out at *Panion*.

(89) *De Bell. Judaic. l. iii. c.* 8. (90) *Vide* Reland. *Palæſt. Illuſt. l. i c.* 40. *p.* 262.

proceeding it divides the ſea of *Tiberias*, and thence diſcharges itſelf into the *Dead*-ſea. The origin of its name, or names, is ſomewhat obſcure (T); therefore not to inſiſt thereon, this being by far the principal ſtream of theſe parts, it is by way of eminence called the *River* [i]; the reſt of this country being mere brooks in compariſon of it. *Joſephus* [k] makes mention of a *leſſer Jordan*, whoſe fountain-head he places about *Panion*, while he derives the other, or greater *Jordan*, from mount *Libanus* [l]; but he is not to be underſtood here as meaning two diſtinct rivers; but as dividing the ſame river into two parts, which are greater or leſs, as nearer to, or farther from, the original ſpring (U). To recapitulate the courſe of this river, we learn [m] that, taking its riſe from *Phiala*, it runs under ground for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles, and breaking forth at *Panium*, goes through the *Samachonite* lake; whence proceeding again to the diſtance above-mentioned of fifteen miles, it ſtreams through the ſea of *Tiberias*, and thence holds

[i] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. v. c. 1. [k] Ibid. c. 2. and l. viii. c. 3.
[l] Antiq. l. v. c. 1. [m] Ibid. l. iii. c. 18.

(T) It has been a commonly received opinion, that this river is called יַרְדֵּן, *Jarden*, as if it was אֹר דָּן, the *River of Dan*, becauſe it took its riſe near the city of *Dan*, or becauſe it was derived from two ſprings, the one *Jeor*, the other *Dan*. That the firſt of theſe derivations is unlikely we ſhall now attempt to ſhew, and that the ſecond is falſe has been partly demonſtrated in the note above. To ſuppoſe it to have received any part of its denomination from the city of *Dan* is ſeemingly wrong, in as much as it was called *Jorden* long before the city of *Dan* was built. But you may ſay, it may have been ſo called by way of prolepſis. But why *Den* ſhould be changed into *Dan* may be difficult to account for; ſo that after all, it is moſt natural to borrow this name from יָרַד, *deſcendit, labitur*. The *Arabs* call it *Arden*, and *Ordonnon*; the *Perſians*, *Herdum*; and the *Nubian* geographer, or the *Sharif Edriſi*, *Zacchar*, which in *Arabic* ſignifies *tumid, full*, or *overflowing its banks*, and therefore a name properly enough applied to the *Jordan* (91).

(U) Examples of this kind are exhibited to confirm this (92), as in the *Vetus Vechta*, and *Vetus Rhenus*, and the *Anapus* παλαιὸς and καινὸς, mentioned by *Vibius Sequeſter*; whereby it is not to be underſtood, that theſe rivers, ſo diſtinguiſhed into old and new, were to be deduced from different ſprings, but to be parts of one and the ſame.

(91) *Vid. eund. ibid. c.* 43. *p.* 271, 272. (92) *Apud eund. Ibid.*

it

its courſe through a vaſt and horrid deſert, till it loſes itſelf in the *Aſphaltite* lake. Here it is noted [n], that *Joſephus* ſpeaks but of one original ſpring belonging to this river, a demonſtrative proof, that this leſſer *Jordan* is no river diſtinct from his greater, and that no more than different parts of the ſame main ſtream are to be underſtood thereby. It is remarkable of the *Jordan*, that in the time of harveſt it is moſt full, and apt to overtop its banks [o], contrary to the general nature of rivers, which are moſt full in time of winter; whence it may poſſibly have been, that ſome have imagined a ſubterraneous communication to have exiſted between this river and the *Nile* of *Egypt* (X). But to wave ſo unlikely a matter, the banks of this ſtream are a harbour for lions and other wild beaſts, who take ſhelter amidſt the reeds and canes [p], which here ſo remarkably abound; and not only abound, but alſo grow ſo thick and tall, as to obſtruct the ſight of the river (Y); together with the willows, tamariſks, and other native vegetables of theſe banks (Z). The ſtream of

[n] Vide RELAND. ubi ſup. [o] Vide eund. ibid. [p] MAUNDRELL's Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ.

(X) The more to confirm this, it has been reported that the *Coracinus*, a fiſh reputed to be peculiar to the *Nile*, has been taken in the *Jordan*. But this concludes nothing poſitively; for the *Coracinus*, as much as it is a native of the *Nile*, is to be found elſewhere (93).

(Y) Prince *Radziville* (94) writes, that on this ſide of the river in the place where Chriſt was baptized, there is a ſhady thicket, about half a mile, (a *German* one we ſuppoſe) in length, and a bow-ſhot in breadth; and that here were trees which bore the likeneſs of willows, but upon a nice examination proved not exactly ſo in fact. He adds, that he could perceive nothing of the locuſts and wild honey, which afforded ſuſtenance to St. *John*, who, with others, he ſuppoſes to have ſojourned in this wilderneſs. *Maundrell* (95) alſo obſerves, that this part is ſo beſet with buſhes and trees, ſuch as tamariſks, willows, and others, that you can ſee no water till you have made your way through. ——— He adds, that on the other ſide there ſeemed to be a much larger thicket, than on the ſide they were. To this effect do the travellers this way in general deliver themſelves.

(Z) *Maundrell* diſtinguiſhes the banks of this river as twofold: theſe are his own words (96); "On the farther ſide of the fore-

(93) *Vide Athenæum* (94) *In Peregrin Jeroſolym. p.* 98.
(95) *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 81. (96) *Ibid.*

"mentioned

of this river is ſo ſtrong and rapid, that a man cannot ſtem it in ſwimming; but the dimenſions of it are by no means large, the breadth of it, where it ſhould be ſeemingly greateſt, not exceeding ſixty foot (A). It was formerly fordable in ſome places [q], and may be ſo ſtill, tho' we know of none that particularly takes notice of it. It ſeems alſo to have been formerly croſſed in boats or ferries [r].

To deſcribe or even to enumerate the other rivers, either on this or that ſide of the *Jordan*, were too minute, and indeed needleſs, and contrary to our cuſtom hitherto; wherefore we ſhall only ſay, that the *Arnon* ſeems to deſerve the place next to *Jordan*; and proceed to obſerve, that the productions of this land were great, and excellent, and abundant. This country was antiently of great fame for fertility, and well correſponded with the figurative deſcription of it, that it flowed with milk and honey; nor at this day are there wanting ſigns and ſufficient indications thereof, tho' now it is, as it were, decayed and neglected. But the preſent barren ſtate of this country having prevailed on ſome to imagine, it

[q] Guliel. Tyrius, Hiſt. xxii. 20. apud Reland. ubi ſup.
[r] Vide Reland. ibid.

" mentioned convent [dedicated to St. *John*] there runs along a " ſmall deſcent, which you may fitly call the firſt and outermoſt " bank of *Jordan*; as far as which it may be ſuppoſed the river " does, or at leaſt did antiently flow, at ſome ſeaſons of the year, " *viz.* at the time of harveſt, *Joſh.* iii. 15. or as it is expreſſed, " *Chron.* xii. 15. in the firſt month, that is, in *March*. But at pre- " ſent, [whether it be becauſe the river has, by its rapidity of " current, worn its chanel deeper than it was formerly, or " whether becauſe its waters are diverted ſome other way] it ſeems " to have forgot its antient greatneſs: for we could diſcern no ſign " or probability of ſuch overflowings, when we were there; which " was the thirtieth of *March*, being the proper time for theſe in- " undations. Nay, ſo far was the river from overflowing, that it " ran at leaſt two yards below the brink of its chanel." The *Jordan* ſeems then to be very different from the river it was formerly.

(A) This is *Maundrell*'s meaſurement (97), in which the moſt ſincere travellers are pretty nicely of a mind with him. As for depth, the ſame traveller ſays, it was deeper than his height. The water is turbid, the natural conſequence of its rapidity; to which *Radziville* (98) adds, it is very wholeſome, and incorruptible in its nature, as he ſufficiently found by the experiment of ſome of it he brought away with him.

(97) *Ibid.* (98) *Ubi ſup.*

never

never was what the ſcripture repreſents it to be, we ſhall, with the ſame deſign, and in the ſame order obſerved, by a learned man [r], who has made this favourite region his ſtudy, more than ever any body did before and to founder purpoſes, proceed to diſplay what it affords for the uſe of its inhabitants.

Fertility.

AND here, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that as fine a country as *Egypt* is on all hands allowed to be, it ſubmitted, and ſtill ſubmits, to this, in ſome very noble productions, and particularly wine and oil, two of the moſt uſeful liquids to man next to water; to go about to prove which, were to ſuppoſe the reader ignorant of what he cannot poſſibly but know, and be convinced, and aſſured of (B); as for water, it is plain, there could have been no exceſſive want of that, for how ſhould the men and cattle have ſubſiſted at all without it? That they had ſufficient, for their uſe at leaſt, muſt be readily granted, and has been ſufficiently proved to our hands [s]; but it were needleſs for us to go about to do the ſame. Then for meats, and wherewithal to reliſh them, and ſerve them up; the *Aſphaltite* lake produced a ſalt, which, in the judgment of *Galen*, was for digeſtion and extenuation preferable to all other ſalts whatſoever. Then wheat and barley, and other kinds of corn and grain, were ſo plentifully abundant, that it is in ſcriptue (C) particularly denominated therefrom (D). That oxen, ſheep, goats, and the like, together with fowl,

[r] RELAND. [s] Vide eund. l. 1. c. 46.

(B) This land was among other things preferred to *Egypt*, in that it enjoyed the benefit of rain (99); but that it exceeded this laſt for wine and oil is certain; and tho' it is not to be denied, but *Egypt* had her olives (100), they were certainly inferior to thoſe of *Paleſtine*. Whence the queſtion is aſked (1), *What did the ten tribes? They ſent oil into* Egypt. *Solomon*, we know, ſent yearly to the king of *Tyre* twenty *cors*, or meaſures, of pure oil (2). Then for vines, the *Egyptians* had none at all. *Herodotus* ſays (3), they drank a liquor made of barley to ſupply their want of wine (4). Accordingly *Judæa* is by *Rabſhakeh* called, *a land --- of vineyards, a land of oil-olive* (5). In ſhort, who knows not, that the wine of *Aſcalon*, the wine of *Gaza*, and *Sarepta*, were famed among the moſt remote nations ſays *Reland?*

(C) It is there called, *a land of wheat and barley* (6).

(D) and well it ſeems to have deſerved it, ſeeing *Solomon* could

(99) *Vide* Proc. Gaz. *ad Deuteron* (100) *Vide* Theop *de Cauſ. Plant. lib.* vi *c.* 12. (1) *In Icha. Rabbal. fol.* 85. 3 (2) 1 Kings v. 11. (3) *Lib. ii. c.* 77. (4) *See* Vol. I. *p.* 462. (5) 2 Kings xviii. 32. (6) Deut. viii. 8.

annually

fowl, were in no degree wanting, appears by the frequent sacrifices, and by the pasture grounds occupied by the two tribes and half on the other side of *Jordan*, not to mention the pastures of *Sarona*, and the plains about *Lydda*, *Jamnia*, and elsewhere. For fish; the *Jordan*, and sea of *Tiberias*, yielded a sufficient supply, as may be gathered from the New Testament; nor are we told, that they are at this day deficient therein. Besides the sea not only afforded quantities sufficient for the people on the coast, but helped to subsist even the citizens of *Jerusalem*, from whence you have the *fish-gate* of that metropolis, if any credit is to be given to St. *Jerom* [u], to omit the fish that was certainly taken in the other streams and waters of this land. Plenty of honey, besides what was collected by the Bee, was here to be had in the woods, and flowing from trees (E). Of trees, the palm of this country, and of shrubs, the balsam, are eminent above all others. The fruit of the palm of this country was thought the only of the sort capable of being kept for a future store (F). The balsam of

[u] Apud RELAND. Pal. Illust. lib. 1. c. 57. p. 382.

annually afford to send the king of *Tyre* a present of twenty thousand *cors*, or measures, of wheat (7).

(E) This seems to be an extraordinary production; but is nevertheless supposed to have been the μέλι ἄγριον, or *wild honey*, St. *John* found in the wilderness (8). Our author cannot agree with *Bochart*, that this wild honey was deposited by the industrious bee; but recurs to *Diodorus Siculus*, who, speaking of the *Nabatæans* who inhabited these parts, tells us what this wild honey or μέλι ἄγριον, may have been, saying, *in their trees they have a honey they call wild, which they drink mixed with water*; as also to *Pliny*, who, speaking of what he calls the *Elaiomeli*, or oil-honey, says that *it flows from the olive*; and that *in the maritime parts of* Syria *it comes spontaneously, flowing from the trees, of a fat substance thicker than honey, finer than rosin, and sweet of taste*: and hence concludes, that *Maundrell* (9) was so sensible of a strong smell of honey in the maritime parts of *Palestine*. *Pliny*, however, does not tell us, it has the smell of honey; but that this is the μέλι ἄγριον, or wild honey of *Scripture*, we think there is all the reason in the world to believe.

(F) This is the opinion of *Theophrastus* (10); and doubtless he had good ground for what he says. *In four sundy places only*, says he, *is the fruit of the palm fit to be laid up for store*. These four places are *Jericho*, *Phasaelis*, *Archelais*, and *Livias*.

(7) 1 Kings *ubi sup.* (8) *Vide* Reland. *Pal. Illust. lib.* i. *c.* 57. *p.* 382. (9) *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p.* 66. (10) *De Hist. Plant. lib.* xi. *c.* 8.

Jericho (G) is famous beyond any thing of its kind, and applauded as the peculiar product of this happy country (H), and a moſt precious drug it was among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as every ordinary ſcholar cannot but know. Wool muſt have been a natural commodity in a country which fed ſuch flocks of ſheep; and cotton is the common product of theſe parts, and of this country particularly about *Lydda*, and the plain of *Eſdraelon*. To go about to prove all this by authorities, antient and modern, were endleſs and mere affectation. Let it ſuffice, that we obſerve of this ſmall region, that to have ſuſtained ſuch numbers of inhabitants, who in a manner lived upon their own growth, without any conſiderable aſſiſtance, by foreign commerce; it muſt have been by far a more noble and fertile place, than by ſome at preſent repreſented.

The extent.

WE have been naturally induced to break into the order we have hitherto followed in our other geographical ſections, and now, with ſeeming irregularity, we come to ſpeak of the extent of this country, which from north to ſouth did not exceed ſeventy leagues, and from eaſt to weſt not above thirty.

The Soil.

BEING partly in the fourth and fifth north climate its ſoil was of the beſt, tho' greatly diverſified, as the country hap-

(G) *Theophraſtus* (11) leaves us in ſome doubt as to the ſpot which produced this precious balm, ſaying in general, that it grew in the valley of *Syria*; which is thus particularized by *Juſtin* (12): "There is a valley ſurrounded by mountains, as it were with a "wall—*and* the extent of the place may be about two hundred "acres. Its name is *Hiericho* [*Jericho*]. In this valley there is a "wood moſt famous for the fertility and amenity of its trees, but "above all for the balm and opobalſam." The ſame is atteſted by *Strabo*, *Joſephus*, and others.

(H) So writes *Joſephus*, *Pliny*, and *Dioſcorides*. "But [ſays *Re-*"*land*] (13), *Proſper Alpinus* and *Peter Bellonius* will have it, that "theſe are miſtaken, becauſe it now grows in *Judæa* no where but "in gardens; and requires there to be tended very carefully; "whereas balſam of every ſort comes from *Arabia*, as from its na-"tive ſoil, and is thence conveyed into other regions. But I, for "my part, [continues he] am of opinion, that *Joſephus* and *Dioſ-*"*corides* wrote nothing but the truth, for there is no reaſon why "plants, which ſeventeen hundred years ago flouriſhed in one "country, may not in length of time, be produced in countries far "diſtant therefrom. But ſuppoſing even the nature of the ſoil "to have changed, it would be no ſuch great wonder: Viciſſi-"tudes of this kind certainly happen, as well as of others.

(11) *Ubi ſup. lib.* ix. *c.* 6. (12) *Lib.* xxxvii. (13) *Ubi ſup.*

pened to be mountainous or plain, cloſe or open, bordering on ſalt waters, or freſh, which ſeveral circumſtances of ſituation muſt naturally have propagated an almoſt endleſs variety of things pleaſant and uſeful, neceſſary for life, and incentive to luxury. In ſhort, ſuch a country it muſt have been, as *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (I) would have preferred in his choice. But to recur to authorities for all this, even from the moſt approved writers of antiquity, *Greek* and *Roman*, would be, as we apprehend, to no purpoſe, and draw us into a length we would avoid as much as poſſible; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with this general ſummary, which will raiſe a ſufficient idea of this choſen ſeat, that, when carefully huſbanded, it was inferior to no place elſe in the world. We would only add, that the ſoil is ſo very light, that it is ploughed with the leaſt labour, tho' returning an exuberant increaſe (K), and that the nature of it is ſuch, that to plough it deep were to deſtroy almoſt the hopes of any tolerable crop (L).

Why ſo much altered for the worſe.

HOW it has happened, that this country has changed face from ſuch beauty to ſuch deformity, may be with no great difficulty underſtood; for overwhelmed by calamities of the moſt bitter and deſtructive ſort, and its natives driven out to wander the wide world over, and the very ſoil itſelf groaning under the heavy preſſure of divine vengeance, it became quite another place: And more particularly after the mercileſs and mutual deva ſtations during the holy war, between the *Chriſtians* and *Mohammedans*. This great and blindly zealous ſtrife has ever ſince ſubjected this now unhappy ſpot to perpetual ravages and inſecurity, from the *Arabs* and other wandering

(I) He ſays (14) he ſhould not ſo much value a country for one production only, nor would chooſe to dwell where, at the ſame time the fields ſhould be fruitful, there ſhould be a total want of all the other neceſſaries of life, or at leaſt a ſcarcity of them; but that he would chooſe a country which ſhould be as much as poſſible ſufficient of itſelf, or ſtand the leaſt in need of foreign aſſiſtance. This he thinks to have been the happy lot of *Italy*.

(K) *Brochard* (15) ſays, he has often with his own eyes ſeen two oxen only at the plough, and that the land ſtands in need of manure of no ſort, being naturally very fat and rich.

(L) The ſoil being ſhallow, if the plough went deep, the clods would dry up by the heat that would be reverberated from the ſtony bottom. In *Syria* therefore they make uſe of ſmall ploughs, ſays *Theophraſtus* (16).

(14) *In Antiq. Rom. lib. i. p.* 28. (15) *In Deſcript. Terr. Sanct. c.* 11. (16) *Ubi ſupr. lib. iii. c.* 25.

tribes; ſo that, upon the ſurface of the whole earth, there is not a place more dangerous or comfortleſs to travel in, than is now this promiſed land, as by every traveller we are told. How then can we, with any juſtice, compare the preſent with the antient aſpect of this country? So that it is in vain to object the ſterility and naked rocks now beheld, and the rather as nothing we are told is plainer, than that theſe ſtony heights were once covered with ſoil [u] (M). But what muſt

[u] See MAUND. pag. 64.

(M) *Maundrell*'s words upon this occaſion being very remarkable and particular, we cannot help tranſcribing what he ſays (17).
——— "All along this day's travel — the country diſcovered a "quite different face from what it had before, preſenting nothing "to the view, in moſt places, but naked rocks, mountains, and "precipices. At ſight of which pilgrims are apt to be much "aſtoniſhed, baulked in their expectations, finding that country in "ſuch an inhoſpitable condition concerning whoſe pleaſantneſs and "plenty they had before formed in their minds ſuch high ideas, "from the deſcription given of it in the word of God: inſomuch "that it almoſt ſtartles their faith, when they reflect how it could "be poſſible for a land like this to ſupply food for ſo prodigious a "number of inhabitants, as are ſaid to have been polled in the "twelve tribes at one time; the ſum given in by *Joab* (18) a-"mounting to no leſs than thirteen hundred thouſand fighting "men, beſides women and children. But it is certain, that any "man, who is not a little byaſſed to infidelity before, may ſee, as "he paſſes along, arguments enough to ſupport his faith againſt "ſuch ſcruples. ——— For it is obvious for any one to ob-"ſerve, that theſe rocks and hills muſt have been anciently co-"vered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the "maintenance of the inhabitants, no leſs than if the country had "been all plain: nay, perhaps much more; foraſmuch as ſuch a "mountainous and uneven ſurface affords a larger ſpace of ground "for cultivation, than this country would amount to if it were all "reduced to a perfect level ——— For the huſbanding of theſe "mountains, their manner was, to gather up the ſtones, and place "them in ſeveral lines along the ſides of the hills, in form of a "wall. By ſuch borders they ſupported the mould from tumbling, "or being waſhed down; and formed many beds of excellent ſoil, "riſing gradually one above another, from the bottom to the top "of the mountains ——— Of this form of culture you ſee evi-"dent footſteps, wherever you go in all the mountains of *Paleſtine*. "Thus the very rocks were made fruitful: and perhaps there is no

(17) *Journey from Alep. to Jeruſalem.* (18) 2 *Sam.* *xxiv.* 9.

must this country have been, to have withstood the unparalleled and continued rage of the enemy it has so cruelly suffered? or what cannot an enemy do to destroy and utterly lay waste a country? *Josephus* * to our purpose writes, "the marching of his army [*Simon*'s] was the same thing to the "people, that a flight of locusts is to a wood: not a leaf, not "aspire of grass, was there left; not any thing more than a "desert, that they left behind them ---- Then the malicious "rage of *Simon*, and his keen animosity against the *Idu-*"*mæans* was still a farther aggravation-----In fine, what "with burning, demolishing, devouring the fruits of the "earth, or trampling them under foot; *Simon*'s troops did "not leave so much, even in a fruitful well-cultivated coun-"try, as the least sign or memorial of what it had formerly "been. 'This, and much more, is to be found in this and other authors; and if after this any one should think fit to object to us, what is said by *Strabo* relating to *Jerusalem* (N), as if it included the whole country; we shall answer, that they deal expressly against the plain sense of *Strabo*, who confines himself to a space only of sixty furlongs, which the more rocky and inaccessible it had been, so much the more apt and convenient to be the seat of the metropolis and great arsenal of the nation, as experience evinced.

The cities. THE cities of this land we shall forbear to describe, tho' few cities have been of greater splendor, or on all accounts more worthy of notice; but as in our larger geographical

* De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 7.

"spot of ground in this whole land, that was not improved to the "production of something or other, ministring to the assistance of "human life; for, than the plain country nothing can be more "fruitful, whether for the production of corn or cattle, and conse-"quently of milk." — He then proceeds to shew, how this whole country, so wild at present, may have been, as it doubtless was, a paradise both for pleasure and production.

(N) He mistakenly says (19) that *Moses* led them to the place where *Jerusalem* stood, which he easily obtained, as it was a place not worth the contending for; for that it was rocky, though it abounded with water; and the country about, for the space of sixty stades or furlongs, dry, barren, and rocky. But what is this to the purpose? this was but a small part of the country, and concludes nothing in prejudice to the rest; for what country is there that wants its deserts, wilds, and rocks?

(19) *Lib. xvi.*

sections,

ſections, we have avoided the taſk, as too tedious and exceeding the bounds we preſcribe to ourſelves, as well as to avoid repetition, and anticipating what may be more properly mentioned in the body of our hiſtory, we ſhall do by theſe now, as we formerly [y] did by thoſe of *Egypt*, refer them, till they come to be occaſionally mentioned or deſcribed, and proceed to what is more immediately to our preſent purpoſe.

MEANING the more remarkable things and rarities of this country, which, as nicely as we can diſtinguiſh and ſeparate them, we will divide into the *natural* and *artificial*; though we might alſo, with great reaſon, divide them in general into the *falſe*, *doubtful*, and *certain*; but we ſhall leave that to the reader's own diſcretion or diſcernment. Upon mount *Carmel* they find melons, olives, and ſuch like fruits in ſtone, moſt exactly imitating theſe vegetable productions, both within and without, and the melons even when opened emitting an agreeable ſmell; our author [z] adds, that here alſo are found a kind of oyſters of the ſame nature, and even, as reported, bunches of grapes of the ſame ſtony conſiſtence; but whether owing to petrifaction, or the wanton imitation of nature, is left undecided----Near *Rachel's* tomb, not far from *Bethlehem*, is a ſmall ſpot of ground, whereon are picked up a little ſort of ſmall round ſtones, exactly reſembling peas; owing, as they pretend, to a miracle wrought by the bleſſed virgin, who, to puniſh a ſurly ruſtic, who refuſed her a handful of that pulſe, converted them into ſtones [a] (O). The ſand of the river *Belus*, as ſuppoſed, not far from *Acra* or *Ptolemais*, is famous for being an excellent material for the making of glaſs, and not only ſo, but for having miniſtred the firſt occaſion and hint of that fine invention [b] ---- In the way from *Jeruſalem* to the *Jordan* de- *Natural rarities.*

[y] See Vol I. p. 388. vol. iv. pag. 308. 4to

[z] LE BRUYN, Voyage au Levant. &c.

[a] MAUNDR. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag 87. SANDYS, &c. ubi ſup. p. 56.

[b] SANDYS, p. 203. MAUNDR.

(O) This ſtory is told another way. They ſay, the bleſſed virgin going one day from *Bethlehem* to *Jeruſalem*, ſaw a countryman ſowing of ſomething, and aſking him what it was he was ſowing, he anſwered, *ſtones*; that this rude anſwer of his coſt him dear; for that, by the will and power of God, this ſeed produced nothing but ſtones in the likeneſs of peas; and from that time, ſay they, this ſame field hath afforded nothing elſe (20).

(20) Le Bruyn, *Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. p. 231. in 4to.*

ſcending

ſcending a ſteep hill, they ſhew what they call the fountain of the apoſtles; ſo called from a tradition current, that here the apoſtles were wont to refreſh themſelves in their frequent journeyings between *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho* [c] ---- Soon after, on the ſame road, they ſhew the mountainous deſert where our Saviour was led by the ſpirit to be tempted of the devil; a moſt miſerable and barren place, ſo ſeemingly torn and diſordered, that the beholder is ready to believe, the earth had ſuffered ſome extraordinary convulſion, in which its very bowels have been turned outwards [d]. ---- Next to this, which is ſeemingly a part of it, is a mountain called *Quadrantana*, or *Quarantania*, of ſteep and moſt dangerous aſcent, where, as they ſay, the devil took our bleſſed Saviour to tempt him with the deluſive ſight of the earth and its glories [e]. And here they ſhew alſo a number of ſtones, which they will have to have been the very ſame the devil would have had converted into loaves [f] (P). On the top of this ſame mount is a ſmall chapel, and on the prominence of it another, about which are many caves and holes, where, as hideous as the place was, hermits and anchorets took up their ſolitary abode [g] ----At the diſtance of ſome leagues from the *Dead-ſea* there are ſuch ſaline effloreſcencies, as are obſerved in the valley of *Salt* near *Aleppo* [h], after the winter's inundation; a demonſtrative ſign, that the whole plain about muſt be, in an extraordinary manner, impregnated with that mineral [i]. ---- At about an hour's diſtance from the *Dead-ſea* the ground is uneven, and varied into hillocks, and much reſembling the places in *England* where there have been antiently lime-kilns; which are ſuggeſted to have been the pits where the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were overthrown by the four kings [k]. ---- In the plain of *Jericho* is a very remarkable fruit, called by the *Arabs* *Za-cho-ne*, it grows on a thorny buſh, with ſmall leaves; and both in ſhape and colour reſembles a ſmall

[c] Idem ibid. pag 79. [d] Idem ibid. pag. 79. [e] Idem ibid. p 80. [f] RAUZIV. Peregrin. Jeroſolym. pag. 99. [g] Vide eoſdem in loc ſup. cit. [h] See Vol. II. p. 134. [i] MAUNDR. ubi ſup. p. 81. [k] Idem ibid. p 83.

(P) The ſame author obſerves in the ſame place, that thoſe who would have this deſert to have been what we commonly call a wilderneſs or wood, are moſt egregiouſly miſtaken; for that nothing like a tree is here to be ſeen, but rocks only, and moſt rugged cliffs.

unripe

unripe walnut. The kernels of this fruit the *Arabs* bray in a mortar, and putting the pulp into ſcalding water, ſkim off an oil which riſes to the top; which oil taken inwardly for bruiſes, or applied outwardly to green wounds, is preferred to balm of *Gilead* [l]. ------- In the ſame plain alſo are found what they call roſes of *Jericho*, of a very miraculous nature. They are ſaid to give eaſe to women at the time of delivery [m]; and to blow only on *Chriſtmas-eve*, according to ſome [n], or on all the feſtival days of our lady according to others [o] (Q); notions

[l] Idem ibid. p. 87. [m] RADZIV. ubi ſup. p. 98. [n] THEVEN. Voy. au Levant, p. 1. lib. i. c. 41. LE BRUYN, Voy. au Levant, vol. 4. p. 277. in 4to. [o] THEVEN. ubi ſup.

(Q) This property of theſe roſes, as they are called, ſeems to bear ſo conſiderable an affinity with Sir *John Mandeville*'s (21) origin of roſes, that we cannot help inſerting his moſt extraordinary tradition at length, as it ſtands in his own words. "And "between the *Cytee* [*Bethlehem*] and the church is the feld *floridus*; that is to ſeyne, *the feld flouriſched*: for als moche as a "fayre mayden was blamed with wrong, and ſlaundred, that "ſche had done fornycacioun; for whiche cauſe ſche was demed "to the dethe, and to be brent in that place, to the whiche ſche "was ladd. And as the fyre began to brenne aboute hire, ſche "made hire preyeres to oure lord, that als wiſſely as ſche was "not gylty of that ſynne, that he wold helpe hire, and make it "to be knowen to alle men, of his mercyfulle grace. And whan "ſche hadde thus ſeyd, ſche entred into the fuyer; and anon "was the fuyr quenched and oute: and the brondes, that weren "brennyne, becomen rede roſeres; and the brondes, that weren "not kyndled, becomen white roſeres, fulle of roſes. And theiſe "weren the firſt roſeres and roſes, bothe white and rede, that "evere ony man ſaughe." &c. and ſo on. So groſs were the ſuperſtitions of the times, and ſo thickly benighted the underſtandings of the generation, that nothing was too hard to be believed by the univerſally credulous multitude. Which being perceived, and the ſweet gains of pious fraud once taſted by the deſigning and avaritious prieſt, ſhrines, and ſanctuaries, and ſtrange ſtories, to derive reſpect on particular places, became innumerable. In ſhort, if ſo ſincere, ſo worthy, and ſo ſenſible and knowing a man, as Sir *John* moſt plainly appears to have been, by that part of his travels which is properly his own, and which is not commonly half ſo much valued as it ought to be, could be ſo monſtrouſly gulled of his ſenſes, in this and

(21) *Page* 84. *in the laſt edition* 8vo.

other

tions now on all hands exploded (R). To theſe we may add the wood olive of the ſame place. The outward coat of it is green. and like that of the common olive we eat; but being taken off, you find a nut of woody conſiſtence. This has ribs lengthwiſe, and is of the thickneſs of an almond-ſhell, and the kernel within is like a piſtachio, within-ſide of a cheſtnut brown, and inſipid to all likelihood [p]----- Between *Jeruſalem* and *Bethlehem* was the valley of *Rephaim*, ſo famous for the overthrow of the *Philiſtines* by *David* [q]. ------Between the ſame places is the turpentine tree, in the ſhade of which the bleſſed virgin is ſaid to have repoſed (S), when ſhe was carrying Chriſt in her arms to preſent him to the Lord at *Jeruſalem* [r].------Between *Bethlehem* and the convent of St. *John the Baptiſt* is that famous valley, where the angel made ſuch prodigious havock of the great *Sennacherib*'s mighty army in the ſpace of one night [s].------- Either in or cloſe upon the ſkirts of this ſame valley is a village, called *Booteſhellah*, which is reported to have this ſtrange property, that no *Turk* or *Mohammedan* can live in it above two years [t] (T).------In leſs than an hour from this ſame

[p] Le Bruyn, ubi ſupr. p. 278. [q] Maundr. ubi ſupr. p. 87. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. p. 91. [t] Maundr. ubi ſup. p. 92.

other reſpects, what muſt we conceive, think ye, of the common rate of his contemporaries? The impudence of the clergy was immenſe, their avarice without bounds, and their ambition infinite.

(R) It ſeems they will not blow except they are put into water; but in that caſe, they will blow in any ſeaſon, and at any hour (22). Beſides they are not peculiar to the plain of *Jericho*; they are to be found elſewhere, and particularly in the deſerts about mount *Sinai* (23); and yet people are ſtill ſo fond of this idle notion, that they are reſolved never to part with it; ſome of theſe we know, but their names muſt be a ſecret in this caſe, tho' well known in others.

(S) The tradition of the country goes, that this tree bent itſelf, to afford the virgin a more perfect ſhade than it could otherwiſe have done (24).

(T) Where ſtrength can be of no avail, art, they ſay, may be uſed. In this inſtance, the *Chriſtians* have, it ſeems, out-witted the *Turks*, who, weak enough to believe there may be truth

(22) Theven *Voy. au Lev. part* 1. *lib. ii. c.* 41. Le Bruyn *Voy. au. Lev. vol* 4. *p.* 278. *in* 4*to.* (23) Theven. *ubi ſupr.* (24) Le Bruyn *ubi ſupr. p.* 234.

in

ſame place is the fountain, where, they falſly (V) ſay, *Philip* baptized

in the ſtory leave the village to them, without moleſtation (25). *Sandys* (26) takes this ſame place to be called *Bezec*, and alſo tells us, that the *Chriſtians* have the good luck to keep it to themſelves; the place having, as the report went, actually proved mortal to ſuch *Mohammedans* as had attempted to make it the place of their abode: So that, if actual experience has given birth to this notion, it may be doubtful, whether the *Turks* took the fright of themſelves, or whether it was artfully injected by the *Chriſtians*. *Thevenot* (27) calls it, *Boticella*, and tells us, a report goes, that no *Turk* can live there above eight days. We had almoſt forgot, that prince *Radziville* calls this ſame place, *Bethagil*: that this is the ſame place meant by the three former travellers is evident by the ſituation he gives it, agreeing therein with them, tho' at the ſame time he magnifies the miracle ſtill more than *Thevenot* (28). He ſays, no one circumciſed can ſurvive the third day here; but that on the third night they would ſurely die; which, he ſays, was moſt ſolemnly affirmed to him, even by two *Arabians*, who had almoſt experienced the whole of the thing. The ſame *Arabs* told him, that the firſt night they were taken with a violent pain in the head; that on the ſecond their whole body ſo ſwelled up, that for fear of immediate death, they were obliged to be removed; and that the one of them was four, the other ſix, months before they were reſtored to their former health. In fine, that when he arrived near the place, no *Mohammedan* that was with him would venture in, but, to avoid the danger, choſe rather to go round about. As it were to confirm this marvellous relation, he inſtances another place indued with the ſame deſtructive property to all the circumciſed, which is a nunnery about three miles from *Damaſcus*, where none under the circumſtances of circumciſion can out live the third day. This, he ſays, is ordered, as many affirm, by the ſpecial grace and favour of God, in order to protect the chaſtity of the virgins from the unſparing luſt of the *Pagans* or *Infidels*. Stories moſt religiouſly cultivated, and by the weak as greedily ſwallowed.

(V) Falſe it ſeemed to our traveller, and a thing impoſſible. His objection is the inacceſſibleneſs of the place for an horſeman, and much more for a chariot, ſuch as the eunuch rode in. However he grants, that the road to it may have been ſmoother formerly than now, and thinks there are ſome indications which ſeemingly declare it to have been ſo (29). Prince *Radziville* (30)

(25) Maundr. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ.* p. 91. (26) *In his Travels*, p. 182. (27) *Voy. au Levant. part* 1. *liv.* ii. c. 37. (28) *In Peregrin. Jeroſolym.* p. 88. (29) Maundr. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ.* p. 92. (30) *Ubi ſupr.*

baptized the *Ethiopian* eunuch.-----Somewhat beyond this is the wilderneſs of St. *John*; a wilderneſs called becauſe very rocky and mountainous, though well cultivated and producing plenty of corn, wine, and oil [u] (X).------An hour within this wilderneſs is the cave and fountain, where, as they ſay, St. *John* exerciſed thoſe ſevere auſterities related of him by the evangeliſt *Matthew* [x].------Not far from this ſame cave are ſome old locuſt-trees, which our author, [y] calls the monuments of the ignorance of the middle times (Y). ------A little way from hence is the valley of *Elah*, where

[u] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid.

not ſo free with his objections to the moſt palpable falſhoods impoſed on him in theſe parts, his ſuperſtition devouring his great good ſenſe, takes occaſion from the nature of this fountain to combat the doctrine of the *Anabaptiſts*. They, ſays he, cite this baptiſm of the eunuch as an example to juſtify their practice; but continues, that had they ſeen the place they would be of another mind; that the ſpring is ſo inconſiderable, as ſcarce to afford water enough to wet both feet together; and thence concludes, that *Philip* only took up the water, and poured it on the eunuch's head, and in that manner baptized him. *Le Brun* (31) ſeems to deſtroy this piece of criticiſm by ſaying, that the water of this ſame ſpring falls into a baſon made of very large ſtones, by which deſcription we might imagine it to be a very handſome and convenient dipping-place. It is ſtrange, that when travellers take upon them to deſcribe a place they cannot do it to purpoſe.

(X) We know of no traveller, but our author, that takes notice of this; the reſt ſpeak of it as compleatly a deſert or wilderneſs. *Radziville* (32) takes notice of nothing here in the vegetable way, except a few ſmall tufts of poor buſhes.

(Y) Theſe trees the friars aver to be the very ſame that yielded ſuſtenance to the *Baptiſt*; and the popiſh pilgrims, who dare not be wiſer than their blind guides, gather the fruit of them, and carry it off with great devotion (33). The thing being ſo, it is impoſſible we ſhould doubt our author of ſaying more than he ſaw or heard, we wonder there ſhould be ſuch a ſilence as there is with the other pilgrims of note, concerning theſe extraordinary trees. Prince *Radziville* (34) is at a loſs to know how he ſubſiſted here, ſo far was he, ſeemingly, from hearing of, or ſeeing theſe locuſt-trees. Poſſibly it may be a new device.

(31) *Voy. au Lev. vol iv. p.* 207. *in* 4*to.* (32) *Peregr. Jeroſol. p.* 89. (33) Maundr. *ubi ſupr.* (34) *Ubi ſupra.*

David

David ſlew the giant; as alſo *Modin*, on a high hill the burying-place of the *Maccabees* [y].---- Between the convent of St. *John* and *Jeruſalem* in the convent of the holy croſs, as by the *Greeks* it is called, they ſhew you the earth which nouriſhed the root that bare the tree, which yielded the timber that made the croſs. The hole in the earth where ſtood this tree is ſhewn under the high altar; and marvelouſly revered by the pilgrims, who are ſuch very ſtocks as to fall down and worſhip it [z].----- About a furlong from the church of the holy ſepulchre, they ſhew, the place where ſtood the houſe of *Zebedee*. The *Grecks*, who have poſſeſſion here, pretend that *Zebedee*, being a fiſherman, was wont to bring fiſh from *Joppa* hither, and yend it at this place. --- A little farther on is the place where antiently, as they ſay, ſtood the iron gate which opened to *Peter* of its own accord [a].---- In *Jeruſalem* alſo they point out the very place where, as they ſay, our Lord appeared to the three *Maries*, as the friars there will have it, though the evangeliſt *Matthew* records but one [b]. ---- In the *Armenian* church, in this ſame city, built upon that part of mount *Sion* within the walls, they ſhew the place where St. *James*, the brother of St. *John*, was beheaded; and in a ſmall chapel on the north ſide of it the very ſpot of his decollation [c]. ---- In the ſame church they ſhew three large rough ſtones, held in great veneration, for that one of them was the very ſtone on which *Moſes* caſt the two tables, when violently moved with indignation at the idolatry of the *Iſraelites*; and the other two, for that they were brought, the one from the place of *Chriſt*'s baptiſm, the other from the place of his transfiguration [d]. ---- A little farther they ſhew the place where ſtood the houſe of *Annas* the high-prieſt [e].---- A little without *Sion-gate*, under the altar of a ſmall chapel belonging to the *Armenians*, they boaſt of the very ſtone that was laid to ſecure the door of our *Saviour*'s ſepulchre (*Z*) [f]. ---- In the court of the chapel, built where *Annas*'s

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. pag, 94. RADZIV. Pereg. Jeroſol. pag. 90. LE BRUYN, &c. [a] MAUND. ubi ſup. pag. 98. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. RADZIV. &c. [d] MAUND. ubi ſup. pag. 99. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid.

(*Z*) "It was a long time kept in the church of the ſepulchre; "but the *Armenians*, not many years ſince, ſtole it from thence "by ſtratagem, and conveyed it to this place. ——— It is two "yards and a quarter long, high one yard, and broad as much,—

Annas's houſe is ſaid to have ſtood, they have an olive-tree, of which they have a tradition (A), that *Chriſt* was for ſome time chained to it, by the order of *Annas*, to prevent his eſcaping [g]. ---- Near a little cell belonging to a chapel, built where ſtood the houſe of *Caiaphas*, which they will have to have been the priſon where *Chriſt* was kept till the next morning, they point out the place where *Peter* irreſolutely denied his maſter [h] (B). --- Not much farther, without the city gate, near the church of the *Cœnaculum*, is a well which is ſaid to mark out the place where the apoſtles divided from each other, in order to go every man to his charge [i]. ---- On the weſt of the valley of *Hinnom*, is the place cal-

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid. p. 100. [i] Idem ibid.

" plaſtered all over except in five or ſix little places, where it is " left bare to receive the immediate kiſſes and other devotions of " pilgrims (35)".

(A) A tradition it ſeems, which varies a little. This tree, which by our traveller, ſtands in the court before what was the houſe of *Annas*, is, by prince *Radzi-ville* (36), removed to the houſe of *Caiaphas*; and this he not only does, but alſo forgets the ſtory of *Chriſt*'s having been chained to it. But *Thevenot* and *Le Bruyn* continue the tree in its firſt place, the former (37) ſaying, that he was bound to it, till he received ſentence; the other (38), that here he was made faſt, when *Malchus* gave him the buffet; for *Malchus* they will certainly have this anonymous perſon to have been.

(B) Travellers all agree, that this happened at what they ſhew for the ſpot where *Caiaphas*'s houſe once ſtood; but they differ a little in the deſcription of the ſpot. Prince *Radzi-ville* (39) tells us, there is an olive-tree on the ſuppoſed ſpot; *Thevenot* changes it for an orange-tree (40): *Le Bruyn* (41) mentions no tree at all. There is alſo ſome variation as to where the cock was perched when he crowed; prince *Radziville* (42) talks of both an olive and an orange-tree in this ſame court, and ſays, the cock crowed upon the latter: *Thevenot* (43) writes, that ſome ſeven or eight ſteps from the orange-tree, he mentions, is the place of the pillar where the cock crew: *Le Bruyn* (44) tells us, they ſhew a piece of the pedeſtal of the pillar, whereon the cock crew *twice*; and that in memory thereof the cock himſelf is repreſented in marble upon the wall.

(35) Maund. *ubi ſup pag.* 100. (36) *Pereg. Jeroſol pag.* 59. (37) *Voy. au Lev. par.* 1. *lib. ii. c.* 49 (38) *Voy. au Lev. Vol. iv. pag.* 177. *in* 4*to.* (39) *Ubi ſup.* (40) *Ubi ſup.* (41) *Ubi ſup.* (42) *Ubi ſup.* (43) *Ubi ſup.* (44) *Ubi ſup.*

led

led antiently the *Potters-field*, but ſince the *field of blood*, and for the particular veneration it has obtained among *Chriſtians*, the *Campo Sancto*: a ſmall ſpot of ground, not above thirty yards long and half as much in breadth [k], with earth of ſo extraordinary a nature, that if a dead body be but laid upon it only, and not at all covered, it will conſume it away to the bare bones, within leſs than twenty four hours, ſay ſome [l], or within eight and forty according to others [m] (C); but the ſuddenneſs of this effect is diſputed (D). ---- In the valley of *Jehoſhaphat* is, 1. The well of *Nehemiah*, ſo called, becauſe it is reputed to be the ſame place whence that reſtorer of *Iſrael* ſo miraculouſly recovered the fire of the altar, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, as mentioned in the firſt chapter of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* [n]. 2. A little higher, on the left hand in this ſame valley, is a tree, ſuppoſed to mark out the place where the prophet *Iſaiah* was ſawn aſunder [o]. 3. About a hundred paces higher on the ſame ſide, is the pool of

[k] Idem ibid. p. 101. [l] RADZIV. Pereg. Jeroſol. pag. 64.
[m] SANDYS, pag. 187. [n] MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 102. [o] Idem ibid.

(C) Prince *Radziville* (45) profeſſes to have been an eye-witneſs, that this earth performs the effect within twenty-four hours; and *Sandys* (46) verily believes, it will perform what is ſaid of it in eight and forty hours. A greedy grave he (47) calls it, and great enough to devour the dead of a whole nation. It is now the great ſepulchre of the *Armenians*, who, for a ſmall gratuity, admit the dead bodies of other nations; ſo that it may be ſtill called a place of burial for ſtrangers. It is walled in, that the bones of the chriſtians may not be abuſed by the *Turks* (48); and the one half of it is taken up by a building in the nature of a charnel-houſe, ſquare, and twelve yards high, with little open domes at top, convenient to let down the dead bodies. This charnel-houſe is the proper place of burial (49).

(D) *Maundrell* (50) tells us, the earth, here is as he expreſſes himſelf, of a chalky ſubſtance; and that, looking down through the holes formerly mentioned, he could ſee many bodies under ſeveral degrees of decay; and that thence he conjectured, and ſeemingly with good reaſon, that this grave does not make the very quick diſpatch commonly reported.

(45) *Pereg. Jeroſol pag.* 64 (46) *Travels, pag.* 187.
(47) *Ibid.* (48 Radziv. *ubi ſup.* (49) Maund. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 101. *Vide etiam* Sandys, *ubi ſup.*
(50) *Ubi ſup.*

Silvam

Siloam [p] (E). 4. About a furlong farther on the ſame ſide is a fountain called after the bleſſed virgin; becauſe as reported, ſhe was wont to reſort to this water; but at what time, and upon what occaſions, is not agreed [q] (F). 5. Over againſt this fountain, on the other ſide of the valley, is the place called *Siloe*, where *Solomon* is ſaid to have kept his ſtrange wives; and above it a hill, which they will have to have been the *Mountain of Offence*; becauſe *Solomon* there built his high-places [r]. 6. On the ſame ſide, and not far from *Siloe*, they ſhew another *Aceldama*, or *field of blood*; ſo called, becauſe here, as they pretend, *Judas*, by the juſt judgment of God, met with his compounded death [s]. ---- In the ſide of the aſcent from the valley of *Jehoſhaphat* to the city of *Jeruſalem* they ſhew a broad ſtone, on which they will have it the protomartyr St. *Stephen* was ſtoned to death; and not far from thence a grott, where, they tell you, the outragious zealots threw his body, after they had ſated their cruel rage

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

(E) From this pool all the gardens in the valley of *Jehſhoaphat* are ſaid (51) to be abundantly watered. The *Turks*, it ſeems, hold this water to be ſacred, and a number of them, almoſt every day, waſh themſelves therein. For though by the ablution of any water they fancy themſelves to be cleanſed from ſin, they particularly expect it here. It has a deſcent to it by ſteps (52); and contains not above half an acre of ground (53). How much ſoever its water may be valued, it ſeems to be ſometimes wanted; for we have a witneſs (54), who ſaw it dry in the bottom.

(F) As there is nothing too ridiculous to be expected in the traditionary ſtories here, it need not be wondered, that they are ſilly enough to ſay, that here the virgin was wont to waſh her clouts (55). *Sandys* (56) is aſhamed to account for the name this ſpring is honoured with; but *Le Bruyn* (57) has a cleanlier reaſon than is aſſigned above, and only ſays, that the ſame holy perſon was here wont to draw water, as ſhe returned from mount *Sion*. It was alſo called the fountain of the dragon (58); and the deſcent to it is pleaſant and commodious by ſeveral ſteps (59). It is repleniſhed with pleaſant waters (60), which are ſaid to be an immediate cure for fevers, if either bathed in or drank of (61).

(51) Radziv. *Peregr. Jeroſol. pag.* 63, 64. (52) *Vide Idem ibid. p.* 64. (53) Sandys, *p.* 188. (54) *Idem ibid.* (55) Radziv. *ubi ſup. p.* 63. Theveh. *par.* 1 *lib. ii. c.* 49. (56) *In his Trav. pag* 188. (57) *Voy. au. Lev. vol. iv. p.* 184. *in* 4*to.* (58) Radziv *ubi ſup.* (59) Le Bruyn. *ubi ſup.* (60) Sandys, *ubi ſup.* (61) Theven. *ubi ſup.*

upon

upon him [t] (G). ---- Between the foot of mount *Olivet* and the brook *Cedron* they ſhew you *Gethſemane*, an even plat of ground, not above fifty ſeven yards ſquare, of great fame for its olive-trees, which are ſaid to be the very ſame which ſtood here in the days of our SAVIOUR [u] (H). ---- At the upper end of this garden is a flat naked ledge of rock, reputed to be the place on which the apoſtles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, fell aſleep during the agony of our Lord; and a few paces thence a grotto, where, they ſay, *Chriſt* underwent that bitter part of his paſſion [x]. - - - - About eight paces from the place where the three apoſtles ſlept, they ſhew a ſmall ſhred of ground, twelve yards long and one broad, ſuppoſed to be the very path on which the traitor *Judas* walked up to *Chriſt*, ſaying, *hail maſter and kiſſed him* [y] (I). - - - - - Not far from the gate of St. *Stephen* they ſhew the palace of *Pilate*,

[t] MAUND. ubi. ſup. [u] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. p. 106.
[y] Idem ibid.

(G) The ſtones hereabouts have a red ruſt upon them, which, they ſay, gives teſtimony of the bloodſhed of this holy perſon (62).

(H) In virtue of this tradition the olives, and olive-ſtones, and oil, here produced, became an excellent commodity in *Spain* (63). But that theſe trees cannot be any thing like ſo antient as pretended, is evident by the repeated teſtimony of *Joſephus* (64), that *Titus*, when he beſieged *Jeruſalem*, felled all the trees within about an hundred furlongs of that city; and that, in conſequence of this, the ſoldiers were obliged to go to that diſtance for timber, to make their mounts, when they aſſaulted the temple. But after all, they have ſeemingly more to ſay for themſelves, in ſupport of what they give out concerning theſe olive-trees, than of many other important matters they are very confident of; for the olives here being of an extraordinary ſize, they, according to the philoſophy of theſe parts, conclude the trees that produce them muſt be of an extraordinary age (65).

(I) Our author (66) obſerves, that this narrow path is ſeparated by a wall from the midſt of the garden, as a *terra damnata*; "a "work the more remarkable, ſays he, as being done by the *Turks*, "who, as well as the Chriſtians, deteſt the very ground on which "was acted ſuch an infamous treachery."

(62) *Vide* Sandys, *ubi ſup.* 191. (63) Maund. *ubi ſup.* p. 107. (64) *De Bell. Judaic. lib. xii c.* 15. (65) *Vide* Le Bruyn, *Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. p.* 191, *in 4to.* (66) Maund. *ubi ſup* p. 106.

or

or place rather where it ſtood [a] (K). - - - - From this ſpot you have a fair proſpect of the place where the temple ſtood, on the top of mount *Moriah* [z]. - - - - - Coming out from the houſe, pretended to have been *Pilate*'s, is a deſcent, where was antiently the *ſcala ſancta* [b]. - - - - - From this ſame houſe they carry you along the *Dolorous Way*, as it is called; in which walk they *firſt* ſhew the place where *Pilate* brought forth our Lord to preſent him to the people, with that myſtic ſaying, *behold the Man! Secondly*, where *Chriſt* fainted thrice under the weight of the croſs. *Thirdly*, Where the bleſſed virgin ſwooned away at ſo tragical a ſpectacle. *Fourthly*, Where St. *Veronica* preſented to him the handkerchief to wipe his bleeding brows. And, *Fifthly*, where the ſoldiers compelled *Simon* the *Cyrenean* to bear his croſs [c]. - - - At *Na*-

[z] Idem ibid [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. p. 107.

(K) Prince *Radziville* (67) talks of the palace of *Pilate* itſelf as ſtill ſtanding, or at leaſt in his days, and particularly takes notice of a court belonging to it, paved with marble, which he ſuppoſes to be the very ſame St. *John* (68) calls the *pavement*; and adds, that it had on each hand a portico ſupported by porphyry columns, where that *Roman* governor was wont to ſit in judgment, and obſerves, it was then the reſidence of the *Turkiſh* chief. *Sandys* (69) alſo makes mention of this ſame palace, which he will have to have been the ſame: but according to him the chief remains of it are, at the weſt corner, a pair of ſtairs, which led to *Pilate*'s place of judgment; an antient arch that ſupports a ruined gallery; and in the eaſt ſide a two-arched window, where, as they ſay, *Pilate* preſented *Chriſt* to the people. *Thevenot* (70) adds, that under this two-arched window there is inſcribed, *Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum*. *Le Bruyn* (71) delivers himſelf exactly to the ſame purpoſe, and they all agree the place in their time to have been the reſidence of the *Turkiſh* baſha, and the place of judgment for the city. But it is poſſible they may have been miſled, and confounded the palace of *Herod* with that of *Pilate* juſt by it; for *Maundrell* (72) takes notice of little more than an ordinary *Turkiſh* houſe on the ſpot, when he was there. He adds (73), that, among other remarkables in this pretended houſe, they ſhew a room, where, they ſay, our Saviour was ſcourged; but that, when he was there, it was no better than a weaver's ſhop. All our travellers agree, that from this houſe you have the fulleſt and moſt commodious proſpect of the ground whereon ſtood antiently the temple.

(67) *Peregr Jeroſol. p.* 91. (68) *c. xix. ver.* 13. (69) *In his Trav. p.* 193. (70) *Voy. au Lev. par. I. lib ii. c.* 37. (71) *Voy. au Lev. vol. II. p.* 180. *in* 4*to.* (72) *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p* 106. (73) *Ubi ſup. p.* 107.

I

zareth

zareth they ſhew the place of the Annunciation [d]; to be reſumed hereafter. - - - - - Not far from mount *Hermon* appears the mount of *Beatitudes*, where our Saviour delivered his ſermon recorded in *Matthew* [e]. - - - - *Laſtly*, in this ſame neighbourhood they ſhew the *mount of Precipitation* as they call it, or the brow of the hill, from whence the *Nazarites* would have thrown down *Chriſt*, incenſed at the ſermon he preached to them recorded by *Luke* [f]. Theſe, with thoſe we have occaſionally mentioned before in the courſe of this ſection, are the more remarkable natural curioſities of this country; we now proceed to the artificial, as well as we can diſtinguiſh or ſeparate them.

Artificial rarities.

WORTHY of notice are the ruins of *Ptolemais*, or *St. John d'Acre*, or *Acra*, from the *Hebrew* name *Accho*. Theſe ruins look as if the city had conſiſted of caſtles only, without the intermixture of private dwellings; it had two walls well fortified with bulwarks and towers, and each wall had a ditch lined with ſtone, and many ſecret poſterns beneath; but now the huge walls and arches, turned topſy turvy, lie like rocks upon the foundation [g]. In the fields without theſe once extraordinary works, are ſeen ſcattered up and down great balls of ſtone, of at leaſt thirteen or fourteen inches diameter, part of the ammunition uſed in battering the city, the uſe of guns being then unknown [h]. Of the ruins within theſe broken walls, which, by ſome tokens of more than ordinary magnificence and ſtrength, appear above the reſt, are, 1. The cathedral dedicated to St. *Andrew*, not far from the ſea-ſide, and high and conſpicuous above the reſt. 2. The church of St. *John*, the titular ſaint of this city. 3. The convent of the knights hoſpitallers, whoſe remaining walls bear ſufficient teſtimony of its former ſtrength. 4. The palace of the grand maſter of the order, ſtill exhibiting a large and noble ſtaircaſe, and part of a church, ſtill remaining in it. 5. Some remains of a large church formerly belonging to a nunnery [i]. Some pretend to farther and more important diſcoveries of particular places (L): but all we ſhall farther obſerve is, that there are

[d] Idem ibid. p. 112. [e] Idem ibid. p. 115. [f] Idem ibid. p. 116. [g] SANDYS, l. iii. p. 204. [h] MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p. 54. [i] Idem ibid.

(L) *Thevenot* (74) reckons, there are the remains of about thirty churches ſtill to be ſeen, and particularly of one above the reſt, where the knights had a treaſure, which they diſtinguiſhed with a

(74) *Voy. au Lev. part I. lib.* 2. *c.* §3.

are here ruins of a palace which had our king *Richard* for founder, as is not only acknowledged and reported, but confirmed also by the passant lion [k]. - - - - *Sebaſta*, or the antient *Samaria*, which, though now as it were wholly obliterated, and turned into garden-ground, yet retains some token of what it formerly has been; for on the north side of it is a large square piazza, incompassed with pillars, and on the east some poor remains of an old church, said to have been built by the empress *Helena*, over the place where St. *John the Baptist* was both imprisoned and beheaded (M). - - - - Just without the city of *Naploſa*, in the narrow valley between mount *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, is a small mosque, called by the name of *Joseph's sepulchre*, it being a tradition current in these parts, that the bones of that patriarch were here interred, after their transportation out of *Egypt* [m]. - - - About the third part of an hour from the same town of *Naploſa*, they shew *Jacob*'s well, not so famous for its author, as memorable for the conference our Saviour here had with the woman of *Samaria* (N). This well is at present covered with an old stone vault, into which being let down through a very strait hole, the mouth of the well itself is discovered. It is hollowed out of the firm rock, is about three yards in diameter, and thirty five in depth, five of which our traveller [n] found full of water, and thereby confutes a superstitious story that has

[k] SANDYS, ubi sup. p. 205. [l] MAUND. ubi sup. p. 59.
[m] Idem ibid. p. 62. [n] Idem ibid. p. 63.

piece of marble, and which, says he, not many years ago was brought away in a ship, which came for that end to *Acra*, though pretending only to buy goods. *Sandys* (75) relates, that this treasure was in a vault of the same church, which, being known to the successors of these knights, was, about forty years before his time, fetched away by the gallies of *Malta*, the inhabitants forsaking the town as soon as they landed. By *Maundrell* (76) it appears, that this same church was the cathedral itself of St. *Andrew*.

(M) "In the body of this church you go down a stair-case, into "the very dungeon where that holy blood was shed." The *Turks* have this place, and over it have erected a small mosque; into which they will admit a *Christian* for a little piece of money (77).

(N) This well seems at present to have been too far from *Samaria* for women to come thither to draw water; but it is pretty evident to the curious observer, that the city extended farther this way formerly, than it does now (78).

(75) *In his Trav. lib. iii. p.* 205. (76) *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p.* 55. (77) *Ibid. p.* 59. (78) *Ibid. p.* 63.

taken

taken root among Chriſtians (O). ---- The next thing more remarkably obſervable is the ſtately and much frequented church of the holy ſepulchre in *Jeruſalem*. But as it may be needleſs to deſcribe it in words, when we have ſo many exact plans and draughts of it, we ſhall haſten to what it contains. 1, Mount *Calvary*, with the very individual hole where the croſs of our Lord was planted, and the very cleft (P) ſaid to have been cauſed by the earthquake at his paſſion [o]. 2. The ſtone of unction, or the very place where his body was anointed and prepared for burial [p]. 3. The ſepulchre where he was depoſited to the hour of his reſurrection [q] --- A little without that gate of *Jeruſalem*, called the *Damaſcus-gate*, they carry you to a large grot, which they pretend to have been ſome time the abode of *Jeremiah*: On the left ſide of it they even point at the prophet's bed, which is no more than a ſhelve from the rock, about eight foot from the ground; and not far from hence is the place where they ſay he wrote his *Lamentations* [r] (Q), --- Not far from hence are the famous grots, called the *ſepulchres of the kings*, but of what kings is uncertain (R); but that they were uſed as repoſitories

[o] Idem ibid. pag. 72. [p] Idem ibid. pag. 73. [q] Idem ibid.
[r] Idem ibid. pag. 76.

(O) It has been idly reported, and as ſimply believed, that this well is dry all the year round, except on the anniverſary of the day our Saviour ſat on it; but then bubbles up with abundance of water (79).

(P) "This cleft, as it now appears, is about a ſpan wide, at its "upper part, and two deep, after which it cloſes: but it opens again "below, (as you may ſee in another chapel contiguous to the ſide "of *Calvary*) and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth. "That this rent was made by the earthquake, that happened at "our Lord's paſſion, there is only tradition to prove: but that it "is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any "art, the ſenſe of every one that ſees it may convince him; for "the ſides of it fit like two tallies to each other; and yet it runs "in ſuch intricate windings as could not well be counterfeited by "art, nor arrived at by any inſtruments (80).

(Q) "This place is at preſent a college of *Dervifes*, and is held "in great veneration by the *Turks* and *Jews*, as well as the *Chriſ-* "*tians* (81)."

(R) Prince *Radzivill* roundly pronounces the kings of *Judah* to have been interred here; imagining, they were formerly within

(79) *Ibid.* (80) Maundr. *pag.* 73. (81) *Ibid. pag.* 76.

pofitories of the dead, appears fufficiently by fome coffins at prefent there, and which we fhall take notice of in the fequel of this defcription. The whole is a work of fuch vaft labour and expence, that it may fairly be pronounced a royal work, being all hewn out of the natural rock, and confifting of an entrance made through the rock, a court of about forty paces fquare, hollowed out of the fame, on the fouth fide of which is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, wrought alfo out of the fame. This portico has a kind of architrave in front, once adorned with fculpture of fruits and flowers, but now defaced; and on the left of this portico you defcend towards the fepulchres. Firft you come into a large room about feven or eight yards fquare, exactly and moft exquifitely formed, fo that it may be called a fine chamber, hollowed out of one folid piece of marble. From this you may pafs into fix rooms more, one within another, and all of the fame fabric with the firft; but the two innermoft are deeper than the reft, having a fecond defcent of about fix or feven fteps into them. In every one of thefe rooms, the firft excepted, are ftone coffins placed in niches in the fides of the chambers; once covered with handfome lids and carved with garlands; but now moft of them (S) are broken to pieces. But what moft of all the wall of the city, tho' now without it (82). Other travellers (83) give into the fame feeming miftake; while *Maundrell* (84), conſidering more maturely of the thing, concludes it certain, that none of the kings of *Judah*, or *Ifrael*, were here intombed, unlefs, perhaps, *Hezekiah*, and is not certain, that thefe may not be the fepulchres of the fons of *David*, mentioned in fcripture (85).

(S) *Maundrell* (86), by this, feems to infinuate, that feveral of thefe coffins were ſtill entire, and *Radziville* (87) obferves, that he alſo faw bones remaining in feveral of them; ſo that, whether broken or entire, one would naturally imagine there was a number; while *Le Bruyn* (88) takes notice of no more than three, the one broken, and the other two entire. *Radziville* (89) computes, that about forty odd might have been here conveniently depoſited in the cells or niches in the ſides of theſe chambers, each containing two coffins. *Le Bruyn* (90) computes that about fifty might have been here received in the ſame manner; but as, in ſuch obſcure and damp places, people are a little uneaſy, and, however great their

(82) *Peregr. Jeroſ. p.* 104. (83) *Vide* Le Bruyn, Theven. &c (84) *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 76. (85) 2 *Chron. xxxii.* 33. (86) *Ub. ſup. pag.* 77. (87) *Ub. ſup.* (88) *Voy. au Lev. vol. ii. page* 195. *in* 4*to* (89) *Ubi ſup.* (90) *Ubi ſup.*

curioſity

all ſurpriſes the obſerver is the artifice of the doors of theſe chambers, all cut out of the ſame rock, and turning upon hinges of the ſame ſtone with the reſt [r]; this, which, at firſt, appears ſo very puzzling to underſtand (T), has been, ſeemingly, well explained of late (U), and the thing appears no longer a myſtery, though otherwiſe very extraordinary in itſelf [t]. --- Returning from hence to the city of *Jeruſalem*, not far from *Herod*'s gate, is ſhewn a grotto full of filthy mire and water, which paſſes for the dungeon in which *Jeremiah* was kept by *Zedekiah* [u]. --- Going out of St. *Stephen*'s gate to *Bethany*, they, at the entrance into that village, point at an old ruin, which they call *Lazarus*'s caſtle, and ſuppoſe to have been the habitation of that favourite of *Chriſt*; and at the bottom of a ſmall deſcent, not far from the caſtle, is ſhewn the ſepulchre where he was raiſed from the dead [x] (X). --- About a bow-ſhot from hence they point at *Mary Magdalen*'s habitation [y]. --- Within about a furlong of the river *Jordan*, is an old ruined church and convent, dedicated to St. *John*, who is ſuppoſed here, or hereabouts, to have bap-

[r] Vide RADZIV. LE BRUYN, MAUND. &c. [t] MAUND. pag. 76. [u] Idem ibid. p. 78. [x] MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. page. 79. [y] Idem ibid.

curioſity may be, ſomewhat in a hurry to get out, we are not to expect but travellers will, in ſuch caſes, vary a little, if not a great deal, from each other.

(T) Travellers are quite loſt in admiration at it, and particularly *Le Bruyn* (*), who may have had ſome judgment in things of this nature, is aſtoniſhed, that they ſhould be done out of one and the ſame piece of hard rock, and eſpecially by lamp-light, for no other was here to be had.

(U) *Maundrell* (91) took notice, that the only door left hanging did not touch its lintel by at leaſt two inches, and believes it might have been eaſily lifted up and unhinged; and that the doors which had been thrown down had their hinges at the upper end twice as long asthoſe at the bottom, by which the whole artifice very plainly diſcovers itſelf.

(X) In this ſepulchre you deſcend by twenty five ſteep ſtairs, which letting you down into a ſmall ſquare room, you thence creep down into a leſſer room, about a yard and a half deeper, in which the body is ſaid to have been laid. This place is in great veneration with the *Turks*, who uſe it as an oratory, and demand a ſmall caphar of ſuch *Chriſtians* as deſire to ſee it (92).

(*) *Ubi ſup* (91) *Ubi ſup. pag.* 78. (92) Maund, *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 97.

tized

tized our Lord [z]. --- On the road between *Bethlehem* and *Jeruſalem*, they ſtill ſhew, 1. The houſe of *Simeon*. 2. The impreſs of *Elias*'s body. 3. The well where the ſtar appeared to the eaſtern magi. 4. *Rachel*'s tomb [a]. ---- At *Bethlehem* they ſhew the very place of our Saviour's nativity (Y); the very manger in which he was laid (Z); the chapel of *Joſeph* his ſuppoſed father; the ſchool of St. *Jerom*, and other ſuch places [b]. --- In the neighbourhood of this place are pools and gardens, ſaid to have been the contrivance and delight of king *Solomon* (A); the pools are three in a row, one above another, ſo diſpoſed, that the water may from the uppermoſt deſcend into the ſecond, and from the ſecond into the third. They are quadrangular, and all of the ſame breadth, being about ninety paces; but in length they differ, the firſt being about one hundred and ſixty paces long, the ſecond two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty; all lined with wall, and plaſtered, and containing a great depth of water. At the diſtance of about one hundred and ſixty paces is the ſpring whence they derive their waters, which the friars here will have to have been the *Sealed Foun-*

[z] Idem ibid. pag. 81. [a] Idem ibid. pag. 87. [b] Idem ibid.

(Y) The church of the nativity, or manger, at *Bethlehem* is a moſt ſumptuous and elegant ſtructure, tho' unfortunately ſubject to the inſults of the infidels of thoſe parts (93). The ſpot where *Chriſt* is ſuppoſed to have been born, is marked out by a marble-ſlab; and over it, upon the altar, is another, with this inſcription, HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA JESUS CHRISTUS NASCI DIGNATUS EST (94). But to enter into the particulars and coſtly decorations of this ſanctuary, and the church, and other parts it belongs to, would by far exceed our length.

(Z) It is cut out of the rock (95), about two foot from the floor; but now flagged with white marble, as well as the rock that roofs it (96).

(A) He is ſuppoſed to allude to thoſe works, where (97) among the other inſtances of his magnificence, he reckons up his gardens, vineyards, and pools (98).

(93) *Vide* Radziv. Le Bruyn, Theven. &c. (94) *Vide* Radziv. (95) *Idem, pag.* 84. (96) Sandys, *Trav. pag.* 177. (97) Eccl. ii. 5. 6. (98) Maundr. *ubi ſup. p.* 82.

tain

tain † (B). The gardens may be ſaid to be now no more, and the ſpot at preſent ſeems to be but little adapted to ſuch a uſe ‹ (C). —— On the weſt, as the former on the ſouth ſide of *Bethlehem*, they ſhew you the well *David* ſo paſſionately thirſted after *; but it is rather a mere ciſtern ſupplied with rain, and, otherwiſe, of no particular eſtimation. But, about two furlongs from thence, you behold the remains of an old aqueduct, which antiently conveyed water from *Solomon*'s pools to *Jeruſalem*, and which, very much to the honour of *Solomon*, is reckoned to be a work of his. It goes along the ſurface of the ground, and conſiſts of large ſtones (D) perforated and let into each other, after the manner of pipes; and, for the greater ſecurity, covered with a courſe of ſmaller ſtones, firmly cemented together with a very ſtrong mortar; a work which formerly extended five or ſix leagues, and, ſeemingly, deſigned for eternity; though now ſo deſtroyed by violent hands (E), that there is only a fragment of it here and there re-

† Cant. iv. 12. ‹ Idem ibid. p. 88. * 2 Sam. xxiii. 15.

(B) " In confirmation of this opinion, they pretend a tradition, " that king *Solomon* ſhut up theſe ſprings, and kept the door of them " ſealed with his ſignet; to the end that he might preſerve the " waters for his own drinking, in their natural freſhneſs and pu- " rity." Our author (99) adds, it was not difficult thus to ſecure them, they riſing under ground, and having no avenue to them, but by a little hole like the mouth of a narrow well. The whole as deſcribed by travellers, muſt have been a ſtupendous work.

(C) The ſoil is rocky, and ſo bad, that our author (100) thinks *Solomon* diſplayed his wealth more than his wiſdom, if he made choice of it for the purpoſe ſuppoſed; tho' after all, if it is ſo very plain, that here was his *ſealed fountain* (1), it is not unlikely, that here alſo was his *incloſed garden* (2). The ſituation ſeems to correſpond with this deſcription, the ſpot being a rocky valley, deſcending from the pools, and incloſed on each hand by high mountains (3).

(D) Our author (4) leaves blanks for the dimenſions of theſe ſtones, and we know of none that has been curious enough to ſupply the defect; but that they are very conſiderable appears by his manner of expreſſing himſelf.

(E) The blame is, in this caſe, thrown upon the *Arabs*, who, for the ſake of an immediate and ready ſupply of water (5), make no ſcruple to tear up all before them, and, by degrees, entirely to demoliſh this ſolid and magnificent work.

(99) *Idem ibid. p.* 89. (100) *Idem ibid.* (1) Cantic. *ubi ſup.* (2) *Ibidem.* (3) Maund. *ubi ſup.* (4) *Idem ibid. pag.* 90. (5) Le Bruyn, *ubi ſup. pag.* 216.

mining

maining [d].----In *Bethlehem* they ſhew a grot, cut out of a chalky rock, where they pretend the bleſſed virgin concealed herſelf and her child, to avoid the murderous fury of *Herod*, ſome time before ſhe fled into *Egypt*; but the whiteneſs of this place they will have to have been not natural, but miraculous [e] (F).----Between *Bethlehem* and *Jeruſalem*, in what is ſometimes called the *Deſert of St.* John, is a convent called after the name of that Saint, ſuppoſed to ſtand on the ſpot where he was born. This convent has, of very late years, been rebuilt from the ground; and is, at preſent, a large ſquare building, uniform and neat all over, but chiefly remarkable for its church conſiſting of three iſles, and, in the midſt, an handſome cupola, and under that a moſaic pavement, equal to, if not ſurpaſſing, the fineſt works of the antients in that kind. At the upper end of the north iſle, by a deſcent of ſeven ſteps, you deſcend to a very ſplendid altar, erected, as they ſay, over the very place where the *Baptiſt* was born [f].----About three furlongs diſtant from this convent, they point at what they call the houſe of *Elizabeth*, the *Baptiſt*'s mother (G); formerly a

[d] Maund. ibid. pag. 90. [e] Idem ibid. pag. 91. [f] Idem ibid. p. 92.

(F) They ſay, the ſtone of this grot is ſo white and chalky, becauſe of ſome milk which fell from the virgin, while ſhe was giving ſuck to the holy infant, which converted the colour of the native rock. And ſo poſſeſſed are they here with this chimerical notion, as to imagine, the chalk of this place has a miraculous virtue of increaſing the milk of women. And for this ſupernatural property is the ſame highly valued, as well by *Arabs* and *Turks*, as by *Chriſtians* (6). This notion having taken ſuch root with all ranks, and ſects, lumps of this chalk are carried to *Jeruſalem*, and there impreſſed with the ſeal of the city, to be thence ſent into *Europe* (7). Our author adds, that he met with a phyſician at *Venice* ſimple enough to aſk him for ſome of it for a lady, a patient of his, who was defective in her milk.

(G) " If you chance to aſk how it came to paſs that *Elizabeth* " lived in one houſe, when ſhe was big with the *Baptiſt*, and in " another, when ſhe brought him forth? the anſwer you are like " to receive is, that the former was her country, the latter her " city habitation; and that it is no wonder for the wife of one of " the prieſts of better rank [ſuch as ſhe was, *Luke i.* 5] to be " provided with ſuch variety (8).

(6) Maund. *ubi ſup. pag.* 91. (7) Le Bruyn, *ubi ſup. pag.* 211.
(8) Maund. *ubi ſup. pag.* 93.

convent

convent, though now an heap of ruins, and only remarkable for a grotto, in which, they tell you, the bleſſed virgin ſaluted *Eliſabeth*, and pronounced her *Magnificat* [g].------At the diſtance of about three quarters of an hour from the convent of St. *John*, in the way to *Jeruſalem*, is a convent belonging to the *Greeks*, and called the convent of the *Holy Croſs*, a neat ſtructure, and pleaſantly ſituated; but chiefly to be taken notice of, as they pretend it to ſtand over the very ſpot where grew the tree that ſupplied the timber that made the croſs [h].-----In *Jeruſalem*, cloſe by the church of the holy ſepulchre, is what they ſhew for the priſon of St. *Peter*. It is a priſon ſtill [i].-----About a furlong from hence, is a ſmall church, as they ſay, built over the houſe of St. *Mark*. It is in the poſſeſſion of the *Syrians*, who venture to ſhew you the very windows at which *Rhoda* looked out, while *Peter* knocked at the door; and in this ſame church they let you ſee a folio manuſcript of the *New Teſtament* in *Syriac*, which, if they are to be believed, is now about nine hundred years old; and a ſtill greater curioſity, meaning a little ſtone font, uſed by the apoſtles themſelves in baptizing [k].----- Upon that part of mount *Zion*, which is within the walls of the city, ſtands a convent of *Armenians*, whoſe church is built over the very place where St. *James*, the brother of *John*, was beheaded. In this church are two altars of extraordinary ſplendor, decked with rich mitres, embroidered copes, croſſes both of ſilver and gold, crowns, chalices, and other church utenſils without number. In the midſt of this ſame church is a pulpit made of tortoiſe-ſhell, and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy or cupola over it of the ſame fabric; the tortoiſe-ſhell and mother of pearl being ſo very exquiſitely blended together, that the workmanſhip far exceeds the materials [l].----- A little without *Zion* gate is the church of *Cœnaculum*, where, they ſay, Chriſt inſtituted his laſt ſupper [m] (H).-----At a little diſtance from hence are the ruins of an houſe, where the *Bleſſed Virgin* is ſaid to have breathed her laſt: and a little farther down the hill, is a grot, where, they ſay, St. *Peter* ſo bitterly lamented his inconſtancy to his maſter [n].----- From a garden on the ſouth

[g] Idem. ibid. p. 93. [h] Idem ibid. pag. 94. [i] Idem ibid. pag. 98. [k] Idem ibid. [l] MAUND. ibid. pag. 99. [m] Idem ibid. pag. 100. [n] Idem ibid.

(H) "It is now a moſch, and not to be ſeen by *Chriſtians*" (9)."

(9) *Idem ibid. pag.* 100.

side of mount *Moriah*, they conduct you to several large vaults, annexed to the mountain on that side, and running, at least, fifty yards under ground. They were built in two isles, arched at top with huge firm stone, and sustained by tall pillars, each of one single stone, and two yards in diameter; conjectured to have been some subterraneous work made to enlarge the *area* of the temple [o] (I).---To these may be added the beautiful gate of the temple (K), which, says our author, can be only observed by a transient survey, because of the superstition of the *Turks* [p] (L).-----At the bottom of mount *Sion* is what they call *Bathsheba*'s pool, supposed to be the same she was in when *David* was so smitten with her beauty; but others suppose it to have been a smaller one in a garden just within *Bethlehem* gate, and both, perhaps, equally right [q].--At a small distance from the first of these pools, a little below the *Campo Santo*, or *Field of Blood*, as it was antiently

o Idem ibid. p Idem ibid. pag. 101. q Idem ibid.

(I) Our author (10) thinks *Josephus* (11) seems to describe some such work as this, erected over the valley, on this side of the temple.

(K) Travellers are somewhat short in their descriptions of this gate. Prince *Radziville* (12) represents it as lofty, great, and ascended to by steps, which he went up, but dared not go over the threshold, for fear of polluting the *area* of the temple of *Solomon*.

(L) Whatever may have been the milder temper of these people, when they permitted prince *Radziville* to ascend the steps leading up to it, as in the note above, they are, since, it seems, grown to that height of jealousy, that they will scarce admit of a stranger's turning his eyes towards it, as he passes by. The reason is, the *Turks* have a strange notion of the more than ordinary sanctity of the *area* or place within it, where stands a beautiful mosch, which they have erected, as they pretend, on the very spot where stood the temple of *Solomon*. They have a notion, that if a *Christian* or any other, does but set foot in the *area* it stands upon, his prayers will have such irresistible prevalence with GOD, that nothing he could ask of heaven could be refused him; and fondly imagine, that, as *Christians* would not fail to pray, that the *Turks* might be driven out, and the *Christians* enter again into possession of the city, the prayer would be infallibly heard, and inevitably granted (13); so that they cannot bear to see a *Christian* so much as offer to look that way.

(10) *Idem ibid.* *Hieros. pag.* 117. (11) *Antiq lib. xv. c. ult.* (12) *Peregr.* (13) *Ibid. pag.* 118.

called

called, is an intricate cave or ſepulchre, conſiſting of ſeveral rooms one within another, in which the apoſtles are reported to have hid themſelves, when they forſook their maſter and fled. Its entrance diſcovers ſigns of its having been antiently adorned with paintings [r].-----In the valley of *Jehoſhaphat* are two noble antiquities, called the ſepulchre of *Zachary* (M), and the pillar of *Abſalom* (N), as alſo the ſepulchre of *Jehoſhaphat* [s].----- Near the corner of the city wall, on the oppoſite ſide of this valley, is a ſhort end of a pillar, jetting out of the wall; whereon the *Turks* fable, *Mohammed* ſhall ſit in judgment, at the laſt day, the whole world being gathered together in the valley below, to receive ſentence from his mouth [t] (O).----- A little farther northward is the gate

[r] Idem ibid. pag. 102. [s] Idem ibid. pag. 103. [t] Idem. ibid.

(M) Suppoſed to be the ſame who was ſlain between the temple and the altar. "All of the natural rock eighteen foot high, four "ſquare, and beautified with *Doric* columns of the ſame unſepa- "rated ſtone, ſuſtaining the corniſh, and topped like a pointed "diamond (14)."

(N) It is ſometimes called the tomb or ſepulchre of *Abſalom* (15); and it hath, indeed, rather the looks of ſuch, than of, what it is otherwiſe commonly called, a pillar. He was not buried there, but it is imagined, he erected, or rather had it wrought out of the ſtone in his life time, "to retain the memory of his name, in "that his iſſue male failed——yet entire, of a good fabric, riſing "in a lofty ſquare; below adorned with half columns, wrought "out of the ſide and corners, of the *Doric* form; and then "changing into a round, a good height higher doth grow to a "point, in faſhion of a bell; all framed of the growing ſtone "(16)." Travellers for the moſt part obſerve, that there is always a great and daily encreaſing heap of ſtones lying near it, thrown thereat, both by *Jews* and *Turks*, in deteſtation of *Abſalom*'s rebellion againſt his father *David*.

(O) To this the *Mohammedans* add, it ſeems, a moſt ridiculous tradition; but firſt, we are told (17), they alſo report, that *Mohammed* is to ſit on the end of this pillar, to obſerve, whether our Lord judge the *Chriſtians* well or not; that, if he judge them righteouſly, *Mohammed* will give him his ſiſter in marriage, together with a great dowry; that, this done, *Mohammed* ſhall turn himſelf into a ſheep, and the *Turks* neſtle into his wool, like ſo many fleas; that, thus incumbered, he ſhall fly into the air, and

(14) Sandys, *pag.* 189. (15) Radziv. *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. pag* 62. (16) Sandys, *ubi ſup* (17) Theven. *Voy. au Lev. lib. ii. par.* 1. *c.* 50.

gate of the temple; at present walled up; the *Turks* having a prophecy, that their destruction is to enter by that gate; the completion of which they endeavour to obviate by this means [u] (P).----In the bottom of this same valley is what they will have to have been the sepulchre of the *Blessed Virgin*; with a magnificent descent of forty seven stairs: on the right hand, as you go down, is the sepulchre of St. *Anne*, the mother, and on the left hand, that of St. *Joseph*, the husband of the *Blessed Virgin* [x].---- In the pretended house of *Pilate*, they shew the room where *Christ* was mocked with the ensigns of royalty, and buffetted by the soldiers [y].------- They pretend likewise still to shew the pool of *Bethesda*, one hundred and twenty paces long, forty broad, and at least eight deep, but void of water. At its west end it discovers some old arches, now dammed up [z] (Q).---- As also the pool of *Gihon*, about a quarter of a mile without *Bethlehem* gate, westward, a stately relique, one hundred and six paces long, sixty seven broad, lined with wall and plaister, and when our author was there, well stored with water [a]: ----- At *Nazareth*, besides the church which stands in a cave, supposed to be the place where the Virgin *Mary* received the angelical salutation (R), they shew the house of *Joseph*,

[u] Idem. ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. pag. 107.
[z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. pag. 108.

shake himself very hard; that those who stick fast to him shall be happy, and those that fall from him shall be damned (18); so very ridiculous a story, that had we not met with it in so grave an author, we should never have taken notice of it; and, after all, we are afraid, this is a story fathered upon them; but what can't men be brought to believe!

(P) All travellers this way take notice of this particular, and most add, that for the very same reason, and out of the same superstitious dread, they shut up all the other gates of the city, every *Friday*, 'till morning service is over, adding, that on that day the destined work of their expulsion is to be effected.

(Q) "These some will have to be the five porches, in which "lay that multitude of halt, lame, and blind, [*John* v.] But the "mischief is, instead of five, there are but three of them (19).

"(R) "Just at the section of the cross [of this church] are "erected two granate pillars, each two foot and one inch diame-"ter, and about three foot distance from each other,—— supposed "to stand on the very places, the one where the angel, the other,

(18) *Idem ibid.* (19) Maund. *ubi sup. pag.* 107.

"where

Joſeph, the very ſame, as they tell you, where the Son of GOD lived for near thirty years, in ſubjection to man [b]. Theſe and other particulars, which we have occaſionally mentioned before, both in the text and the notes, are the more noted remarkables of this promiſed and deſtined land; whereon we leave the reader to make his own obſervations.

SECT. V.

The religion, government, laws, cuſtoms, learning, arts, and commerce of the Jews.

THE inſtitution of the *Jewiſh* religion and commonwealth is by *Moſes* attributed wholly to GOD; for which reaſon *Joſephus* makes no ſcruple to diſtinguiſh the latter from all the other governments in the world by the name of *Theocracy* [a], or a government under the immediate command and direction of God: and indeed, tho' this theocracy has often varied under *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, the judges, kings, and high-prieſts, and the divine authority differently interpoſed during thoſe revolutions, yet God was ſtill looked upon as the ſupreme monarch of the *Iſraelites*. We have ſeen, in a former ſection, that he was the ſole director of every momentous tranſaction under *Moſes*, and the dictator of the main body of his laws. *Joſhua*, though not honoured ſo far as to receive the divine commands from the mouth of God, yet always conſulted him by the *Urim* upon all emergencies. The judges were valiant and wiſe men, whom God made choice of to govern the people, and to deliver them, from time to time, from thoſe thraldoms which their frequent rebellions brought up-

The Jewiſh *government was a theocracy.*

[b] Idem ibid. pag. 113. [a] Cont. Apion. lib. ii.

" where the *Bleſſed Virgin* ſtood at the time of the Annunci-
" ation. Of theſe pillars, the innermoſt being that of the *Bleſſed*
" *Virgin*, has been broke away by the *Turks*, in expectation of
" finding treaſure under it; ſo that eighteen inches length of it is
" clean gone, between the pillar and its pedeſtal. Nevertheleſs it
" remains erect; tho' by what art it is ſuſtained, I could not diſ-
" cern. It touches the roof above, and is, probably, hanged up-
" on that: unleſs you had rather take the friars account of it,
" *viz.* that it is ſupported by a miracle (20).

(20) Maund. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 112.

on

on them. Accordingly, when *Gideon* had delivered them from the *Midianites*, and the people offered the government to him and his poſterity, he modeſtly replied, that neither he nor his ſons [b], but the Lord God, ſhould rule over them. When, in proceſs of time, their deſire for a king was grown to ſuch a height, that all *Samuel*'s expoſtulations could not divert them from it; tho' he told them, that by ſo doing they rejected the Lord from ruling over them; God was pleaſed to nominate *Saul*, and, after him, *David*, to the regal dignity, and to make it hereditary in the poſterity of the latter, reſerving to himſelf, nevertheleſs, the power of altering the ſucceſſion from the eldeſt to a younger branch, whenever he ſaw fit, as he actually did in his immediate ſucceſſor *Solomon*. Nay, we may ſay, that God himſelf, foreſeeing that they would be for a kingly government, did reſerve to himſelf the choice, and preſcribed ſome wholeſome laws for the conduct of thoſe who ſhould enjoy the regal power [c]; and if, at any time, either the kings or the people refuſed to be directed by him, or diſobeyed the laws which he had given them, they never failed of ſome ſevere puniſhment, to remind them of their dependence, and to recall them to their duty. The kings of *Iſrael* indeed, after their revolt from thoſe of *Judah*, did reign more arbitrarily, but their endeavours to ſhake off the yoke of God proved a ſource of endleſs evils to the rebellious tribes; till at length, when neither his prophets exhortations and threatnings, nor his ſevere judgments, could bring them to obedience, he entirely caſt them off, and condemned them to an endleſs captivity. Thus not only the kingdom of *Judah*, but even that of *Iſrael*, corrupt and idolatrous as it was, continued ſtill under a *Theocracy*, until its diſſolution. This is what will more evidently appear by the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Their laws As for their laws, the greateſt part of them were given to *Moſes* on mount *Sinai*, and the reſt at different times, and as occaſion required, as we have ſeen in a former ſection †. Whether, therefore, we look upon them as the firſt body of laws that ever was compiled, whilſt other nations had not ſo much as a name for it, as *Joſephus* [d] has endeavoured to prove againſt his learned antagoniſt, from the writings of *Homer*, the moſt antient writer, in which the word *Nomos* [law] is not ſo much as once mentioned; or

[b] Judg. viii. 22, 23. [c] Vide Deut. xvii. 14. & ſeq.
† Vide Vol. II. p. 562. & ſeq. [d] Cont. Apion. ibid.

whether

whether we ſuppoſe, with others [e], that the *Egyptians* and other nations had already laws of their own, and that *Moſes* was permitted by God, to model and improve his own by them, by altering or retaining what he liked or diſliked, concerning which we ſhall not repeat what has been already ſaid upon that head [f]; it is plain, that the greateſt part of them were dictated by God himſelf, and that the reſt received, if not the finiſhing hand, yet at leaſt their ſanction and approbation from him. And indeed, if we conſider, that they extended to all duties, caſes, and exigencies, whether moral, political, or ceremonial; that the moral were to be of eternal obligation; that the political were to endure as long as the *Jewiſh* polity; that great part of the ceremonial were typical of, and conſequently to laſt, at leaſt, till the coming of the *Meſſiah*; if we conſider further, that the prieſts and rulers were to be no more than the bare guardians of them, and that they were forbid, under pain of death and of the divine curſe, to add, diminiſh, or alter the leaſt part of them; it will be ſcarce credible, that *Moſes* would have given them ſuch a firm and durable ſanction, and backed it with the divine authority, had any but God been the author or confirmer of them.

HOWEVER, our deſign is not to dwell here upon the diſplay of their excellency above thoſe of all other nations, much leſs to confute all the empty cavils that have been raiſed againſt them from different quarters. That has been already done by *Joſephus*, *Philo*, *Maimonides*, *Moſes Gerundenſis*, and a great many more among the *Jews*, and by a greater number of learned divines, both of this and other churches, to whoſe province it belongs more particularly [g]. We might indeed, conveniently enough, have followed their diſtinction of them into moral, political, and ceremonial, and ſo have given the following body of them under thoſe three heads; eſpecially becauſe ſuch a diſtinction is generally thought to be hinted at by the three different terms which *Moſes* makes uſe of, *laws* or *precepts*, *judgments*, and *ſtatutes* [h]; but if we conſider, that *Moſes* makes uſe of ſome other terms likewiſe to expreſs them by, ſuch as ordinances, teſtimonies, and ſome others, in a very undeterminate ſenſe; that he calls the ſame laws ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by another of theſe names; and laſtly, that this

[e] SPENCER, de Leg. Ritual. Jud. paſſ. LE CLERC, & al.
[f] Vide Vol. I. p. 432. [g] Vide inter al. GROT. SELDEN. PUFF. CUMBERL. GASTREL. L'ABBAD. CUN. BASNAG.
[h] BASNAG. Republ. Heb. lib. i. cap. 18.

diſtinction

distinction will not hold with respect to very many of those laws which are partly moral, and partly ceremonial and political, and so *vice versâ*, we shall have little ground to think, that the *Jewish* law-giver designed to intimate any such distinction by those terms. Thus the law concerning the seventh day, or day of rest, is partly ceremonial and typical, and partly moral and political, as it was designed as well for the ease and rest of the labourers, servants, and slaves, as for that of their masters [i]. To this we may add here, that these laws did likewise differ with respect to their observance and obligation. Some of them, such as the making the tabernacle, altar, setting up the blessings and curses on mount *Ebal* and *Gerizzim*, were to be observed but once for all; others were to last no longer than the time of the *Messiah*, and others to the end of the world. When therefore they are commanded to observe all the laws and ordinances of *Moses*, some of which were of no force out of the land of *Palestine*, the *Jews*, in those cases, understand the precept, not of an actual observance, but of a constant remembrance and readiness to obey them, whenever they shall become in force again [k].

BESIDES, as we are writing the history of the *Jews*, it may perhaps be thought more proper, that we should give the body of their laws in the same order and method in which they themselves have collected and digested them out of the five books of *Moses*, in which they lie scattered, and which they call, by way of excellency, *Ha-thorah*, *the law* (A); but the truth is, they have jumbled them so together,

[i] Confer Exod. xx. cum Deut. v. 6. [k] Vide MUNST. pref. in lib. sequent.

(A) This תורה *Thorah*, or *law*, they divide, as we do, into five books, which they call by the first words of each: thus, they call *Genesis* בראשית *Bereshith*, that is, *in the beginning*; *Exodus* they call אלה שמות, *Elle-shemoth*, *these are the names*; *Leviticus* ויקרא, *Vajikra*, *and he called*; *Numbers* וידבר *Vajdabber*, *and he spake*; and *Deuteronomy* אלה הדברים, *Elle-hadebarim*, *these are the words*. These five books, or *pentateuch*, are again subdivided into fifty four פרשות *parashoth*, or *sections*, of unequal lengths, according to the subject; so that by joining two of the shortest together, they read the whole law once a year. The generality of the *Jews* attribute these divisions, and the constitution of reading them on the sabbath, to *Moses*, but the *Christian*

gether, without order or method, and blended them ſo with thoſe which they pretend were delivered by God to *Moſes*, and conveyed by oral tradition (B), that our readers would be

Chriſtians, with more probability, to *Eſdras* (1), from whom it was continued, even to the times of the apoſtles, if not longer (2). The firſt *paraſhah* reaches from *Gen.* i. 1. to *Gen.* vi. 9. and is called *Bereſhith*: the ſecond reaches to *Gen.* xii. 1. and is called נוח *Noach*, from *Noah* being the chief perſon mentioned in it; the third, which reaches to *Gen.* xviii. is called לך לך *Lek Leka*, *go thy ways*, from the command of God to *Abraham* to go out of his native land; and ſo of the reſt.

The *Jews* have always expreſſed a greater veneration for theſe five books, than for any of thoſe which they received afterwards tho' they look upon the latter as divinely inſpired: the reaſon they give for it is, that *Moſes*, being in many reſpects vaſtly ſuperior to all the other prophets and inſpired writers, a great preference ought to be given to his writings, upon that account; and they have been ſo ſuperſtitious in this reſpect, that they look upon it as a crime to lay any of the ſacred books upon thoſe of *Moſes*; whereas they think, the latter may be laid upon any of the others.

(B) To the written law the *Jews* do likewiſe add the oral one which, they pretend, was alſo given by God to *Moſes*, during his abode on mount *Sinai*. For firſt they think it abſurd to ſuppoſe, that he ſpent all that long interval of twice forty days in the bare writing of the written law, for which leſs than one quarter of that time was more than ſufficient. They affirm therefore, that he was taken up all the reſt of that while in learning the oral law by heart, which he afterwards did carefully deliver by word of mouth to *Aaron*, *Eleazar*, and to his ſervant *Joſhua*, and theſe to the ſeventy elders, from whom it paſſed to all the prophets, the three laſt of whom, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, delivered it to the grand *Sanhedrin*; from whom the wiſe men of *Jeruſalem* and *Babylon* received it. Thus they affirm that this oral law, given to *Moſes*, was tranſmitted, from one generation to another, entire and uncorrupted, under the name of קבלה *Cabbalah*, or *tradition*, which was afterwards committed to writing, by ſeveral hands, in that volume which they call the *Talmud*, conſiſting of two parts, the *Miſhnah* and *Gemarrah*, to which they give, by far, the preference to the written books, whence comes that ſaying of theirs, the *Mikdaſh*, or *Old Teſtament*, is like water, the *Miſhnah* like wine, and the *Gemarrah*, being more plain and perfect, like *Hippocras*, or the richeſt of wines. For they add, ſecondly, that the obſcurity of the written law,

(1) *Vide* Packhurſt *Maxorah*, *ſect. de Paraſhah.* (2) *Vide* Acts xiii. 15, & 27. xv. 21.

be rather confounded, than inſtructed by them. Thoſe that are willing to be further ſatisfied about it may ſee the abridgment which *Munſter* has given us of them, and of the *Jewiſh* comments upon them, with his verſion of each, as he has collected them from their *Talmud*, and other rabbinic works. All, therefore, that we ſhall ſay further of it is, that they divide theſe laws only into negative and affirmative (C), in imitation of the decalogue, which not only its ſeeming inconſiſtency in ſeveral reſpects, and the ill uſe which God foreſaw would be made of it by the wicked, rendered the oral one very neceſſary, ſince without it the other would have proved in many reſpects uſeleſs, if not dangerous. Theſe learned gentlemen, who love to call themſelves מרבצי התורה, *Merabtze-hatborah, fixers of*, or *givers of reſt to the law*, do tell us, that the obſcurity of it is obvious to every reader: as for the inconſiſtencies, they are ſuch as theſe; that in one place it is ſaid, *thou ſhalt eat unleavened bread ſeven*, and in another *ſix days*: in one place it is ſaid, *thou ſhalt offer the paſſover to the Lord thy God, ſheep, oxen*, &c. and in another, *only a male lamb without blemiſh*: one text ſays, that *the Lord came down upon mount* Sinai *to ſpeak to the people*; and another ſays, that he *ſpake to them from heaven*. Theſe are the mighty contradictions, which, they pretend, cannot be reconciled without the help of the oral law (3). Well might *Chriſt* ſay of them, that they *ſtrained at a gnat, and ſwallowed a camel* (4); ſince theſe are but trifles compared to thoſe which we meet with among theſe learned compilers of the *Talmud*, and their commentators, tho' they all pretend to expound all theſe ſeeming difficulties, and pretended contradictions of the written, by the help of this oral law; for this reaſon we ſhall not ſpend any more time in confuting this vain pretence of theirs, nor the abſurd and fabulous comments with which it is ſtuffed, but ſhall content ourſelves with giving now and then a ſketch of them in a note, as we go on with the body of their laws, as well when they are judicious and right, as when they are ſuperſtitious or wrong, and deſerving of the cenſure which our Saviour paſt upon them, *that they had made the word of God of none effect by their tradition* (5).

(C) theſe they call, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, מצוות לא תעשה *Mitzvoth lo taghaſſeh*, and מצוות עשה *Mitzvoth ghaſſeh*, that is, *commandments, thou ſhalt*,

(3) *Vide* Maimon. *præfat. in Miſhn.* Munſt. *præfat. in Mitzvoth-hatborah.* Cun. Baſnag. & *al.* (4) Matt. xxiii. 24. (5) Mark vii. 13, & *alib*,

or

only begins with three negative laws, but contains, in all, eight of that kind, and but two affirmative. Accordingly, they reckon up the negative laws to the number of three hundred ſixty five, and the affirmative to two hundred and forty eight; in all, ſix hundred and thirteen: and as they have a wonderful ſkill in fetching ſome ſignificant myſteries out of every text and ſubject, they have not failed to apply the firſt number to the days of the year, and the ſecond to the number of parts in a human body; and to affirm, that God deſigned thereby to inculcate, that not a day of our life ought to paſs without meditating upon the law of God, nor any member of our bodies be enjoyed, which is not conſecrated and employed in his ſervice, according to that ſaying of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *fear God and keep his commandments, for that is the whole* [duty] *of man.* Theſe, and all ſuch like moraliſing reveries, is what they have drawn from their *Cabbalah*, or *oral tradition*, of which we have given an account in a late note: however, it muſt be owned, that their *Caraites*, a wiſe and antient ſect among them, did always reject it, and applied themſelves wholly to the plain meaning of the text; but theſe are but few, in compariſon of the reſt, and are mortally hated by them; the reader may be convinced of it, by one inſtance among a thouſand. The *Caraites* are all very rich, and are ſo often at a loſs for a wife among themſelves, that they would gladly purchaſe one at any rate, from their other brethren the *Talmudiſts*, but as well as theſe love money, they never could yet be perſuaded to give one of their daughters to any of them, though never ſo rich, and themſelves never ſo indigent.

BUT here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that tho' this *Jewiſh Cabbalah*, or *oral tradition*, is juſtly rejected by all the *Chriſtians*, as being ſtuffed with the moſt carnal and ridicu-

or ſhalt not do, or as we render it, *negative and affirmative*; concerning which they make this difference, that if a man ſin againſt the latter, it will be forgiven him upon his repenting or doing ſome penance for it; but he that ſins againſt a negative precept cannot be cleared by any acts of repentance, but continues under the guilt of it until the day of expiation, at which time it will be forgiven. He that commits a ſin worthy of death cannot be ſufficiently cleared on the expiation-day, or by any thing, but by God's ſevere chaſtiſements; but as to thoſe that prophane or blaſpheme the name of God, nothing can expiate their ſin, but their being put to death for it.

lous notions; yet there is another *Cabbalah*, which has been received by ſome of the antient fathers, and is to this day ſtrenuouſly defended by many learned moderns. This they call, by way of diſtinction, *Kabbla*, or *reception*, and contains that myſtical ſenſe of the *Old Teſtament*, in which, it is pretended, the writers of the *New* underſtood and explained it, which ſenſe, they affirm, has been conveyed to them from *Moſes* by the prophets, not by a human tradition, but by divine inſpiration, as being very different, if not contrary, to the obvious and literal one. This, they think, is plain from the interpretation, which ſome of the evangeliſts, particularly St. *Matthew* as well as St. *Paul*, give of ſeveral prophecies quoted by them, particularly thoſe which the reader will find in the margin †*†, in a ſenſe ſo foreign from the literal one, that it cannot, in their opinion, be juſtified, without having recourſe to this chriſtian *Kabbla*, as they term it. We have no buſineſs to enter into the merits of this queſtion, which has been ſo lately and ſo learnedly debated by the writers for and againſt the accompliſhment of *literal prophecy*. All that we ſhall venture to ſay further is, that if ſuch a myſtical and primary ſenſe be admitted, it muſt be confined to the writers of the *New Teſtament*, who, beſides their being inſpired, could prove their interpretations by miracles; for it is plain, that ſome of the primitive fathers have gone ſuch great lengths in that way, that *Origen*, learned as he was, has made himſelf ridiculous by them, and St. *Jerom* and *Auſtin*, though more moderate than he, have in many caſes over-ſhot the mark †‡†; but to return to the written law, we ſhall endeavour to give the main body of them under ſuch diſtinct heads and claſſes, as ſhall give our readers a clear idea of them, and to avoid prolixity, we ſhall take the liberty to abridge ſome, and to omit thoſe that are either of ſmall conſequence, or whoſe deſign is not ſufficiently underſtood. For the ſame reaſon we ſhall ſubjoin to every law the ceremonies, cuſtoms, and uſages that relate to it, as well on the account of the immediate connexion they have to one another, as becauſe the latter are often explanatory of the former; that ſo the reader may at one view have a complete ſyſtem of the *Jewiſh* laws, religion, government, manners, and cuſtoms, as they all flowed from the ſame divine original. As for the laws, they generally run

†*† Matt. ii. 15, 17, 23. Rom. x. 6, & ſeq. comp. with Deut. xxx. 12. and Eph. v. 31. with Gen. ii. 24. Hebr. ii. 6. with Pſal. viii 4. & al. †‡† Vide int. al. HIERON. in Matt. xxvii. 51. Vide BASNAG. in Cunæ. in RHEINFERD, Op. Philolog. & al. Vide MUNST. טצוות התורח מושה.

in

in the ſtyle of the five or ſix following ones, which we give only as a ſpecimen of it, but which for that reaſon ſhall follow no farther.

Laws againſt idolatry, and for the pure worſhip of the only true God.

THOU ſhalt have no other Gods before, or beſides, me [l]. *Laws againſt idolatry.*

YE ſhall not prophane or take in vain (D), but hallow, God's holy name [m].

YE ſhall utterly deſtroy all the idols, altars, groves, and all other monuments of *Canaaniti∫h* idolatry [n].

YE ſhall not tempt the Lord your God (E), as ye did in the wilderneſs [o].

YE ſhall make no image or repreſentation of God, from the likeneſs of any of the celeſtial, terreſtrial, or aquatic bodies [p].

YE ſhall not bow down to, nor worſhip any kind of idol (F) [q].

[l] Exod. xx. 3. [m] Exod. xx. 7. Levit. xxii. 32. & al. [n] Deut. xii. 2. & ſeq. [o] Deut. vi. 16. [p] Exod. xx. 4. Deut. 4. paſſ. & v. 8. [q] Exod. xx. 5. Deut. v 9. & alib.

(D) That is, as the *Jews* underſtand it, rightly enough, by giving it to idols, as *Aaron* did, when he called the molten calf the Gods that brought *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. This is one of thoſe ſins which, they think, cannot be expiated but by the death of the ſinner; and for which *Aaron* muſt have undergone that fate, had not *Moſes* interceded for him.

(E) This precept they underſtand of thoſe who ſerved God only in hopes of ſome temporal advantage, which they look upon as a leſſer kind of idolatry.

(F) A man is not, according to them, to ſtoop down before an idol, though it were to take a thorn out of his foot, or to take up any thing that he has dropped, or even to take up a little water to drink, tho' never ſo thirſty, leſt it ſhould be looked upon by any by-ſtander as an act of reſpect to it; in all ſuch caſes therefore they muſt ſit down upon the ground, with their backs to it, and then no ſuch ſcandal can be taken (6). However, no idolatry was deemed capital, unleſs accompanied with one of theſe four things, rearing an altar, offering ſarifice, burning incenſe, and adoration (7).

(6) *Vide Tractat. Abodah Zarah ſeu de Idololatria.* (7) *Vide* Munſt. *in præc.* 17 *neg.*

WHOSOEVER

WHOSOEVER enticeth another to commit idolatry ſhall be ſtoned as ſoon as he is convicted of it [r].

THE ſpoil of an idolatrous city ſhall not be ſaved upon any account, but be publickly burned. The inhabitants of it ſhall be put to the ſword, and the place ſhall be no more rebuilt, but continue an heap for ever [s].

THE ſilver, gold, and other precious ornaments belonging to idols ſhall not be turned to advantage, but be deſtroyed with the utmoſt abhorrence [t].

WHOSOEVER ſacrificeth his ſeed to *Moloch* (G), whether he be an *Iſraelite*, or a ſojourner in the land, ſhall be ſtoned to death [u].

THERE

[r] Deut. xiii. 6. & ſeq. & alib. paſſ [s] Ibid. ver. 15. & ſeq.
[t] Ibid. vii. 25, 26. [u] Levit. xx. 2.

(G) We have already given an account of this *Ammonitiſh* deity and its worſhip, in the hiſtory of *Ammon* †. All that needs be added here, with reſpect to the different opinions of authors, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, concerning the meaning of the phraſe of *making their ſons and daughters to paſs through the fire*, which we there took notice of, is, that there are ſeveral expreſs texts of ſcripture which prove, that it was neither a bare leaping over a fire, nor a being carried between two fires ſet cloſe by one another; but a real burning of them to death (8). In the ſecond book of *Kings* it is ſaid, that the *Sepharvaites* burnt their children in the fire to *Adrammelech* and *Anammelech* their gods (9); which we have ſhewn elſewhere were, in all probability, the ſame with *Moloch* ‡. 'Tis plain from the prophet *Amos* (10 and St. *Stephen* (11), that the *Iſraelites* had been much addicted to the worſhip of this idol, whoſe tabernacle they are ſaid to have carried about with them in the wilderneſs, but that they ſhould continue it in *Canaan* after *Moſes* had made it capital, and God had expreſſly told them, that he would ſet his face againſt ſuch offenders, and exterminate them from the midſt of his people (12), is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, and yet the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew, that ſeveral, even of the kings of *Judah*, were guilty of that abominable cruelty How it came to be at the firſt introduced into the world, we have elſewhere endeavoured to account for*. As for what is commanded concerning the deſtroying of all the monuments of idolatry, the *Jews* underſtood it only of thoſe places which became theirs by conqueſt, beyond which the command did not extend; and as to the idolatrous cities, they

† *Vide Vol. II* p 99, 100. (8) *Vide Pſ. cvi.* 37, 38 *Iſai. lvii.* 5. *Jerem xix.* 4, & *ſeq. Ezek. xvi.* 21. *xxiii.* 37, & *alib.* (9) 2 *King. xvii.* 31. ‡ *Ubi ſup.* (10) *Amos v.* 26. (11) *Acts vii.* 43. (12) *Levit. xx.* 3, & *ſeq.* * *Vide Vol. II. p.* 462.

affirm,

THERE are ſeveral more to the ſame purpoſe interſperſed, and often repeated in the four laſt books of *Moſes*, which we need not dwell longer upon. Of the ſame nature are alſo thoſe which forbid all commerce, intercourſe, contracting of affinity with idolatrous nations, and all kind of imitation of their ways, leſt they ſhould inſenſibly draw them into their idolatries; of the ſame kind were thoſe which condemned the uſe of familiar ſpirits, inchantments, obſerving of times and omens [x], divinations, reſorting to wizards and necromancers, and ſuch like, under pain of death [y]; as alſo the rounding of the corners, or temples of the head, and marring the corners of their beards, cutting their fleſh for the ſake of the dead, or making any marks upon it [z]; and laſtly the promiſcuous uſe of apparel in either ſex, in imitation of the *Canaanites* [a].

Poſitive laws concerning the worſhip of the one true God.

THAT the Lord, who delivered his law from mount *Sinai*, is the only God in heaven and earth (H) [b]. *Laws concerning the true worſhip of God.*

THAT he alone is to be loved with all ones heart, mind, and ſtrength [c]; that he only is to be feared above all things [d], and his name to be ſanctified.

[e] THAT

[x] Ibid. xix. 26, 31, & alib. [y] Deut. xviii. 9. & ſeq. [z] Levit. xix. 27. & ſeq. [a] Deut. xxii. 5, &c. [b] Exod. xx. 8. Deut. vi. 4. [c] Ibid. ver. 5. [d] Ibid. ver. 13.

affirm, that they were firſt of all to forewarn them, and if they forſook their idolatry, they were to be ſpared, but if they perſiſted, they were then to be deſtroyed. They likewiſe underſtood the prohibition of turning any of the ſpoil to their advantage in ſo ſtrict a ſenſe, that they thought it even unlawful to ſit under the ſhade of any of their trees. But it is plain, that this great averſion to idolatry and idolatrous things did not ſhew itſelf, till they had ſeverely ſmarted for their too great propenſity to it under the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

(H) This precept in one place † begins thus: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד *Hear O Iſrael the Lord our God, the* LORD [*is*] *one*; where it is obſerved, that the ע *Ain* in the firſt, and the ד *Daleth* in the laſt words, are majuſcula, or letters of a larger ſize than the reſt. Whether they were originally written in that manner, as containing ſome important myſtery, as the *Jews* pretend, or whether altered afterwards by accident, or with deſign, is not eaſy to determine: ſure it is, they not only urge it as

† *Deut.* vi 4.

an

[e] THAT they ſhall engrave his laws in their hearts, diligently teach them to their children and grandchildren; and wear

[e] Deut. vi. 6, 7.

an unanſwerable argument againſt the *Chriſtian* doctrine of the Trinity, but from too literal an interpretation of the verſes following, they wore theſe words written on parchment about them, as bracelets and frontlets, and placed them at their beds, doors, &c. juſt as it is there preſcribed. Some antient fathers (13) were of opinion, that this had been conſtantly practiſed, from *Moſes* till after our Saviour's time, and that he wore them himſelf; tho' upon what foundation is hard to gueſs. *Lightfoot* and others believe, that they were univerſally uſed in our Saviour's time (14); and St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that they were ſo in his, and that thoſe who did not wear them upon their foreheads were eſteemed irreligious (15). However that be, it is not to be doubted, but their ſuperſtition in this reſpect has ſtill gained ground; this is plain from the many ſcrupulous niceties which they are bound to obſerve in the making, writing and caſting of theſe phylacteries (16).

This verſe which they call the SHEMAH, from the firſt word of it, they are likewiſe obliged, by an expreſs command in the oral law, to repeat twice a day; that is, in the morning at ſun riſing, and in the evening juſt as it is ſet. There is likewiſe a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh preſcribed in the *Talmud*, about the repeating of the words; the eyes, lips, and fingers, muſt be ſtill, that the mind may be wholly intent upon the words; ſome letters are to be pronounced ſwiftly, and others ſlowly; no ordure or dead carcaſs ought to be nearer the place where the perſon repeats it, than four cubits at leaſt, and then he is to turn his back to it; but if the place will not permit ſuch a diſtance, the ordure is then to be covered up, and the eyes kept from it, and a great deal more to the ſame purport (17), which it were needleſs to dwell longer upon. However, ſince they urge this text ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt the *Chriſtians*, we ſhall beg leave, before we diſmiſs this note, to examine, whether the antient *Jews* underſtood it in the ſame ſenſe as the moderns do: ſome learned converts from *Judaiſm* to *Chriſtianity* ſeem to have proved the contrary from their moſt antient writings (18); but as proſelytes are always ſuſpected of being over-zealous, there have not been wanting thoſe eminent *Chriſtians*, who, after a mature ex-

(13) Orig. Chryſoſt Hieron. Euphym. *in Matt. xxiii.* (14) Lightfoot, Scaliger, Maldon, & *al.* (15) Hieron. *in Matt. xxiii. vide* & Theophilact. *in loc.* (16) *Vide* Leo. *de* Moden. *Ceremon. Jud. part. 2. c.* 12. (17) *Vide* Wotton's *Verſ. of the Miſhnah. ſub voc.* Shemah. (18) *Vide inter al.* Raymond. Martin, *Pugio Fidei paſſ.*

amination

wear them for a ſign upon their hand, as frontlets between their

amination of their evidence, have confirmed it, as we think, beyond all poſſibility of replying. We ſhall ſingle only one from among thoſe many, not only as he was very well verſed in this kind of learning, but becauſe, as he was not a prieſt, but a ſtateſman, he may be leſs ſuſpected of partiality, we mean the great *Philippe de Mornay* (19), who among other antient authors, quotes rabbi *Simeon ben Jobai*, who in his *Zobar*, a book by the *Jews* acknowledged to have been written before the *Talmud*, if not before *Chriſt* (20), quotes the expoſition of rabbi *Ibba*, of this text, to this purport, that the firſt יהוה, *Jehovah*, which is the incommunicable name of God, is *the father*; by אלהים *Elohim* is meant *the ſon*, who is the fountain of all knowledge; and by the ſecond יהוה is meant *the holy ghoſt*, proceeding from them, and he is called אחד *Achad*, *one*, becauſe God is one. *Ibba* adds, that this myſtery was not to be revealed till the coming of the Meſſiah. The author of the *Zobar* goes on, and applieth the word *holy*, which is thrice repeated in the viſion of *Iſaiah* (21), to the three perſons in the deity, whom he elſewhere calls three ſuns, or lights, three ſovereigns—without beginning and without end.

It muſt be owned, that the genuineneſs of this paſſage is diſputed by the *Jews*, as well as the authority and antiquity of the book itſelf by ſome *Chriſtians* (22); but as to the firſt, it is known, that they make no ſcruple of denying all that makes againſt them, and that where they dare not do it, as in the caſe of the ſacred writings, they will manifeſtly pervert the ſenſe, and appeal to the oral law: and as for the *Chriſtians*, 'tis to be feared, they are all but too apt to be partial to their favourite ſyſtems, and to over-ſhoot the mark on both ſides. However, tho' it is out of our province to enter any farther into the controverſy, how far the doctrine of the trinity was, or might be, known to the antient *Jews*, from ſeveral places of the *Old Teſtament*, urged againſt them; yet we beg leave to make an obſervation or two out of their *Talmud*, which ſeem to make very much againſt them, becauſe they have not yet been taken notice of by any author that we know of. There is one ſection in it (23), written dialogue-wiſe, in which are ſeveral queſtions, as firſt, why the names of God, *Elohim*, *Zabaoth*, &c. are in the plural number? and ſecondly, why they are joined to verbs in the ſingular? [thus, for inſtance, the firſt verſe of *Geneſis* ſays, *Elohim bara*, where *God* is in the plural, and *created* in the ſingular, which our divines have applied to the trinity in unity] and

(19) *Avertiſſement aux Juifs*, c. 3. *Vide ſi lubet* Meyer *Theolog. de Myſter. SS. Trinit.* Haveman, *Jooden Vegh Wyzer*, & *al.* (20) *Vide* Buxt. *ſen. Tiberiad. in voc.* זהר *Zobar* Bartoloc. & Wooll. *Bibliot. Rabin.* (21) *Ch. vi.* 3. (22) *Vide* Woolf. *Bibliot. Rabin. No.* 2175 *p.* 1134. & *ſeq.* (23) *Tract. Sanhedrin.*

their eyes, and write them upon the gates, posts, and other parts of their houses f.

f Ibid. ver. 6. & seq.

thirdly, why God speaks in some places in the plural number? as, *let us make man*, &c. *in our image*, &c. (24)? Now it is plain, that to all these questions, or rather objections, the *Talmud* gives us no answers but what are plainly illusory ‡, and such as the compilers would most probably have suppressed, as well as the questions, had they not designed thereby to make a kind of a tacit acknowledgment, that these irregular expressions contained some mystery, which they did not think lawful to divulge. This was the reason why a learned rabbi (25), who was severely charged with having betrayed the mysteries of his religion, because the straitness of his circumstances had forced him to accept of the generous offer, from a *Roman* cardinal, of a large salary for teaching the *Hebrew* tongue, protests, among other things, which he urges in his own vindication, that he had never so much as explained the first verse of *Genesis*.

But what will convince our readers that this was the case of the writers of the *Talmud*, is the answer that is given, in the chapter above quoted to the question, why the throne of God is in the plural number in *Daniel*'s vision (26). The words in the *Chaldee* are כרסון רמיו, *Carsevan remiú*, which our version renders *the thrones were cast down*, contrary to the express meaning of the verb רמם which signifies *to raise, to exalt*, and *set up*, in which sense all the *Jews* do rightly understand it. The question therefore that is asked is, why the throne, on which the antient of days was to sit, is put in the plural? after several trifling answers, which are given as the solutions of several learned rabbies, the last but one of whom pretends, that the plural implies the thrones of God and of *David*; the last and concluding one is to the following purpose, that it is blasphemy to set the creature on the throne of the creator, blessed for ever, and closes the whole with these notable words, *if any one can solve this difficulty, let him do it, if not, let him go his way and not attempt it.* The meaning of it being too obvious to want explaining, we shall wholly submit to the reader, and only add, that something very like this seems to be intimated in that distinction in their creed, about the unity of God, namely that he is one by an oneness or unity peculiar to himself *.

(24) *Gen. i.* 26. *iii.* 22, & *alib.* ‡ *Vide Vol. I. p.* 91. *note* (K. (25) *Elias Levit. vide præf. ejusd. in Grammat. Hæbraic.* (26) *Dan. vii.* 9. * *Art.* 1.

THAT

THAT they ſhall circumciſe their hearts, as well as their fleſh [g] (I); and be no more rebellious to him, but ſerve him ſincerely, cleave unto him, and ſwear by his name alone [h].

THAT the whole law ſhall be read by the prieſts to all the people, men, women, and children, every ſeventh year, at the feaſt of the tabernacles [i], and the ſubſtance of it ſhall be learned by heart by every *Iſraelite*; and that every king of *Iſrael* ſhall be obliged to write a copy of it with his own hand, from that which was by *Moſes* committed to the cuſtody of the *Levites*, in order to be conſtantly read and obſerved by him [k] (K).

THAT all bleſſings ſhall be thankfully acknowledged to come from GOD (L), and his puniſhments ſubmiſſively received, as fatherly chaſtiſements or trials of their obedience [l].

THE

[g] Deut. x. 16. & alib. paſſ. [h] Ibid ver. 20. [i] Ibid. xxxi. 9, & ſeq. ad 14. [k] Ibid. xvii. 18, & ſeq. [l] Ibid. viii. paſſ.

(I) What is meant by the circumciſion of the heart needs not be told, it being here and elſewhere put in oppoſition to ſtubbornneſs, rebellion, and ſtiff-neckedneſs. We have already ſpoken of that in the fleſh in another ſection (27); the manner in which it was performed ſhall be ſhewn, when we come to ſpeak of the *Jewiſh* ceremonies.

(K) What the abſtract or ſubſtance of the law was, we have elſewhere ſhewn †, but the *Jews* conclude, from the words of *Moſes* (28), *write ye therefore this ſong*, &c. that every private man was obliged to write likewiſe, a copy of it; but it ſeems rather, that he only enjoined them to learn it by heart *. They add, that if the king had not writ a copy of it before he came to the crown, he was obliged to write two after it, the one to be depoſited in his treaſure-houſe, and the other to be kept about him for his daily meditation and inſtruction (29).

(L) This command of praiſing the Lord for his bleſſings, they alſo extend to ſaying grace at leaſt before meat, in which their ſtrictneſs is ſuch, that if a man through inadvertency chance to neglect it, he is bound, if he is gone abroad, to return home as ſoon as he recollects his omiſſion, and perform that duty. They likewiſe enforce from it the neceſſity of waſhing of hands before eating, and affirm, that he that eats with unclean hands is equally guilty with him that eateth unclean meat. They add many more of the like ſuperſtitious niceties, for which, however, they own, they have no poſitive command, either in the written or oral law;

(27) *ſee Vol.* II. *p.* 367. *ſub note* (R) † *Sup. p.* 36. *ſub note* (F). (28) *Deut. xxxi.* 19. * *Vide ſup. p.* 39. *ſub note* (H). (29) *Vide præcept. affirm.* 24, 25.

THE law ſhall be engraven upon ſtones, and ſet up upon an altar, and the bleſſings of obedience, and curſes for diſobedience ſhall be publickly ſet up upon the mounts *Gebal* and *Gerizzim*, for a perpetual remembrance [m].

No forgiveneſs, or deliverance from puniſhment for any diſobedience ſhall be expected, without a deep ſenſe and acknowledgment of the fault [n].

BURNT-offerings, ſacrifices, tithes, vows, firſtlings of the flock, and free-will-offerings, ſhall be brought and ſacrificed at no other place, but that which the Lord ſhall appoint [o].

Laws, poſitive and negative, concerning the ſabbath, paſſover, and other feſtivals, holy days, and faſts.

Laws concerning the bath.

THE ſabbath, or ſeventh day, ſhall be kept holy [p] (M). No ſervile work ſhall be done in it, by maſter, ſervant, ſlave, ſtranger, or cattle [q]. There ſhall no fire be kindled on that day [r], nor any thing bought or ſold. No

[m] Ibid. xxvii. 1. ad fin. 28. paſſ. [n] Ibid xxx. paſſ. [o] Ibid. xii. 5, & ſeq. [p] Exod. xxiii. 12. xxxiv. 21. Deut. v. 14, & alib. [q] Exod. xx. 10, & ſeq. Deut. v. 14, & ſeq. [r] Exod. xxxv. 3.

except that one which enjoins them to ſubmit to the ordinances of their wiſe men (30). Well therefore might our Saviour ſo often reprove them, for being ſtricter obſervers of theſe human injunctions, than they were of the more weighty points of the law of God, juſtice, mercy, &c. (31).

(M) What that ſanctification of the ſabbath conſiſted in before *David*, or rather *Solomon*'s time, except repairing to the tabernacle, if they dwelt near it, rehearſing the wonders which God had done for them, and a total ceſſation from work, is not eaſy to gueſs. We have endeavoured in a former ſection (32) to account for this indolent obſervation, from which the day is called שבת, *Sabbath*, or *reſt*. The *Jewiſh* doctors have ſtretched this abſtinence from work to the moſt ſuperſtitious degree. They extend it not only to every buſineſs that tends to the getting of food and raiment, ſuch as plowing, ſowing, reaping, threſhing, and the like, which they make to amount to thirty nine negative precepts, beſides many others which are as appendixes to them; ſuch as thoſe that follow: graſs muſt not be walked upon leaſt it be bruiſed by it: a horſe muſt not be rid leſt it be galled; if wet of any kind fall upon one's cloaths it muſt not be wringed out, nor dirt be bruſhed off them; an apple muſt not be put to the fire to roaſt, or any liquid be mingled with

(30) *Vide præc. affirm.* 27. *Sup. p.* 35. *ſub. fin. note* (E). (31) *Matt. xv.* 3. *& ſeq.* (32)

muſtard,

muſtard, tho' never ſo dry; a flea muſt not be caught whilſt it hops about, but if it faſten upon the fleſh it may; vermin that is ingendered by the ſweat of the body, ſuch as lice, &c. reptiles and inſects that ſting, ſuch as vipers, ſcorpions, waſps, gnats, and the like, may be killed, and ſo may mad dogs and wild beaſts, if they aſſault one, but if quiet or running from one, they muſt be let alone.

Whatever ought not to be done in public is likewiſe forbid to be done in private; tho' they do not all agree in this, ſome of them thinking it lawful to do ſome things in private, ſuch as wiping any dirt or filth off ones cloaths and the like in a corner, which it would be unlawful to do in ſight of others. If a houſe chance to be ſet on fire, nothing is to be ſaved from the flames but the victuals and cloaths deſigned for the ſabbath, unleſs it be a cheſt or bag in which there is a ſacred book, in which caſe it may be carried off, tho' there chance to be alſo money in it. It is not lawful to ride in a coach or cart, tho' a heathen drive it. No ſinging, dancing, playing upon inſtruments, or any kind of noiſe is allowed, tho' it were to quiet a croſs child. No cauſe is to be tryed, accounts made or caſt up, or marriages ſolemnized. No diſcourſe about buying and ſelling, or any other wordly matter, much leſs looſe and prophane talk is to be ſuffered; a field, vine yard, orchard, and the like is not to be viſited on the ſabbath, with many more of the like nature. However, they allow it to be violated in caſes of dangerous ſickneſs, by adminiſtring any help to the ſick; a woman may be aſſiſted in her labour, or even be cut open, if ſhe die in it, and there be any hope of ſaving the child.

The poſitive precepts concerning the ſabbath run much in the ſame ſtrain, we ſhall only inſtance in two or three of them. On that day every one is obliged, according to their circumſtances, to put on clean linen, to wear better cloaths than ordinary, to eat fleſh, fiſh, or fowl, and to drink wine, and to eat at leaſt once in ſix hours. Care alſo is to be taken, that a clean table-cloath be laid, and the victuals ſet upon it, the beds made and the lamps lighted before the entrance of the ſabbath, which begins and ends with them on or about ſun-ſet, according to the ſaying in *Geneſis*, *the evening and the morning were the firſt day* (33).

A learned *Jewiſh* author tells us ‡, that they were obliged, in all diſtricts and towns throughout *Iſrael*, to blow the trumpet, on the evening of the ſixth day, ſix different times from ſome eminence, whence it might be eaſily heard at a due diſtance, ſo that they who were abroad in the fields might have timely notice to repair to their habitations before the ſabbath began. Accordingly at the ſound of the firſt trumpet, they left off work, and began to march homeward: at the ſecond ſounding, all ſhops, ſtalls, and places of trade were ſhut up: at the third the pots and kettles were

(33) Gen. i. 5. *vide* Munſt. *in loc.* & *præcep. negat.* & *affirm. de ſabbat.* ‡ Maimon. *Tract.* שבת *cap. v ſect. 27. vide* Goodwin's *Moſes and Aaron, l. iii. c* 3. §. 10.

taken

taken off the fire, the tables covered, and the meat dressed for the sabbath was set upon them, &c. —— The last trumpet was generally about sun-set; and on the next night as soon as they could perceive two or three stars in the sky, the trumpets blew from the same places to proclaim the end of the sabbath; at which time the head of the family, after a short prayer, wished himself and the rest a good week, as he did a good sabbath at the entrance of it. From this blowing of these trumpets from some high places, a cabbalistical philologist (34) hath concluded, that the מוסך השבת, *Mussach hassabath, the vail*, or, as our version renders it, *the covering of the sabbath*, which king *Ahaz* took away from the temple (35), was some kind of watch-tower on the top of it, from which the priests used to proclaim the entrance and exit of the sabbath to those that lived at *Jerusalem*. But for ought we can see, it might as well have been any thing else.

The *Jews* are fallen into several extravagant notions about the sabbath, some of which we shall but just hint; such as that the obligation of sanctifying it is of much greater force than any other command: that it is the soul and totum of all the rest; so that he that violates it breaks all the rest. That on that day the dæmons, satyrs, and other such hurtful creatures shun the light of it, and do not return from deserts and dark caverns to infest mankind till it is over, with many more of the like nature, which the reader may see at full length in *Leo de Modena* (36).

It must be owned however, that many of the wiser *Jews* do make the sanctification of the sabbath to consist in duties of a more noble nature, than these *talmudical* trifles; namely, in meditation on the wonderful works of God, in the study of his law, and instructing those that are under them in it (37). Some of them do even maintain, that they used to assemble themselves every sabbath, even from the time of *Moses*, to hear the law read and expounded (38). And this is likewise believed by several learned men among the *Christians* (39), who infer it from the words of St. *James*, that *Moses* ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων has in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day (40). All that we dare say is, that the much greater number are of opinion that this custom was not set on foot till *Esdras's* time. All that the priests were commanded to do on the sabbath was only to set the new shew-bread on the tables, to take away the old (41), and to offer the meat, drink, and burnt-offerings peculiar to that day (42);

(34) Rheinferd Op. *Philolog. dissert.* 18. (35) 2 King. xvi. 18. (36) *Ceremon. Jud. part iii. c.* 1. *vide* & Munst. *in* Gen. ii. 1 & Exod. xx. & *præc. affir.* 29. (37) *Vide* Munst. *in* Exod. xx Meyer. *de Temp Sacr. cap* ix. §. 66. (38) Phil. *in vit. Mos.* Joseph. *cont. Apion, lib. ii. Talm. Hieros. Tract. Megill.* Maimon. *Tephilah*, & *Eircath-hacohanim*, & *al. mult* (39) *Vide* Coccej. *Sum. Theol. c. xxi* §. 14. & *seq.* Grot. & Meyer, *ubi sup.* (40) Acts xv. 21. *comp. with ver.* 36. (41) Levit. xxiv. 6, 8. (42) Num. xxviii. 9, & *seq.*

however,

however, their antient doctors did ſince clog it with ſuch a number and variety of precepts and ſubtilties; and thoſe that came after have been ſo divided about the right meaning of them, and their practice has ſo often varied, that it is impoſible for them to know whether they kept it right or not. This made ſome of their rabbies ſay, that if they could but obſerve two ſabbaths as they ought, God would ſoon put an end to all their miſeries (43).

Whether the obſervation of the ſabbath or ſeventh day be as old as the creation, as ſome authors both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* contend for, from thoſe words of *Moſes, and* GOD *bleſſed the ſeventh day and ſanctified it* (44); or whether that text means no more, than that God ſet apart that day to be afterwards obſerved by the *Iſraelites*, as the far greater part of the fathers and *Chriſtian* commentators underſtand it; is a queſtion which, tho' more curious than important, has been very ſtrenuouſly debated on all hands. The *Jews* are as much divided about it as we are; for whilſt ſome affect to call the ſabbath their ſpouſe, as being granted to the *Jews* alone excluſive of all other nations (45), others affirm, that all the patriarchs and all good men did obſerve it up to *Adam*, whom they pretend to have been the author of the 92d pſalm, intitled, *a pſalm or ſong for the ſabbath day* (46). They likewiſe interpret the words in *Geneſis, becauſe* Abraham——*has kept my charge*, of his keeping the ſabbath (47). The ſame they affirm of *Jacob*, and add, that the reaſon of his taking up his lodging in the open field in his way to *Meſopotamia*, was, that it happened to be the eve of the ſabbath, ſo that he was obliged to ſtop there as ſoon as he perceived that the ſun was about ſetting (48). *Job*'s offering ſacrifices for his ſeven ſons every ſeventh day, is likewiſe underſtood of his keeping the ſabbath, tho' another reaſon ſeems to be given in the text (49).

Joſephus and *Philo* go ſtill farther, and affirm, that the obſervation of it had been preſerved among the *Gentiles*. The former ſays, that there was ſcarce any nation either *Greek* or *Barbarian*, that did not in ſome meaſure conform to the obſervance of the ſabbath (50); and *Philo* aſſures us (51), that it was not a feſtival peculiar to any nation or country, but common to all, and kept as a kind of birth-day of the world. He adds in another place, that the *Jews*, whilſt in *Egypt*, having quite forgot the ſeventh day, God was pleaſed to indicate it to them by ſending them manna ſix days, and ſtaying it on the ſeventh (52). We find likewiſe ſeveral antient writers among the *Heathen*, ſuch as *Homer*, *Heſiod*, and others, quoted by the fathers, who ſpeak of

(43) *Vide* Buxtorf. *Synag.* Jud. *c. xi.* (44) Gen. ii. 3. (45) *Vide* Selden & *Rabbin. ab eo citatos.* (46) *Vide Chald. Paraphr. Targum, in titul.* Pſ. xcii. *Middraſh Tehill. Talm. Babyl. Tract. Sanhedr.* & *al.* (47) R. Salom. *in* Gen. xxvi. 5. (48) *Bereſh. Rabb. Paraſh.* 79. *Talm. Tract.* שבת R. Bechai. & *al.* (49) *Vide* Abenez. *in* Job. i. 25. (50) *Cont. Apion. lib.* 2. *ad fin.* (51) *De Opific. Mund.* (52) *In vit. Moſ. lib.* i. (53)

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the ſeventh day as ſacred to religion (53). Something like this may alſo be gathered from that abſurd account, which ſome others, particularly *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, give of the *Jews*, obſerving it in imitation of the *Heathens*, who conſecrated that day to *Saturn* according to the former (54), or to *Bacchus* according to the latter, who adds, that he was alſo named *Sabbos*, becauſe they uſed frequently to ſhout out the word *Sabboi* at his feſtival (55). However, as theſe teſtimonies would at beſt amount to a bare probability, and ſeem contradicted by ſome expreſs texts both in the writings of *Moſes* and ſome of the prophets (56), which intimate, that the ſabbath was given to the *Iſraelites* for a memorial of their deliverance from *Egyptian* bondage, and to diſtinguiſh them from all other nations; the far greater part of *Chriſtians*, both antient and modern, have declared for the other ſide (57); and it muſt be owned, that if that feſtival had been inſtituted and kept from the beginning, we cannot ſee why *Moſes* ſhould be ſo exact and cautious in the particulars he gives about the inſtitution and obſervance of it, eſpecially in his prohibition of gathering manna on that day; unleſs we ſuppoſe with *Philo*, that the *Iſraelites* had quite loſt the memory of it.

We muſt beg leave to cloſe this note with taking notice of that expreſſion in one of the goſpels (58), ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ, in the ſecond prime ſabbath, or as our verſion more clearly renders it, on the ſecond ſabbath after the firſt, which has puzzled a world of Commentators, till *Joſ. Scaliger* did hit upon an explication (59), which has been univerſally approved and followed ever ſince (60). We need not to trouble our readers with the various conjectures of the reſt. That of our author carries its own evidence, being founded on the *Jewiſh* manner of computing the ſabbaths from the feaſt of the paſſover to that of the weeks, or from *Eaſter* to *Whitſunday*. The firſt of theſe, namely, that which immediately followed the two great feaſts, or the firſt and laſt day of the paſſover, was by them called שבת שני ראשון, *Sabbath Shenireſhon, the ſecond prime ſabbath*; the next was called *the ſecond ſecend, or the ſecond after the ſecond prime*; the third *ſecond third*, and ſo unto the ſeventh, which laſt did immediately precede the feaſt of the weeks or pentecoſt (61). The fact for which this ſabbath is recorded by the evangeliſt, namely, *Chriſt*'s diſciples plucking and

(53) *Vide* Euſeb. *præp. lib. xiii c.* 12. Clem. Alex. *Stromat. lib. v & al.* (54) *Hiſtor. lib. v.* (55) *Sympoſiac. lib. iv.* (56) *Vide* Exod. xxxi. 13. Deut. v. 15. *& alib. paſſ. vide &* Jerem. xvii. 22. Ezek. xx. 12, 20. (57) Juſt. *Dial. cont. Typh.* Tertul. *cont. Jud. lib. iv.* Iren. *cont. Hereſ. lib. iv. & al. vide* Seld. *de Jur. Natural. Gent. juxt. diſcipl. Hebr. lib iii. c.* 13. *& ſeq.* Spenc. *de Leg. Rit. Hebr.* Jun. Le Clerc, Calm. *Comm. in* Gen. ii. *& al. mult.* (58) Luk. vi. 1. (59) *De Emend. Temp. lib vi.* (60) *Vide* Lightfoot, Cauſab. Baron. Jun. Grot. *in loc.* Goodwin's *Moſ. & Aar.* Sir Iſaac Newt. *& al.* (61) *Vide ſi lib. Miſhnam Tract.* יומא *cap.* 5.

rubbing

No perſon ſhall be put to death for any crime whatſoever, no travelling ſhall be allowed on the ſabbath [r] (N).

THE ſabbath-breaker ſhall be ſtoned [s]; with ſeveral others, either to the ſame purpoſe, or of leſs moment.

Laws relating to the three grand feſtivals, the paſſover, the feaſt of the weeks, and the feaſt of the tabernacles.

THREE times a year ſhall all the male children appear before the Lord their God, at the place by him appointed; namely, at the feaſt of unleavened bread, or paſſover, at the feaſt of the weeks, or pentecoſt, and at the feaſt of tabernacles. They ſhall not come empty handed before him; but every man ſhall offer unto the Lord, according to the ability wherewith he hath bleſſed him *** (O). *The three grand feſtivals.*

Of

[r] Ibid. xvi. 29, & alib. [s] Ibid. xxxi. 14, 15. *** Deut. xvi. 16, 17. Exod. xxii. 1, & alib.

rubbing the ears of corn, confirms this expoſition, their harveſt happening always between *Eaſter* and *Whitſunday*.

(N) Tho' the text doth expreſly ſay, that they ſhall not ſtir out of their place, yet it could mean no other than a prohibition of going out to gather manna, for it is plain, they were obliged to repair to the tabernacle from all parts of the camp, and afterwards to the temple from all quarters of *Jeruſalem* (62); however, the *Jews* underſtand it of going out about worldly buſineſs, or for pleaſure, and indeed upon any account, beyond what they call a ſabbath-day's journey, this diſtance is not indeed fixed by *Moſes* or any other prophet, but is determined at two thouſand cubits. And tho' they differ among themſelves about the length of that meaſure, ſome making it much longer than others, yet they agree, that the ſafeſt way is not to exceed two thouſand moderate paces, (63), and this ſeems to be pretty near the diſtance between *Jeruſalem* and the *Mount of Olives*, which St. *Luke* calls *a ſabbath-day's journey* (64), of which we have already ſpoken †, however, he that exceeded that diſtance was not judged a violator of the ſabbath, but came off with a beating, whereas the breaker of it was to be ſtoned to death (65).

(O) The *Talmud*, however, exempts from this obligation, 1. The women, who were to take care of their families, unleſs their

(62) *Vide* Levit. xxiii. 3. (63) *Vide* Maim. *Tract* שבת, c. v. *ſect.* 27. Goodwin's *Moſ. & Aar lib. iii. c.* 3 § 10 (64) Acts i 12. † *See before p.* 48. *note* (L) (65) *Vide* Maim. *ubi ſup.*

Of the Paſſover.

Eaſter or paſſover.

WE have already ſpoken of its inſtitution, and the occaſion and deſign of it in a former ſection †; the laws relating to it are to the following purpoſe.

IT ſhall be of perpetual obligation, both to the *Iſraelites* and to all circumciſed proſelytes [u].

No

† See Vol. II. p. 520. [u] Exod. xii. 14, 24, & alib.

huſbands permitted them to go with them, as in the caſe of *Hannah* and *the virgin Mary*. 2. Boys under 12 years of age, who were not under the obligation of the law, or called בְּנֵי הַתּוֹרָה, *Bene-hatborah*, that is, *the ſons* or *diſciples of the law*, till they were entered into the 13th, and this ſeems to be the reaſon why *Chriſt* did not make his firſt appearance among the doctors at the feaſt, till he had attained to that age. 3. All old men above ſixty. 4. All the ſick and impotent, lunatics, *&c.* And laſtly, all that either lived at ſuch a diſtance from the tabernacle, and afterwards from the temple, or were any otherwiſe ſo weak, that they could not perform the journey on foot.

Nothing could be more wiſely calculated to preſerve the union of the *Jewiſh* nation, already ſo ſtrongly cemented by their religion, laws, weights, meaſures, cuſtoms, *&c.* which were common to them all, than this frequent and univerſal concourſe to the chief place of worſhip. But here ariſe two very great difficulties: firſt, how *Jeruſalem* could contain ſuch prodigious multitudes, as did flock to thoſe ſolemnities from all parts of *Judea*; and ſecondly, how the *Iſraelites* could leave their towns and villages deſtitute of males, without the greateſt danger from thoſe nations which were ſtill left amongſt them, and would be ready, no doubt, to embrace every opportunity of retrieving their lands and liberties. Add to this, that thoſe who lived upon the borders of the land, ran ſtill a greater riſk of being invaded by their neighbours, if they had left their country under no better guard than that of old men, women, and children.

To the firſt difficulty, beſides what has been hinted in the geography of the land, *concerning the capaciouſneſs of Jeruſalem*; it may be anſwered firſt, that they did not all appear together on the ſame day, but that they took it by turns, and ſtayed in the city but one night; and on the next morning, having performed their devotions, they departed and made way for others. This is plain from the inſtance of *Elkanah*; and ſecondly, that there were tents and other conveniencies for their reception, not only in the empty ſpaces within, but likewiſe in all convenient places without the walls of the city. And if this be thought ſtill inſufficient for ſo vaſt a concourſe, what is anſwered to the ſecond difficulty of their leaving

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No circumciſed perſon, whether of the ſeed of *Abraham*, or admitted into the commonwealth by circumciſion, unleſs hindered by ſickneſs, journeying, or ſome legal impurity, ſhall omit the annual celebration of it, under the penalty of being cut off from his people [x] (P).

No

[x] Num. ix. 13, 14.

the country too much expoſed to their enemies, will eaſily remove all that is left of the firſt.

And here we need not have recourſe to improbable conjectures, as *Cunæus*, *Baſnage*, and others have done, who think that this obligation laſted no longer than during their abode in the wilderneſs, when their nearneſs to the tabernacle did eaſily admit of it. For, beſides that, if this had been the caſe, there would have been no need for *Jeroboam* to ſet up the golden calves to prevent his ten tribes going to *Jeruſalem*; their hiſtory furniſhes us from time to time with ſufficient teſtimonies, that theſe feſtivals were kept conſtantly till after our Saviour's time, as it plainly appears from the vaſt multitudes that were at *Jeruſalem*, from all parts of the world, at the feaſt of pentecoſt, when the holy ghoſt fell upon the apoſtles. Neither need we ſecondly ſuppoſe with others, that they only ſent a certain proportion of men, as one in ten or twelve, to *Jeruſalem*, to be as it were the repreſentatives, and to offer the gifts of the reſt, whilſt theſe kept the ſolemnity in their own towns. For if any ſuch thing had been either allowed or practiſed, we ſhould certainly have met with ſomething of it in holy writ, whereas the contrary doth rather appear, from the inſtances above-mentioned. But ſince there was a permiſſion from God, that they that were unable to celebrate the paſſover on the firſt month, ſhould do it in the ſecond, as we ſhall ſee in the next note; will it not be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they might extend this indulgence alſo to the other feſtivals? ſo as that one half of the males ſhould ſtay at home to guard their houſes, whilſt the others went up, and at their return, to go and partake of the ſolemnity of the ſecond month. It is indeed urged, that there was a promiſe from God, that none ſhould deſire their lands whilſt they went up to appear before him, but, beſides that their natural backwardneſs in believing him gives us little reaſon to think, that they would commit their wives, children, and all that was dear to them to his ſole care, whilſt they went ſo far from them to worſhip him, it is plain, that thoſe promiſes were only conditional, that is, as long as they continued ſtedfaſt in their obedience, which was ſo ſeldom their caſe, that had their faith in his promiſes been ſtronger than it was, yet their diſobedience gave them but ſmall encouragement to lay hold on them to ſuch a degree.

(P) We have already given the moſt probable meaning of this penalty *, and indeed, conſidering that the principal end of this

* *See Vol. II. p.* 522.

No ſervant or ſtranger ſhall eat of it, unleſs he become circumciſed [y].

THE feaſt (Q) ſhall begin on the eve of the fourteenth day of the month *Abib*, or, as the original expreſſes it, between

[y] Exod. xii. 43, & ſeq.

inſtitution was, not only to perpetuate the memory of all the wonders which God did in *Egypt* and at the *Red-ſea*, but alſo to make it a ſtanding and irrefragable monument to all poſterity of the truth and certainty of thoſe amazing works ‡; nothing could be more expedient than to enforce the obſervation of it under ſome ſevere penalties. However, it is evident by the ſequel, that they did not underſtand it of a capital puniſhment, ſuch as was to be inflicted on blaſphemers, idolaters, ſabbath-breakers, and the like, ſeeing they not only omitted to celebrate it during their abode in the wilderneſs, without any viſible excuſe (66); but were afterwards guilty of a moſt ſhameful neglect of it, during ſeveral wicked reigns, till *Hezekiah*, and after him *Joſiah*, revived it (67), as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

As for thoſe who by reaſon of any legal impurity, whether accidental or voluntary, were unfit for, and thoſe who were hindered by any lawful impediment, from celebrating this feſtival, with the reſt of the people, on the month *Niſan*, they were ordered to keep it with the uſual ceremony on the following month called *Jair*. This indulgence was granted by God himſelf in favour of ſome men, who had defiled themſelves by aſſiſting at the burial of ſome relation (68); and was afterwards made uſe of by the prieſts and *Levites*, who being under ſome legal impurities, when the king commanded them to revive this feſtival at its uſual time, were forced to poſtpone it to the next month (69).

(Q) This feſtival is called in the original פסח, *peſach*, from the verb *paſſach*, which ſignifies *to paſs by* or *leap over*, and not from the *Greek*, πάσχω, *to ſuffer*, as if it had been prophetical of *Chriſt*'s ſuffering at that feaſt, as ſome antient fathers have imagined for want of underſtanding *Hebrew* (70). God himſelf explained the etymon, where he commanded them to tell their children, that this was the ſacrifice of the Lord's paſſover אשר פסח, *Aſher-paſſach*, who paſſed by or leaped over the houſes of the *Iſraelites* (71). It was to begin בין הערבים, *Ben-haarbaim*, *between the two evenings* (72) of the 14th of the month called by *Moſes*, *Abib*, which properly ſignifies *the ſtalk that*

‡ *See Vol II. p.* 531, *note* (P). (66) *See before, p.* 66. (67) 2 Chron xxx. & xxxv. *paſſ.* 68) *Vide* Num. ix. 6. & *ſeq.* (69) 2 Chron. xxx. 3. (70) Tertul. *cont.* Jud. *c.* 10. Ambros. *lib. de Myſter. Paſch.* & *al.* (71) Exod. xii. 27. (72) Ibid. ver. 6.

bears

tween the two evenings [z], at which time the paſchal lamb ſhall be killed (R); and the feſtival be continued, till the one and twentieth day of the ſame month at evening.

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[z] Ibid ver. 6. See the margin of our bible.

bears the ear of corn, becauſe wheat begins to be ripe about this time. This month was afterwards called *Niſan*, and anſwers to our *March* and *April*. The expreſſion *between the two evenings* is variouſly taken. Some reckon the firſt evening to be between noon and ſun-ſet (73), others between two and ſix (74), but the moſt rational opinion, and the moſt received, is, that the firſt evening is that which immediately follows ſun-ſet, and that the ſecond begins when that planet is ſo far ſunk below the horizon, that the ſtars do viſibly appear above it (75).

The computation of this new year began at the firſt new moon that happened neareſt, or upon the vernal equinox; with this rule, that the preceding full moon, how near ſoever to it, belonged to the laſt month of the former year. Now as they had no aſtronomical tables to regulate thoſe conjunctions, but were forced to guide themſelves by the firſt appearance of the new moon, all their diligence in ſending out people to obſerve it from high places at ſun-ſet, could not prevent great irregularities happening in their months and years, becauſe ſometimes it is not to be ſeen till the ſecond or third night, nor even then if clouds interpoſe. Add to this, that they were in all other reſpects ſo negligent of their chronology, that it is no wonder, if ſo many learned men have laboured ſo much to correct and adjuſt it (76), and with ſo little ſucceſs. However, as to the new moons, and thoſe feſtivals which depended upon them, and indeed all other computations of time, they were committed to the care of the prieſts and judges, and the people were obliged to abide by their calculations, whether they proved right or wrong (77).

(R) This ordinance of the paſchal lamb our learned *Spencer* thinks to have been one of thoſe which God expreſly appointed in oppoſition to the *Zabian* and *Egyptian* worſhip, in order to cure, as he expreſſes it, the *Iſraelites* of their itch of idolatry, becauſe the ram among them was ſacred to *Jupiter*. He adds alſo, that the ceremony of killing, dreſſing and eating of it, namely, neither boiled nor raw, but roaſted, with the head and all the other appurtenances, that a bone of it ſhould not be broken, *&c.* were in like manner oppoſite to thoſe that were uſed in ſacrifices by thoſe idolaters (78).

(73) D. Kimchi *ap. Munſt. in loc.* (74) Calm. *Dic. ſub. voc. Paque.* (75) Moſ. Gerund. Abenezr. Salom. & *al. in loc.* (76) *See Vol. II. p.* 355. *Vide* & Scaliger, *ubi ſup.* Vignier. Genebr. Uſſer. *Sir.* Iſ. Newt. Bedford, & *al.* (77) *Vide præc. aſſirm.* 46. (78) *De Leg. Rit. Hebr. lib. ii. c.* 24.

A a

THE firſt and laſt day ſhall be kept holy and free from all ſervile work, even as the ſabbath; except only that on the former victuals may be dreſſed, but not on the latter [a]; thoſe two days ſhall likewiſe be ſolemnized by an holy convocation [b](S). No

[a] Compare Exod xii, 16. with xxxv. 3. [b] Ibid ver. 16.

As to the *Egyptians*, the reader may ſee by what we have often ſaid on that head, that this pretended contrariety is at beſt but very lame and imperfect. 1. Becauſe as they inſtead of ſheep ſacrificed goats to him, ſo here *Moſes* ordains the killing either a lamb or a kid; and 2. becauſe even they once a year killed a ram in honour of that God, and cloathed his golden ſtatue with the ſkin of it; ſo that there was nothing in this paſchal lamb ſo very proper to obliterate that piece of idolatry in the worſhip of *Jupiter*.

As for the ſect of the צבאים, *Tzeboim*, or סבאים, *Sebaim*, we dare venture to ſay, that it is, at leaſt, a very bold aſſumption in our author, to make it more antient than *Moſes*, when he tells us himſelf in another place (79), that nothing is more obſcure and uncertain, than its origin and antiquity, and that there are as many opinions as authors, and errors as opinions, about it. He quotes every where the teſtimony of *Ben Maimon*, who tells us, among other things (80), that he came to underſtand the deſign and meaning of a great number of *Moſes*'s laws, by being converſant with the religion, worſhip, and ceremonies of the *Zabeans*; from which, he adds, that *Abraham*, who was brought up in them, had been converted. But of what weight the opinion of a *Jew*, and he far from a ſtrict one, can be, to account for the deſign of the *Moſaic* laws, or of what authority his teſtimony can be, who lived but in the 12th century, to prove the *Zabeans* to have been ſo conſiderable a ſect in *Abraham*'s, or even in *Moſes*'s time, that God ſhould take ſuch care to preſerve his people from their idolatry, by giving them a great number of ceremonies that were quite oppoſite to theirs, we ſubmit to the reader. Dean *Prideaux* ſeems indeed very fond of *Maimon*'s notion, and wonders, that any one ſhould miſlike it (81), but brings neither proof nor teſtimony ſufficient to back it. However, as to the paſchal lamb we may more juſtly wonder, that any *Chriſtian* ſhould fetch its origin from ſo dark and muddy a ſource, when the writers of the *New Teſtament* have pointed to us one that is ſo much clearer and more divine, its being a type of *Chriſt*. We ſhall find a more proper place to ſpeak of the nation, or rather ſect, of the *Zabeans*, and to ſhew how little their boaſted antiquity is to be depended upon.

(S) We find no precept about the keeping of the five interme-

(79) *Ubi ſup. c. i. ſect.* 1. 2, *& ſeq.* (80) *More Nevoch, part iii. c.* 29, *&* 40. *Hacodah Zarah, c.* 11, 12, *& alib. paſſ.* (81) *Connect. part* 1. *lib. iii.* Candiate

No leaven of any kind ſhall be uſed or even kept in the houſe during thoſe ſeven days; whoſoever uſeth any leaven on thoſe days ſhall be cut off from *Iſrael* [c] (T): all leaven therefore ſhall be removed out of the houſe before the paſchal lamb is killed [d].

ON the firſt day of the paſſover ſhall be offered a burnt-ſacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs of the firſt year; with ſome other offerings of leſs value [e]; and on the ſecond day of the feaſt ſhall be offered, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, a ſheaf of the firſt fruit of that year's harveſt; no new corn ſhall be eaten in any way before the firſt ſheaf has been preſented unto the LORD [f] (V). Some other

[c] Ibid. ver. 15, 19. [d] Ibid. xxxiv. 25, & alib. vide præc. aff. 347. [e] Num. xxviii. 19. & ſeq. [f] Levit. xxiii. 10, & ſeq.

diate days, except the eating of unleavened bread and abſtaining from very laborious works. The rabbies have ſupplied that defect by their comments. They allow that time to be ſpent in mirth and all lawful recreations; they enjoin all, eſpecially the women, to wear the gayeſt apparel, to eat fleſh, fiſh, and fowl, and to drink wine. Weddings are forbid during this, and the other two grand feſtivals, leſt the joy that attends the former ſhould make them forget the occaſion of the latter. Some allow labours of neceſſity to be done during thoſe five days, and others think it unlawful to take up a ſtraw to pick their teeth. However, they all agree, that women may ſhave and waſh themſelves, or even their cloaths, upon ſome occaſions (82). There is one merry injunction of theirs, that obliges every man and woman, though they be ſo poor that they live by alms, to drink at leaſt four bumpers of wine on the firſt night of the paſſover, whilſt they are rehearſing the wonders wrought by God in *Egypt* and at the *Red ſea* (83, with ſome more of the like nature not worth repeating (84).

(T) This curſe is underſtood to extend only to the perſon that eats any thing that has leaven, and not to him who only keeps it within his doors, and whoſe tranſgreſſion is only puniſhed with a certain number of ſtripes. But in the former caſe their doctors are ſo ſtrict, that they even forbid eating a fowl in whoſe crop is found one ſingle grain of corn, becauſe it is apt to ferment where it meets with moiſture. They have likewiſe ſeveral wild diſtinctions with regard to liquors that are, or are not, apt to ferment, which are more nice than true, and conſequently not worth being dwelt upon (85).

(V) We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of all the different kinds of firſt-fruits which were to be offered to God, as a token of their

(82) *Vide præc. neg.* 75. (83) *Pr. aff.* 40. (84) *Pr. neg.* 77. *& ſeq.* (85) *Ibid. pr.* 77. *& ſeq.*

ſubmiſſion

other ordinances of leſs moment about this and other feſtivals are interſperſed in the pentateuch, which we therefore omit.

The feaſt of the weeks, or penteceſt.

The feaſt of weeks.

THIS feaſt was inſtituted in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai*, fifty days after the exod (W), and to oblige the people to appear before the Lord, to offer the firſt-fruits of their harveſt (X), as ſubmiſſion, gratitude, and dependence, and the manner of offering them, when we come to ſpeak of offerings in general. As for this ſheaf we are now ſpeaking of, it was to be of barley, becauſe that is the firſt corn that is ripe about this time in that country. It was reaped on the evening of the 15th day of *Niſan*, and was to be offered up in the name of the whole nation. Thus far the text. The *Jews* add, that as ſoon as the evening of the firſt day of the paſſover was come, at which time the ſecond began, and in which ſome kind of works might be done, the בית דין, *Beth-din*, or *great council* aſſembled, and deputed three men to go and gather the ſheaf, with a kind of ſolemnity, at which, great crouds from the neighbouring cities, flocked to *Jeruſalem*, within whoſe territories it was to be gathered. Theſe deputies asked three times whether the ſun was ſet, and were as often anſwered by the byſtanders in the affirmative. They then asked three times leave to reap the ſheaf, and it was no ſooner granted, than they entered into three different fields, each with a ſickle in his hand, and gathered each a diſtinct parcel, which they put into three different boxes, and brought them to the temple. Here they were threſhed, winnowed, and parched, and an *Homer*, which contains about three pints, was filled with it, and preſented to the prieſt, who poured a quantity of oil, and threw ſome incenſe upon it, and having heaved it to the Lord towards the four points of the compaſs, he threw ſome part of it on the fire of the altar, and the reſt he kept for himſelf. After this ceremony it was lawful for every man to begin his harveſt (86).

(W) The reader may remember, that the *Iſraelites* came out of *Egypt* on the fifteenth of the firſt month *Abib*, or *Niſan* (87), and came to *Sinai* on the third day of the third month, two days after which the law or decalogue was given in the preſence of all the people (88).

(X) Some commentators are of opinion, that every family was bound to offer two loaves of the firſt-fruits of the new corn; but it

(86) *Vide* Maimon. מ. מנהות ם. תמידים ומוספים ם. Abenezr. *in* Deut. *xxvi.* & *al.* (87) Exod. *xii.* 3, 6, 41, 51. (88) *Ibid. xix.* 1, 11, & *ſeq.* *See Vol. II. p.* 524, & *p.* 547. & *ſeq.*

as an acknowledgment of his abſolute right and dominion over them and their land, and of their dependence upon him.

SEVEN weeks, or fifty days, were to be reckoned from the ſixteenth day of the month *Niſan*, which was the ſecond of the paſſover, and the fiftieth day was to be the firſt day of this feſtival (Y).

THE ſacrifices ordained upon this day were to be, beſides the two loaves, ſeven lambs of the firſt year, one young bullock, and two rams, to be for a burnt-offering; together with their uſual meat and drink-offerings, and likewiſe a kid for a ſin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering (Z). No ſervile work was to be done on that day,

is more reaſonable, that there were but two in all, offered in the name of the whole nation, as the firſt barley ſheaf was, which we mentioned in the laſt note but one. Theſe loaves were made of wheat, becauſe the wheat harveſt was ended about the time of this feſtival.

(Y) It is therefore called in the original חג שבועות, *Chagg Shebuaghoth*, or *the feaſt of weeks*, from the ſeven weeks which were reckoned from that of the paſſover; as from the fifty days the *Greeks* gave it the name of pentecoſt. Neither the text, nor *Joſephus*, nor any antient *Hebrew* writer, tells us, whether or no this feaſt laſted ſeven days, like thoſe of the paſſover and of the tabernacles. However, the modern *Jews* keep it but two days, during which all ſervile work, except dreſſing their meat, is wholly ſet aſide. As for their other ceremonies on thoſe two days, as they are foreign to our purpoſe, the curious reader may ſee them in *Leo de Modena* (89).

(Z) There is ſome difference between the ſacrifices that are ordered on this feſtival, in *Leviticus* and in *Numbers* (90). *Joſephus* joins them all together (91), but whoever compares them will rather think, that there is ſome error of the tranſcriber, either in one or the other of theſe places. *Buxtorf* tells us, that the *Jews* were ſo afraid leſt they ſhould be miſtaken in their calculation of this feſtival, and that of the paſſover, that they kept it two days inſtead of one. He inſtances in one place in *Judith* (92), in which the *Greek* ſeems to confirm his aſſertion, and by that means removes the difficulty which has been ſtarted of our Saviour's eating the paſſover one day before the reſt of the *Jews* (93).

(89) *Cerem. Jud. part. iii c.* 4. (90) *Comp.* Levit. *xxiii.* 15, 19. & Num. *xxviii.* 27. (91) *Ant lib iii. c* 10. (92) Judith *viii.* 6. (93) *Synag. Jud vide* & Cyril. *Alex. in* Joh. *xiii.* Chryſoſt. *Homil.* 82. Epiphan. Eutym. Paul. Burg. *P. de Middl.* Scalig. Janſen. Maldon. & *al. mult.*

ſave that victuals might be dreſſed, and a holy convocation was to be called, as on other ſolemn feſtivals [g].

The feaſt of the tabernacles.

The feaſt of tabernacles.

THIS feſtival was ordained in memory of the forty years abode of the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs; for which reaſon it is called the feaſt of the tabernacles, or tents (A); not only becauſe they lived in tents, or booths, during all that time, but becauſe it was to be celebrated in ſuch kind of booths, made of the branches of ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſuch as willows, palms, olives, and the like (B), and erected in the moſt decent and convenient manner [h].

THIS

[g] Levit. xxiii. 15, 16, 18, 19. Exod. xxxiv. 22. Numb. xxviii. 26, & alib. [h] Levit. xxiii. 40, & ſeq. & alib.

(A) The original calls it חג הסכות, *Chagg haſſuhoth, the feaſt of the tents or booths*, from which the *Greeks* gave it the name of Σκηνοπηγια, *Skenopegia* (94). Though the text ſays it was appointed in memory of their abode in the wilderneſs; yet the *Chaldee* paraphraſt ſeems to have underſtood it, not of their living in tents, but in the open air, when he renders the word סוכות, *Succoth, Tents*, by ממלא ענניס, *the ſhade of the clouds*. It is likewiſe thought to have been inſtituted as a feaſt of thankſgiving for the concluſion of their harveſt and vintage, which did generally end there about this time, which anſwers to the beginning of our *October*.

(B) *Moſes* gives us a fuller deſcription of this feaſt (95) than of any other, probably becauſe it was not to be celebrated till after they were ſettled in the promiſed land; but as to the particular trees of which the booths were made, and the manner of their ſtructure, they are not ſo eaſily underſtood. The firſt wood that is mentioned there is עץ הדר, *Gbetz hadar, goodly tree*, or, as the original imports, *rich* or *magnificent wood*, which the *Jews* will have to be the *citron tree* (96). The others are the תמר, *Thamar*, or *Palm*; the third עץ עבת, which ſignifies *any thick* or *buſhy wood*; and the laſt, ערבי נחל, which certainly ſignifies *river* or *water willows*: But when *Nehemiah* (97) directs the people what branches to gather for the revival of this feaſt, he calls the firſt זית, *Zajith, the olive*, the ſecond עץ שמן, *Gbetz ſhemen, fat* or *oily wood*, which is applicable to any wood that abounds with turpentine, as the *pine, fir*, &c. the third is called הדס, *Hadas*, concerning which we know little but the name; and to

(94) LXX, & 1 Maccab. x. 21. 2 Maccab. i. 9, & *alib.* (95) Levit. *xxiii*. 40. (96) *Vide* Munſt. *in loc.* (97) Nehem. viii. 15.

theſe

THIS feaſt was the third grand one, and equal in ſolemnity to the other two, except in what related particularly to the paſſover. It began on the eve of the fifteenth day of the ſeventh month called *Tiſri*, which was the firſt of the civil year, and anſwered to part of our *September*, by which time all the harveſt being finiſhed and brought in, they returned their ſolemn thanks to GOD for it [1]. It was to laſt ſeven days, the firſt and laſt of which were kept with the greateſt ſtrictneſs (C), by repairing to the tabernacle, or temple, with

[1] Exod. xxiii. 16.

theſe three he adds *the palm* and *thick wood*, concerning which we are alſo in the dark, though the *Jews* think it was *the myrtle*, which they have uſed ever ſince; and ſeveral interpreters have tranſlated it ſo accordingly; in particular *Joſephus* (98), the *Syriac*, the generality of rabbies, and *Chriſtians*. However, the two firſt are differently named from thoſe in *Leviticus*, but whether they are the ſame trees or not is neither certain nor of great importance. It is rather more likely, by this difference of names in thoſe two places, that they were not ſo ſcrupulous about the exact choice of them, as about getting ſuch as were the moſt beautiful, fragrant, and convenient, that the land could afford, and eſpecially ſuch as would beſt keep their verdure during thoſe ſeven days. This, at leaſt, was the caſe of the wiſe *Caraites*, who, deſpiſing the niceties of the *Cabbaliſts*, thought they ſufficiently anſwered the deſign of the law-giver, if they lived in ſuch tents or booths as their foreſathers had done in the wilderneſs; whilſt the *Talmudiſts* and their commentators have rather obliterated it by their numberleſs additions to it †.

(C) The firſt day of this feſtival was uſhered in by a general proceſſion, in which the men carried branches of thoſe trees mentioned in the laſt note, ſome in one hand, and ſome in the other, waving them about to the four winds, and ſinging ſome pſalms or hymns proper for the ſolemnity, and crying *hoſanna!* which word doth properly ſignify, *ſave we beſeech thee*; from this word the laſt day of the feaſt, on which this ceremony of carrying palms round the altar was performed ſeven times, and with greater ſolemnity, in memory, as is pretended (99) of the taking of *Jericho* ***, was called *Hoſanna Rabbah*, or *the day of the great Hoſanna*.

The *Jews* add, that every *Iſraelite* who neglected to carry their branches any morning of the ſolemnity, and to go with them round

(98) *Antiq. lib. iii. c. 10. Talbin.* Leo jud. Jun. *in loc.* Buxtorf. *Rab. Heb. tom.* 1. *lib. iv. c.* 24, & *al. ſæpe.* † *Vide Maimon. Tract.* סוכה. *Arbab. Turim* Maimon. *tract.* יסודי תורה, & *alib.*
(99) Buxtorf. *ibid.* *** Hottinger. *Hiſt. Orient. lib.* 1. Manuel. *in calend.* & *al.*

the

with palms and other branches in their hands, by marching round the altar, and singing the praises of God; by sacrifices peculiar to the solemnity, over and above the usual ones, and by a cessation from all servile works, except cookery [k].

They were likewise obliged to dwell in those booths all the seven days, and to eat and drink and lie in them (D), unless lawfully hindered [l].

The

[k] Numb. xxix. 12, & alib. [l] Levit. xxiii. 42.

the altar of burnt-offering, was not to eat during all that day. The hundred and eighteenth psalm is likewise supposed to have been sung on, if not composed for, that festival, because there are not only several expressions in it that have an affinity to it, such as these: אנא יהוה הושיעה נא, אנא יהוה הצליחה נא *ana adonai hoshiah na, ana adonai hatzlichah na* (100); but also from the very analogy of the whole composure with the ceremonies of that feast; such as the praying more particularly for the coming of the Messiah, for the prosperity of the next year, the fetching of water from the pool of *Siloah*, and the like; but whether these and several other particulars, which they observed in it, were used during the standing of the first temple, or were afterwards introduced by *Esdras* and others of their great synagogue in process of time, is too uncertain to be dwelt longer upon. As for the ceremony of fetching water from *Siloah*'s pool, it seems to be of much later date, and to have been introduced but a little before our Saviour's time, though some of the *Jews* attribute the institution of it to the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* (1). Our Saviour is thought to have alluded to this, when he cried in the temple, on the last day of this feast, *If any man thirst let him come unto me*, &c. (2).

(D) The *Jews* except out of this number the sick and their nurses, and those who could not bear either the dampness of the earth, or the fragrancy of the boughs. They add, that as these booths were not to be covered with any thing but branches, and these not to be set up so thick but that they might see the stars through them; they were allowed to retire into their own houses whenever it rained through them (3). It is not at all unlikely, that from these ceremonies of carrying branches in their hands, &c. *Pinnarah* might take it in his head to affirm, that the *Jews* cele-

(100) *Ps* cxviii. 25. (1) *Vide* Cun *ubi sup.* Calm. *sub voce Pentecost.* Meyer, *Fest. Heb.* Goddwin's *Mos. & Har. & al. Vide* & Mahn. *sub tit.* סוכה, & Woot & *al. Comment. in cap* (2) *John* vii. 37, 38. (3) *Vide* Munst. *in Levit. xxiii. Præc. affi. & neg. & auct. sup. citat.*

brated

THE ſacrifices peculiar to this feaſt were, on the firſt day, thirteen bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of a year old, all without blemiſh; which were offered up in a burnt-offering, with their uſual meat and drink-offerings, conſiſting of a certain quantity of flour mingled with oil, and ſome wine.

To brated this feaſt to *Bacchus*, and that they entered into their temples with branches of the vine and thyrſe in their hands, though he knew not what was done in the inſide of them (4). It is true, that *Joſephus*, ſpeaking of this feaſt, and of the noſegay or bunch of greens which the *Jews* wore in it (5), calls it εἰρεσιώνη, which among the *Greeks* ſignified *a bunch of olive tied up with wool*, on which did hang great variety of fruit. This noſegay uſed to be carried by a child, and laid at the gate of the temple of *Apollo* (6). But our author here tells us, that the *Jewiſh* one was made up of myrtle, willow, and palm, on which hung little ſprouts of peach, or, as others render it, young citrons. However that be, *Spencer* has from thence fancied, that it was inſtituted by *Moſes* in imitation of the *Heathen*, who about that time uſed to celebrate ſome feaſts to their gods, with the ſame mirth and ſolemnity (7); but *Moſes* gives us a quite different reaſon, namely, that their poſterity might know, that God had made the *Iſraelites* to dwell in booths at their coming out of *Egypt* (8), and elſewhere, that they departed from *Rameſes* and encamped at *Succoth* (9), ſo called from the booths which they reared up there, the place abounding with proper materials for them.

Walton adds another reaſon to this of *Moſes*, namely, that it was on the tenth day of the month *Tizri* that *Moſes* came down the ſecond time from the mount, and brought them the joyful news that God was appeaſed for the ſin of the golden Calf, and that he had ordered the tabernacle of the congregation to be reared up (which that idolatrous defection had obſtructed for a time), in token that he did now no longer diſdain to be among them, ſeeing he vouchſafed to dwell with them in the tabernacle (10); and as he obſerves there, that this happened ſix months after the exod, it doth account for that feaſt being inſtituted in that month, rather than in the firſt, in which the people began to live in booths or tents. *Maimon* gives indeed another reaſon for it, namely, that that ſeaſon was fitter to dwell in booths, than the other (11); but he forgets, that if there be any difference between the months *Ni-*

(4) *Sympoſiac. probl.* v (5) *Ant lib. iii. c.* 10. (6) *Vide Gloſſ. in voc.* (7) *De Leg. rit. Jud lib* 1. *c.* 6. & *lib. iii. c.* 8. (8) *Levit. xxiii.* 43 (9) *Exod. xii.* 37. *See Vol II. p* 408, & 525. (10) *Harmon. Evang ad Luc iii.* 21. *ap.* Meyer. *de Temp. Sacr. cap.* 16. § 3. (11) *More Nevoch. lib. iii. c.* 43. מהריץ, *de Rit. Jud. per tot. ann. Vide* Meyer *ubi ſup.* § 4.

ſan

To these was added likewise a kid, for a sin-offering, which was offered up in the name of the whole people of *Israel*; besides the usual morning and evening sacrifices, which were never to be intermitted, and those which any one might offer out of devotion. On the second day they offered twelve bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs; with their concomitant offerings of flour and wine, and a kid, as on the first day; and thus on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh, they offered the same sacrifices, with this difference only, that they lessened every day one bullock, so that on this last day they sacrificed but seven (E); as for the other offerings, they continued the

sen and *Tizri*, that is, between *March* and *April*, and *September* and *October*, the former seems to have the preference. And therefore the learned *R. Jacob Levita* doth judiciously enough observe, that God did choose the latter for the celebration of that feast, because that was the time in which the cold mornings, winds, and rains, obliged people to quit such kind of dwellings, who had lived in them all the summer, for the sake of coolness; whereas, had he appointed it in *Nisan*, the fifteenth of which answers to about the beginning of our *April*, there would have been nothing singular enough to have put them in mind of the occasion of it, seeing that was the season in which people left their houses for such airy booths (12). However, as this festival was likewise instituted as a thanksgiving for the conclusion of their harvest and vintage; upon which account it was also called חג לולב, *Chagg lulabb*, *the feast of branches*. and חג תאסף, *the feast of gathering* †; this is reason sufficient for its being appointed in that month, in which the whole was generally finished. Several interpreters, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, have thought that the psalms which are intit ed על הגתית, *Ghal Hagittith*, which are the 8th, 81st, and 84th, were composed for this solemnity, because the word *Gittith* signifies *a wine-press* (13). But *Leo de Modena* (14) tells us, that the psalms which begin with הללויה, *Hallelujah*, that is, the 111th, 112th, 113th, &c. to the 118th, were the proper ones to be sung on that day. Those who are curious to know how the *Jews* do observe this feast since their dispersion, may find a full account of it in the same author and place.

(E) The reason which the *Jews* give for lessening one bullock every day is, that the whole number of them offered in those seven days amounted to seventy, which they say is the number of the nations for whom these sacrifices were offered, that they might dwindle by little and little, till they were all brought under the

(12) מיחדיל, *de Fest. Jud. p tot. ann* † *Vide* Abarb. *in Levit.* 23. Meyer, & *al.* (13) *Vide* Theoph. *in John vii.* (14) *Cerem. Jud part. ii. c. 7.*

sceptre

the ſame throughout. On the eighth or laſt day, which was the moſt ſolemn of all, and on which they were to hold a ſolemn aſſembly, and to abſtain from all ſervile work, they offered but one bullock, one ram, and ſeven lambs, beſides the goat for a ſin-offering, and the uſual and voluntary ſacrifices *; which laſt did riſe and fall, according as their harveſt had been more or leſs plentiful. Laſtly, on this day the firſt fruits of thoſe things, which were of later growth, were brought up and offered to GOD, and theſe came ſometimes in ſuch numbers, that they were forced to continue the feaſt one day longer [m].

The Feaſt of the trumpets and new moons.

WE have already taken notice, that the month *Tizri* was the firſt of the civil, as that of *Abib* or *Niſan* was of the ſacred year; this feaſt was appointed to be kept on the firſt and ſecond day of that month. It was to be uſhered in by the ſound of trumpets, to be kept holy, *The feaſt of trumpets.*

* Ibid. ver. 14. ad fin. [m] Vide SIGONIUS, BERTRAND, CUNÆUS, MEYER, GOODWIN, & al.

ſceptre of the Meſſiah, who is emphatically called *the deſire of all nations* (15). Thoſe who have called this eighth day the *Hoſanna-rabbah* (16), are certainly contradicted by all the *Jews*, who affirm that it was the ſeventh day (17); as for this eighth day, on which there was to be, what moſt interpreters render as we do, a ſolemn aſſembly; the *Hebrew* word עצרת, *Ghetzereth*, ſignifies *a retention*, or, as our margin hath it (18), *reſtraint*, for which reaſon they affirm, that, after the ſeventh day was over, and ſo conſequently the feſtival, the people uſed to ſtay, or to be detained one day longer (19). On this day it is, that the *Jews* end the laſt paraſha or ſection of the pentateuch, and, immediately after, begin the firſt, that they may not ſeem to be better pleaſed with having ended the one, than with beginning the other (20), and for this reaſon it is called חג שמחת תורה, *the feaſt of joy of the law* (21).

(15) *Haggai ii. 7. Vide* Hoſpin. *Orig. Feſt. in loc.* Goodwin's *Moſ. & Aar. lib iii. c.* 6. § 8. (16) Goodwin, *ubi ſup.* Calm. *in voc. Tabernacle* (17) *Vide Viſion. ubi ſup. Shulchan, Haruch, Arbah, Thurim, & al.* (18) *Levit xxiii.* 36. (19) *Vide* Munſt. *ibid.* Meyer, *de Feſt. c. xvi.* § 15. (20) Buxtorf *in Abbreviat. & Synag. Jud. c.* 28. *Vide &* Abarb. *in Deut.* 31. (21) ר' אליעזר, *Exod. xxiii.* 16. *& xxxiv.* 22.

free

free from all ſervile work, and to be diſtinguiſhed from other new moons by particular ſacrifices [n].

As the ſcripture doth no where give the reaſon of this feſtival, authors are much divided about it; the *Jews* in general believe, it was inſtituted in memory of the creation, which happened on that month (F) †, though ſome rabbies think, that is was alſo in memory of *Iſaac*'s deliverance, and of the ram that was caught by the horns, and ſubſtituted for him [o]. Some of the fathers think, it was in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai* [p], at which time the trumpet and thunder were heard: others, laſtly, from ſome of the ceremonies obſerved by the *Jews* by way of preparation for, and from ſome of their notions about, this feſtival (G), have fancied,

[n] Levit. xxiii. 24. Num. xxix. 1, & ſeq. † See Vol. I. p. 100. [o] Vide R. SAL. FAG. MUNST. & al. in Levit. xxiii. [p] BASIL. in Pſ. lxxxi. THEODORET. Qu. 32. in Levit.

(F) The *Gemarra* doth poſitively affirm, that בחשרי ובראֹ העולם, *the world was created in the month of Tizri*, for which reaſon it is thought, that this feaſt was ordained to prevent the old or civil year being obliterated by the ſacred, and obſerves, that that of the tabernacles was to be kept בתקפת השנה, *at the revolution* or *return*, or, as our verſion renders it, though not ſo properly, *at the end of the year* †. And the miſhnah adds, that the firſt day of this month is the head of the year, from which the ſeventh year, the jubilee, &c. are to be computed (22).

(G) The antient *Jews* had a notion, that God paſſed a kind of judgment upon men at this time, for the good or bad deeds of the foregoing year, according to which he ordered his bleſſings and puniſhments for the next (23). The miſhnah expreſly ſays —— that at the beginning of the year they paſs before him like ſheep, according to the ſaying of the pſalmiſt (24), *from the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth, he faſhioneth their hearts alike, he conſidereth* [or takes notice of] *all their works*. For this reaſon they thought that nothing could be more proper to awaken men from their ſleep of ſin than the ſound of the trumpets, according to that of the prophet *Joel*, (25), *blow the trumpet in* Sion, *ſanctify a faſt*, &c. Accordingly MAIMON obſerves from the *Megillah-tabanith*, that the trumpets, which were more ſolemnly blown on faſt-days, were proper to excite men to prepare themſelves during the ten days, that were between this feaſt and

† *Vide* Maim. *Kidduſh hakodeſh*, c. 9. (22) *Tract.* ראש שנה cap 1. *Vide & Levit. xxv.* 3, 5, 6. (23) *Ubi ſup.* (24) *Pſ. xxxiii.* 14, 15. *Vide* Hotting. & Wootton, *in Miſhn.* (25) *Ch. ii. paſſ.*

the

cied, that it was to put mankind in mind of the general reſurrection, which is to be uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpet [q]; but the moſt probable reaſon for this feaſt, and for proclaiming the entrance of the civil year by the ſound of trumpets, ſeems to be in order to render it more obſervable, ſeeing all their contracts, mortgages, bargains, and ſuch like, as well as their ſabbatic years and jubilees, were to be regulated by it [r]; for which reaſon the trumpets ceaſed not to ſound every where from ſun riſing to ſun ſetting *.

[q] Vide Goodw. ubi ſup. § 6. [r] Idem ibid. § 5. * Vide SHINDLER, ſub voc. שופר.

the next faſting day, or day of expiation, for the work of repentance (26). Remarkable is the ſpeech which a learned *Jewiſh* rabbi has tranſmitted to us (27), which then uſed to accompany the ſound of the trumpets. *Awake, awake from your ſleep, awake, ye that deal in vanity, for deadly is the ſleep that holdeth you. Conſider ſeriouſly in your hearts who it is that ye are going to appear before to give an account*, &c The apoſtle ſeems to allude to this in his epiſtle to the *Epheſians* (28).

Hitherto there is nothing either improbable or abſurd; but that is more than we can ſay of the additions which have been ſince made to the *Talmud*; we ſhall only inſtance in two or three of them: they believe, that God keeps three books, one of the good, a ſecond of the bad, and a third of thoſe that are neither one nor the other. The firſt is the book of life, the ſecond that of death, and thoſe that are in the third are to be transferred either to the firſt or ſecond, on the next expiation day, according as they grow better or worſe. Thoſe two books have two kinds of pages, the one for this life, the other for the next, and it is on this day that they think their names are written for that year. Upon this account they take particular care, whatever they do the reſt of the year, to be well employed about this time. Some appear at the ſynagogue in white, others in their ſhrouds, in token of repentance; others will plunge themſelves gradually into the water, confeſſing their ſins and ſmiting their breaſts as they ſink lower and lower, till they are over head and ears in it; and laſtly, others will give themſelves 49 laſhes on their bare backs, or procure ſomebody to do it for them, and after theſe mortifications and ſuitable prayers, &c. they wiſh one another the happineſs of being written down for a good year (29).

(26) *More Nevoch. part iii. ch.* 43. (27) ר' שם טוב, *Comm. in Maim. in loc.* (28) *Ch. v.* 14. *Vide* Goodw. *ubi ſup.* § 6. (29) *Vide* Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* Hoſpin, Goodwin, Leo de Modena, & *al.*

THE proper ſacrifices for this ſolemnity were a bullock, two rams, and ſeven lambs, offered up in a ſolemn burnt-offering, with the uſual addition of flour and wine, in the name of the whole nation, beſides the kid for a ſin-offering, and the daily and monthly ſacrifices [r].

The New Moons.

New moons THE *Iſraelites* were commanded to obſerve the firſt day of every month or moon, and to offer, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs, with the uſual quantity of flour, wine, and oil [t]. The moſt ſolemn of all the twelve was that of the month *Tizri*, which we ſpoke of laſt, and which was kept holy upon a particular account. The reſt had nothing to diſtinguiſh them from common days, except the ſacrifices above-mentioned, which were accompanied with the ſound of the trumpets (H); making better chear, and perhaps

[r] Num. xxix. 3, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. xxviii. 11, 12, &c.

(H) The fixing the time of the new moon, for want of aſtronomical tables, was done in this manner. The firſt men that obſerved, or thought they did obſerve the new moon, were to repair with all ſpeed to the grand council, and to give notice of it. An enquiry was then made, 1ſt, whether the perſons were credible witneſſes, and ſecondly, whether their report agreed with ſuch computations as they were then able to make; in which caſe the preſident proclaimed the new moon by ſaying מקדש, *Mekudaſh*, *it is conſecrated*, which word was twice repeated aloud by the people; after which it was ordered to be proclaimed every where by the ſound of the trumpet, or by other ways according to the times and places (30).

Some authors have denied that theſe new moons were proclaimed by the trumpet (31), and think, that only the firſt in their civil year was ſo; whereas the contrary is plain from the expreſs command of *Moſes* (32), to blow the trumpet in the beginning of their months; but whether the diſtinction which the *Jews* make between the trumpets which the text calls חצוצרות *Chatzotzeroth*, and thoſe that are called שופר, *Shoper*, and between the ſound that is called תרועה *Terugbah*; and that which is called קול, *Col*, *voice*, and תקע, *Tekagh*, be ſo well founded as they pretend, is hardly worth enquiring. They affirm however, that theſe two inſtruments differed in length, ſhape, and ſound, and that the one,

(30) *Vide* Hottinger, *in* Goodw. *ubi ſup.* § 7. *ſub not.* 5. (31) Goodw. *ubi ſup.* § 4. (32) *Num.* x. 10.

which

perhaps uſing ſome kind of devotion or aſſemblies peculiar to thoſe days. We find nothing like it indeed enjoined by *Moſes*, but one may gather the former from *David*'s excuſe for abſenting himſelf from *Saul*'s table on the firſt day of the month, and *Saul*'s reſenting it [u], and the latter from what the *Shunammite*'s huſband ſaid to diſſuade her from going to the prophet *Eliſha*, that it was *neither new moon nor ſabbath* [w].

HOWÉVER, though in all other reſpects this day was like a common day, they were very ſcrupulous in the obſerving of it; and, as the ſpace of the moon's entering and coming out of the partile conjunction of the ſun, belongs one half to the old, and the other to the new month, and they had no ſure way of computing it with any exactneſs or certainty, they obſerved two days, namely, the laſt day of the old, and the firſt day of the new, for greater ſecurity. That this cuſtom began very early, ſeems plainly intimated in the inſtance we have given of *Saul*, wherein it is ſaid, that he excuſed *David* for his abſence on the firſt day, but reſented it on the ſecond.

THIS irregularity of the moon obliged them likewiſe to make ſome tranſpoſitions of the days of the month, in order to fix the beginning of that of *Tizri*; and of the reſt of the months according to that (I). But how early theſe tranſpoſitions began

[u] 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 27. [w] 2 Kings iv. 23.

which was the nobler of the two, was founded on the firſt day of the new year, and the other on the firſt day of the month (33).

(I) The reaſon of this tranſpoſition was threefold, monthly, political, and mixt (34); the monthly was, leſt they ſhould celebrate the new moon before the old one was expired. The political was leſt two ſabbaths or days of reſt ſhould follow one another; becauſe, as it was forbid to dreſs victuals, bury their dead, &c. on ſuch days, they thought it a grievance to live two days upon cold meat, and to keep the dead bodies ſo long above ground. The mixed tranſpoſition is that which is done upon an account that is partly menſtrual and partly political. Theſe diſtinctions are in many reſpects very judicious and neceſſary, but they have branched them out at ſuch a rate, and with ſub-diſtinctions, and nice rules for the right uſe of them, that we chooſe to refer the readers that are curious about ſuch things, to thoſe authors mentioned above.

We ſhall only add with reſpect to theſe *Neomeniæ*, that our *Spencer* has a long diſſertation to prove, that the *Heathen* did likewiſe

(33) *Vide* Hotting. *ubi ſup. ſub note* 3. *lib. ii.* (34) Scalig. *ubi ſup.*

began is what cannot eaſily be conjectured. All that we know, is, that *Scaliger* has taken an infinite deal of pains to find out and rectify them, and that they have ſince been of great uſe in many caſes, as may be ſeen by the book itſelf, and by the authors quoted in the margin [x].

THESE are all the feaſt-days that were appointed by the *Moſaic* law, the *Jews* added in proceſs of time ſeveral others in memory of ſome great mercies, ſuch as that of *Purim* or *Lots*, in memory of their deliverance from *Haman's* cruelty [y], The dedication of the temple, and many more, which we ſhall not need mention here, becauſe they are below our epocha. All that needs be added to the foregoing is, that there was a command, that if any part remained unconſumed of the ſacrifices offered on thoſe ſolemnities, after the firſt and ſecond day, or even before, if the fleſh of them had contracted any filth, fly-blow, or ill ſmell, it was not to be eaten, but burned to aſhes [z].

Laws concerning the ſabbatic and jubilee years.

THE ſabbatic, or ſeventh year, and the jubilee, which happened once in ſeven times ſeven years, are alſo to be looked upon as ſolemn times. They were appointed by God, and deſigned for reſt and rejoicing; and as they did bear a kind of analogy, or rather were a kind of conſequence of the ſabbath, or ſeventh day, they may upon that account be alſo reckoned among their ſolemn feſtivals.

THE *Moſaic* law diſtinguiſhes four ſorts of years: 1. The civil, according to which all political matters were regulated,

[x] De emendat. temp. HOSPIN. Orig. Feſt. BUXT. GOODW. MEY. USSER, & MUNSTER, & al. mult. [y] Esther c. ix. ver. 20, & ſeq. [z] Levit. vii. 15, & ſeq. Præc. aff. 207, 208.

obſerve them in honour of the moon (35); but what he would inſinuate from it, that the *Jewiſh* ones were appointed in imitation of the others, is what we think a wild conjecture; neither do we ſee any reaſon for ſuppoſing, that either ſide did borrow this rite from the other: the worſhip of the moon being common to almoſt all the *Heathen*, it was natural enough for them to pay her ſome particular honour at her firſt appearance, without knowing any thing of the *Jewiſh* laws; and as for the other ſide of the ſuppoſition, it is what we have already oppoſed upon other heads, and ſhall avoid repeating here [†].

(35) *De leg. rit. lib. iii. c* 1. *differt.* 4. [†] *See Vol. II. p.* 367, *note* (R), 556, *note* (Y), & 559, *note* (Z).

conſiſting

conſiſting of twelve ſolar, and afterwards of lunar, months (K), beginning at the month *Tizri*, or *September*, as we ſaid above. 2. The ſacred, which began at the month *Nijan*, or *March*, which was the ſeventh of the civil year, and regulated the order of all their religious ceremonies; ſo that the paſſover, which happened in the middle of that month, was, as it were, the mother of all the other feſtivals. 3. The ſabbatic, or ſeventh year; and 4. The jubilee or fiftieth year, which was kept at the end of ſeven weeks of years. We have already ſaid as much as is neceſſary concering the two firſt.

THE

(K) It is plain by the calculation which *Moſes* gives us of the days of the flood (36), and elſewhere, that the year conſiſted of 365 days, and conſequently of 12 ſolar months, the laſt of which conſiſted of 35 days; and it is more than probable, that, having been brought up in *Egypt*, he had learned that way of reckoning from them, becauſe they are generally allowed to be the firſt inventers of it, as we have ſeen in their hiſtory *. Beſides that it muſt have been the moſt known and eaſy method to the *Iſraelites*, who had been accuſtomed to it during their long abode there. *Scaliger* (37), and others after him have indeed ſuppoſed, that they had an intercalary month once in ſix ſcore years, but it is plain, that the ſcripture hints nothing like ſuch an intercalation, or year of 13 months; tho' it is not eaſy to gueſs what they did with the ſix additional hours of the *Egyptians* to the 365 days, without ſome ſuch ſuppoſition. However, *Moſes*, by the expreſs command of God (38), did afterwards compute the year by moons, for that is the meaning of the word חודש, *Chodeſh*, from חדש, *to renew*, though our *Engliſh* verſion renders it *month*; and theſe anſwered partly to each of our months, and parly to the next.

The ſame authors have imagined, that the *Iſraelites* had no names for their months before the captivity (39), becauſe they are often diſtinguiſhed only by their numbers, as firſt, ſecond, *&c.* yet it is certain, we find ſome of them called by particular names long before; thus we have ſeen, that the firſt month of the ſacred year was originally called אביב, *Abib*. We find likewiſe that of זיו, *Ziv* (40), אתנים, *Ethanim* 41), and בול, *Bull* (42); from which it is not improbable, that the others might likewiſe have their names, though they are not recorded, and are oftner mentioned by their numbers. As for the etymology of thoſe names, as well as of thoſe which they uſed after the captivity, about which the learned have puzzled their brains more than the thing

(36) *Gen. vii. & viii. paſſ.* * *See Vol. I p.* 472. (37) *De emendat. temp. lib. iii.* (38) *Exod. xii.* 2. (39) *Vide* Hotting. *in* Goodw. *lib. iii. c.* 1. § 13. *note* 3. (40) 1 *Kings vi.* 1. (41) *Ibid. c. viii.* 2. (42) *Ibid. vi.* 38.

deſerves,

Laws concerning the seventh years.

THE ſabbatic year was to be kept every ſeventh year; the obſervation of it conſiſted chiefly in the five following articles:

1. A total ceſſation from all manner of agriculture [a].

2. In leaving all the product of their ground to the poor, the orphan, and the ſtranger [b].

3. In the releaſe of all *Hebrew* ſlaves, unleſs they voluntarily renounced their proffered liberty, and choſe to abide by their old maſters; in which caſe they were to be brought before the judges, and to have their ears bored in their preſence, in token that they freely embraced a perpetual ſervitude, or at leaſt till the year of jubilee [c].

4. In the remiſſion of all debts from one *Iſraelite* to another; but this did not extend to ſtrangers, who were excluded that benefit [d].

5. It was to begin and end on the month *Tizri*, or *September*, that ſo there might be ſufficient time for gathering all the fruits of the earth of that year, and for ſowing it againſt the next year, that ſo the land might not lie fallow two years together [e] (L).

SOME

[a] Levit. xxv. 4. [b] Ibid. ver. 6. [c] Exod. xxi. 2, & ſeq. & alib. [d] Deut. xv. 1, & ſeq. [e] Levit. xxv. 9.

deſerves, we think them too uncertain to trouble our readers with it, and ſhall content ourſelves with ſubjoining a liſt of the names themſelves, which is as follows:

		Days.		
1	*Tiſri*	30		*September*
2	*Marcheſhvan*	29		*October*
3	*Chaſleu*	30		*November*
4	*Thebet*	29	Anſwers to our	*December*
5	*Sebat*	30		*January*
6	*Adar*	29		*February*
7	*Niſan*	30		*March*
8	*Yiar*	29		*April*
9	*Sivan*	30		*May*
10	*Thammuz*	29		*June*
11	*Abib*	30		*July*
12	*Elul*	29		*Auguſt.*

To this liſt they added, in proceſs of time, the intercalary month, which they called ואדר, *Veadar*, that is, *and*, or, *the ſecond*, *Adar*, as that was the laſt of the ſacred year.

(L) This year is by *Moſes* called by ſeveral names, as שנה השבעית, *Shanah haſhbiʒbith*, *the ſeventh year*, שבת הארץ, *Sabbath*

SOME other laws we find relating to this year, ſuch as that thoſe ſervants, who were releaſed in it, ſhould not go away empty, but that a compenſation ſhould be made to them for their ſervice [f]; that they ſhould not withdraw any needful aſſiſtance from their poor brethren, by reaſon of the nearneſs

[f] Deut. xv. 13, & ſeq.

Sabbath baaretz, the ſabbath, or *reſt of the earth*; שמטה ליהוה, *Shemitah Ladonai, the releaſe of the Lord*, and the like. The time of the year in which it was to begin is no where fixed by *Moſes*, but is eaſily gathered from that of the jubilee, which was to begin on the 10th of the 7th month (43), and from the reaſon of the thing given under that article, as well as from the generality of *Jewiſh* authors. Neither is it agreed, how ſoon this ſabbatic year was obſerved after their entrance into *Canaan*, concerning which it would be endleſs to mention all the different conjectures of the learned, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. The reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the authors quoted in the margin (44); all that we dare advance on the ſubject is, that if any opinion appears to us more probable than another, it is that of the learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, who fixes it on the ſeventh year after the manna ceaſed, at which time they began to ſow and till the ground ‡. *Cunæus* ſpeaks ſtill more particularly to the ſame effect; his words run thus (45): *there is no neceſſity for beginning the epoch of the ſeven years at the diviſion of the land of* Canaan, *but rather at the death of* Moſes, *which was the 41ſt year after the exod, and then the firſt ſabbatic year will be on the 7th after the paſſage of* Jordan; *ſo that after having been taken up ſix years in the conqueſt and dividing of the land, the ſeventh proved in all reſpects a year of reſt, ſeeing they reſted from their conqueſts, and peaceably enjoyed the fruit of them, and of the conquered land.*

There is likewiſe no ſmall diſpute, whether the releaſe of debts, and of ſlaves was to take place at the beginning or end of the ſabbatic year. The original orders it to be done מקץ שבע שנים, *at*, or *from the end of ſeven years*; from which *Maimon* would infer, that it was not to take place till the ſeventh year was expired; but though there is ſome difference between ſaying at the end of ſeven years, and at the end of the ſeventh year, yet is it generally believed to have taken place at the beginning of it, becauſe the week of years was then complete.

(43) *Levit. xxv.* 9. (44) *Gemar. Kidduſh. Gemar. Hieroſ. in loc. Sedar. Holam.* Maimon. *de Shemitah & Yobel. paſſ.* Abarb. *in Joſh xiv.* 12, *& alib.* R. Dav. Gantz. *in Zemach. & al.* Scaliger. *Annotat. in Chronic.* Euſeb. *& alib.* Goodw. *Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii. c* 9. Munſt. *Calend.* Meyer. *de Temp Sacr. cap.* 17. Cun. Calm. *et al.* ‡ *Sub A. M.* 2554. (45) *Vide* Balnag. *Rep. Heb. tom. ii. c.* 8.

nearneſs of the ſeventh year [g] ; with ſome others relating to the opening of their fields, orchards, and vineyards to all comers, and the like (M). Among theſe, was that remarkable

[g] Ibid. ver. 7, & ſeq.

(M) It may be perhaps asked, what they lived upon during that year, if they muſt relinquiſh the product of all their lands to the poor? But it muſt be remembered, that they were allowed to take as much out of it as was ſufficient for themſelves and their families (46). However, as ſome of them made a ſcruple to touch even any of it we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they made what proviſion they could againſt that time of ſuch things as could be eaſily preſerved, ſuch as corn, wine, oil, olives, raiſins, figs, dates, pulſe, and the like; and as to herbs, roots, fruits, and all kind of סְפִיחַ, or *things of ſpontaneous growth*, they might gather them in their own or any other ground. Tho' even this, ſome of their rigid ſcribes pronounce unlawful, not ſo much becauſe the law expreſly forbids it, as for fear of tranſgreſſing by too great a liberty (47). But the misfortune is, that before the *Babyloniſh* captivity they were ſo far from being ſuch ſcrupulous obſervers of theſe laws, that their prophets were continually upbraiding them with the univerſal breach of them, and in particular, for defrauding and oppreſſing the poor in this point; but after they had been chaſtiſed for their incorrigible diſobedience, they ran into the contrary extreme, and this produced that vaſt number of gloſſes and ordinances, which we find in their *Talmud* and rabbinical writings, and which grew up to ſuch a height of ſuperſtition, that it almoſt obliterated the main end and deſign of the law. Tho' it muſt alſo be owned, that they were not alike ſtrict, and that ſome of their head doctors and lawyers took as much pains to find out pretences for eluding the law, as others did to have it ſcrupulouſly obſerved. We ſhall give but one inſtance, which relates to the expreſs command of remitting all debts on this and the jubilee year, where, beſides their excepting ſeveral articles, ſuch as what we may properly call a tavern ſcore, or what a man owes to a victualler; debts for which either pledge or bond has been given, and the like, the famous *Hillel*, a man in the higheſt repute amonſt them, next to the inſpired writers, obſerving that the rich forbore to lend to the poor, by reaſon of the approaching year of releaſe, made an ordinance, that upon a man's putting a caveat in the judges court to this effect: *This I deliver to you the judges of this place*, ſuch a one and ſuch a one, *to the end, that whatever money I lend, I may challenge it whenever I pleaſe*, he ſhould be free from this law of remiſſion (48). This plainly ſhews, that

(46) *Levit. xxv.* 6. (47) *Vide* Ben Maim. *ubi ſup. Tract.* שְׁבִיעִית, *cap vi.* (48) *Ibid. c. x. & ſeq. Vide* Hotting. *in* Goodw. *ubi ſup. not.* 6. Munſt. Jun. Mey. & *al.*

markable one, which we have taken notice of in another place, of reading the law before all the people on the day of pentecoſt. For as they were to abſtain from all works of huſbandry, there is no doubt but there was a greater concourſe to hear it, than could have been at any other intermediate year.

THE reaſons and excellence of theſe laws, as well as thoſe that relate to the jubilee, are obvious to every one, being extremely proper to breed up a faithleſs and ſtubborn nation in a conſtant dependence upon, and ſubjection to, the divine providence, and to inſpire them with ſentiments of mercy and beneficence towards their poor brethren, ſervants, ſlaves, and ſtrangers, by reminding them of their *Egyptian* ſlavery, which is aſſigned as one of the reaſons of this inſtitution [h]; to which we may add another, namely the great advantage which the land received by being left fallow every ſeventh year. However, the generality of the *Jews*, and a great number of *Chriſtians*, both antient and modern, have looked upon the main deſign of theſe inſtitutions to be typical of the millenium, or thouſand years reſt; for as the pentateuch conſecrates the ſeventh day, the ſeventh year, and the ſeven times ſeventh year to reſt, they conclude, that the world will laſt ſix thouſand years in the ſtate we ſee it in; or as *R. Elias* in the *Talmud* expreſſes it, two thouſand years without the law, two thouſand under the law, and two thouſand under the Meſſiah [i]; after which comes the grand ſabbath of one thouſand years; but this is too nice a point for us, and which we willingly refer to the divines; only we beg leave to obſerve, from a modeſt hint of the learned Mr. *Mede* [k], that as long as we perſiſt in denying the ſecond appearance of *Chriſt* upon earth, in as glorious a manner as his firſt was obſcure, we ſhall hardly be able to convince *Jews* that he is the true promiſed Meſſiah; becauſe we can give no tolerable reaſon, why the prophecies concerning his humiliation and ſufferings ſhould be underſtood in a literal, and thoſe of his exaltation and glorious reign in a ſpiritual ſenſe. Whereas were the doctrine of the *Millenium*, which is far from being anti-

[h] Ibid. ver. 15. [i] Tract. Sanhedr. § Helec. Vide HOSPIN. GOODW. MEY. MUNST. & al. [k] Clav. Apocalypt. ad fin.

the command was deſigned to extend to all debts, elſe there would have been no occaſion for their refuſing their aſſiſtance to the poor upon that account, much leſs for God's forbidding it ſo expreſly as he did (49).

(49) *Deut.* xv. 9.

evangelical, in any but a *Jewiſh* and carnal ſenſe, generally received, it would effectually anſwer one of their ſtrongeſt objections, without caſting the leaſt reflection on the *Chriſtian* religion, whilſt the *Jews* were left at their liberty to take it in as groſs, and we in as ſpiritual and refined a ſenſe, as we ſaw fit (N).

(N(We do not pretend to take upon us to ſhew how far this doctrine can be proved from the ſcriptures of the *Old* and *New Teſt.* eſpecially from the prophecies of *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and of the *Revelations*. The reader may ſee that ſubject copiouſly treated by Mr. *Mede* above-mentioned, among many others. But with reſpect to the *Jews* expectation of a glorious Meſſiah, it is ſo ſtrongly rivetted in them, that they have even gone ſo far as to acknowledge two Meſſiahs; namely, one ſuffering and obſcure, deſpiſed and perſecuted, whom they believed to have appeared at the time foretold by the prophets; and the other a glorious one, of the ſeed of *David*, whoſe kingdom is to reach unto the end of the world, and is ſtill expected by them; tho' they own themſelves altogether in the dark concerning the time of his coming. But this notion of a twofold Meſſiah is plainly oppoſite to that prophecy of *Iſaiah*, which appropriates both thoſe characters to one and the ſame perſon (50)' However, as to this firſt character, it is plain, the antient *Jews* were not fond of publiſhing it, whatever notion they might have of it. This is plain from the *Septuagint*'s paraphraſe of that verſe of the pſalmiſt (51), in which the Meſſiah is repreſented as voluntarily taking upon him the form of a ſervant, by an expreſſion alluding to the law of boring thoſe ſervants ears that refuſed to be releaſed, ſpoken of under this article. The words in the original are אזנים כרית לי, *Oznaim carita li, mine ears haſt thou bored*; theſe interpreters fearing, in all probability, leſt ſuch a ſervile mark ſhould be thought too derogatory to his character, have rendered it σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, *a body haſt thou prepared me*, or *adapted for me*, which in the main comes near to the ſame *purpoſe*, and only ſoftens very much in the expreſſion; the firſt implying by the boring of the ears, that *Chriſt* freely ſubmitted himſelf to become God's perpetual ſervant, and the other, that God had given him a body fit for the ſervice he had voluntarily undertaken at his coming into the world. This is therefore the reaſon of the difference between the words in the original, and in the quotation from it by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* (52), and is a further confirmation of the writers of the *New Teſtament* making uſe of the *Septuagint* verſion; and this will, we hope, apologize for this digreſſion, if it may be deemed ſuch.

(50) *Iſai. liii & alib. Vid.* R. Mart. *Pug. Fid.* Dupleſs. *Avertiſſ. au. Juifs.* Grot. *de Verit.* Bartoloc. *Bibliot. Rabbinic.* Munſt. Calm. *& al mult.* (51) *Pſ. xl, 6. comp. with ver.* 8, *& ſeq.* (52) *Hebr. x* 5.

Laws

Laws relating to the Jubilee.

THIS ſolemnity is the laſt, and moſt conſiderable, that God enjoined to the *Iſraelites*. It was to be celebrated every fiftieth year [l], and had this advantage over that of the ſeventh, that it releaſed all ſlaves that had refuſed their liberty; annihilated all debts, and reſtored to every man all his lands, houſes, wife, children, and poſſeſſions, however alienated; and every *Hebrew* ſervant or ſlave to his own tribe and family, liberty and property, how and upon what account ſoever he had been deprived of them [m], during thoſe fifty years: for this reaſon it is, that we think after many commentators, that it was called *Jubilee*, or *Yobel*, becauſe it reſtored every thing to its priſtine ſtate (O). However it muſt be obſerved, that this privilege extended no farther than to the original *Iſraelites*, or to thoſe who had been incorporated into their religion and common-wealth by circumciſion; theſe indeed might claim the benefit of it, tho' they had been ſold for ſlaves for any crimes, even by the ſentence of the grand ſanhedrin [n]; but as for the *Gentiles*, they were wholly excluded from it [o]. *Jubilee year.*

[l] Levit. xxv. 8, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. ver. 28, 41, & alib. [n] Ibid. ver. 40. [o] Ibid. ver. 46. Vide MAIMON. Tract. עבדים, c. 9.

(O) Authors are fallen into various opinions about the etymon of this word, ſome thinking that it is ſo called from the *Hebrew* יובל, *Yobel*, which ſignifies *a trumpet made of rams horns*, from the *Arabic*, *Jobelah*, a *ram*; becauſe the *Jubilee* was proclaimed by the ſound of that inſtrument (53). Others, that it is a fictitious word in imitation of the ſound of that inſtrument (54); others again think, that it comes from *Jubal*, the firſt inventer of muſical inſtruments (55): But we prefer that which derives it from the obſolete root יבל, *Yabal*, in hiphil, הוביל, *hobil*, which ſignifies to *recal, reſtore, bring back*, &c. which is what the *Jubilee* did. The reader may ſee that word occur in many places of ſcripture, and particularly in the *Pſalms*, where among others he will find this expreſſion: יובילו שי למורה. *Yobilù ſai lammorah, bring preſents to him that is to be feared* (56).

(53) *Rabbin. ſer. Omn Vide* Kimch. *in Rad ſub.* יובל, Goodw. Mey. Munſt. *&c.* (54) Bochart. *Hier. p.* Buckius *Annot. in* Maimon. *Shemitah veyobel, note* 5. (55) Goodwin, Hotting. *&c.* (56) *Pſ.* lxxvi. *ver. penult. vide & Job* x. 19. xxi. 30, 32. *Jerem.* xxxi. 9. *& alib.*

SOME think, that the *Israelites* were wont to reckon by *Jubilees*, as the *Greeks* did by *Olympiads*, the *Romans* by *Lustra*, and the *Christians* by *Indictions* [p]; and probably enough they did so, because they were always to have regard to that year in all bargains of lands, houses, and the like, which generally sold for more or less, according to their nearness to, or distance from it [q]. The case was somewhat different with respect to the sale of houses that were within walled towns, tho' not of those that were in the country, for those might be redeemed at any time within the space of twelve months, by paying the whole sum of the purchase: but if they were not redeemed with in that time, they were not to return to their original owner at the year of *Jubilee* [r] (P). As for the possessions of the priests and *Levites*, they had certain priviledges, and immunities, which shall be spoken of in a more proper place [s].

DURING the whole twelve months all kind of agriculture was expresly forbid, the poor had the benefit of the harvest and vintage, and of all the product of that year, and all other things of that nature went on after the same manner as they did in the sabbatic year. The beginning of it was by God's own appointment fixed to the seventh month *Tisri* [t], which is about the time of the autumnal equinox; but in what year after they entered into the land of *Canaan* they celebrated the first *Jubilee*, and whether from the beginning of every forty ninth or fiftieth year is not easy to determine. As to the former, the *Jews* begin to reckon the first of the fifty years, from the fourteenth after *Joshua*'s passing the *Jordan*. Their computation ran thus, according to the learned *Maimon* [u]: "From their entrance into *Canaan* to their being "carried out of it are seventeen *Jubilees*, and the year in "which they went into captivity and the temple was de-"stroyed was the seventh or sabbatic year, and the thirty "sixth of the 18th *Jubilee*, which they prove thus: the first

[p] HOSPIN. Orig. Fest. c. 9. Goodw. Hotting. [q] Levit. xxv. 27, & seq. [r] Ibid. ver. 29, 30. [s] Ibid. ver. 32. & seq. [t] Ibid. ver. 8, 9. [u] Ubi sup. c. x. ex. Vers. BECKII.

(P) The *Jewish* lawyers add another exception, from what authority we cannot find, that those who sold their houses, lands, &c. in order to traffick and make a gain of the purchase money, or indeed upon any other account than to supply the necessities of life, were excluded the benefit of the *Jubilee* (57).

(57) Maimon. *Shemit. veyobel.* c xii.

"temple

"temple ſtood 110 years, after which there was an end of "that epocha; the land then did lie waſte ſeventy years, and "then the ſecond temple was built, which ſtood likewiſe "120 years. In the ſeventh year after its reſtoration, *Ezra* "went up to *Jeruſalem*; and from this time began a ſecond "epocha. On the thirteenth after the rebuilding of the tem-"ple, they celebrated the ſecond ſabbatic year, and ſeven "weeks of years, or forty nine years, being elapſed, they "conſecrated the fiftieth; for tho' they did not celebrate the "*Jubilee* after their return from the captivity, nevertheleſs "they continued to compute the years of it in order to cele-"brate the ſabbatic ones (Q)." Thus far *Maimon*: but here it muſt be obſerved, that he has followed the reckoning of *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and all the *Jews*, who not only place the firſt ſabbatic year, and conſequently the *Jubilee*, ſeven years later than *Uſher* and *Cunæus*, namely, from the fourteenth year after their entrance into *Canaan*, but allow fifty complete years to every *Jubilee*; whereas that primate, and with him a great number of learned *Chriſtians* [x], think, that it was celebrated every forty ninth year, as we ſhall ſee preſently. However, as he has here rectified the *Jewiſh* chronology in ſome other reſpects, ſo he reckons but the ſame number of *Jubilees* that *Maimon* doth before the deſtruction of the temple; as the reader may ſee in the table at the end of his annals under the word *Jubilee*.

THE firſt of them he fixes on the 3318th year of the *Julian* period, which is the 2609th of the world, or 1396 years before *Chriſt*, and the ſeventeenth or laſt before the captivity in 4102 of the *Julian* period, 3393 of the world, and 612 before *Chriſt*. As for the remainder, which he has carried down to the thirtieth, or to the year of the world 4030, they are only added in order to make a complete calculation of them to the thirtieth year of *Chriſt*, or to the beginning of

[x] HUGO CARDINAL. GERARD MERCAT. *in Chronol.* JOS. SCALIGER, PETAV. CALVIS. LANSBERG, CAPELL. CUNÆUS, SPANHEIM, JUN. LE CLERC. & al. mult.

(Q) There is ſome difficulty in apprehending what that author means by keeping up the computation of the *Jubilee*, in order to obſerve the ſabbatic years, for the latter uſed to regulate the former, while it continued, but after it ceaſed, the ſabbatic years could eaſily be kept in their courſe without it; and ſo they did accordingly; for *Joſephus* tells us, that *Alexander the Great* remitted to the *Jews* the ſeventh year's tribute, upon that very account (58).

(58) *Joſ. Ant. lib. xi. c. ult.*

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the gospel. For it is plain, as *Maimon* observes in the place above quoted, that the *Jews* observed no *Jubilee* after their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, either with reſpect to the ceſſation of agriculture, the reſtitution of lands, manumiſſion of ſlaves, or any of thoſe ends for which it had been inſtituted. Neither indeed was it practicable; for the ſeventy years captivity having quite obliterated the memory and pretenſion to their forefathers land, every one, at their return, ſettled himſelf as well as he could, in the confuſion that then reigned, after which their affairs did take a quite new face in *Judæa*; whilſt a very conſiderable number of their brethren choſe to continue in the place of their captivity.

THE next controverted point is, whether it was celebrated on the forty ninth or on the fiftieth year? We have already given a liſt of the principal authors who are for the former; thoſe who declare for the latter, (without reckoning *Philo*, *Joſephus*, the *Targums*, and all the *Jews* in general, *Caraites* as well as *Talmudiſts*) are ſtill more conſiderable.---- Among theſe we may reckon ſome of the fathers [y], and a great number of moderns [z]. The truth is, that either hypotheſis may be defended from the different expreſſions which *Moſes* makes uſe of in the inſtitution of it; and on the other hand there are certain difficulties in each of them which cannot be eaſily ſolved. We ſhall content ourſelves with a bare hinting of them. In one place he expreſly commands them to number ſeven ſabbaths of years, or forty and nine years, and on this laſt to proclaim the *Jubilee* by the ſound of the trumpet [a]; and in the very two following verſes he ſays, that the fiftieth year ſhall be that of the *Jubilee*. The grand objection againſt the firſt of theſe is, that if *Moſes* had meant that the forty ninth ſhould be the *Jubilee* year, there would have been no neceſſity for his forbidding all kind of agriculture and the like on that year, ſince that was forbid of courſe, by its being likewiſe the ſabbatic year, for ſeven times ſeven make forty nine. On the other hand it is objected, that if the fiftieth year was to be the *Jubilee*, it will follow that the land muſt have had two ſabbaths, or lain fallow two years, which is thought an unreaſonable ſuppoſition, ſince without a miracle it muſt, in all likelihood, have cauſed a dearth in the land. This *Cunæus* inſiſts very much upon in favour of the forty ninth year, tho' he paſſes

[y] EUSEB. S. JEROM. AUGUST. GREG. Mag. ISIDOR. & al.
[z] TOSTAT. BONFRER. FAGIUS, JUNIUS, DRUSIUS, VILLET. HOTTINGER, SCHINDLER, PRIF. HEIDEKKER, LEWDEN, CALMET, & al. [a] Levit. xxv. 8, 9.

by

by the great difficulty above mentioned as of no weight; but we think this objection of the two concurring ſabbaths may be more eaſily anſwered. For in the firſt place, thoſe who are for the 50th year do rightly enough obſerve, that there is no neceſſity for ſuppoſing, that the land reſted two years, ſeeing the lawgiver's intention ſeems fully anſwered by the repoſe of one, and that upon the account of its being ſabbatical; and that therefore, when *Moſes* ſays that the 50th ſhall be a year of reſt, he uſes only that round number to expreſs the uneven one of 49. There is indeed hardly any other way of reconciling the difference of *Moſes*'s expreſſions; and one may add, that as the ſolemnity began on the firſt month of the civil, which was the ſeventh of the ſacred year, it might be called indifferently the 49th or 50th year, without any contradiction or difficulty. What convinces us further that this is more than a bare conjecture is, that *Moſes* makes uſe of the ſame calculation for the feaſt of pentecoſt. The analogy which ſeven weeks of days bears to ſeven weeks of years is obvious to every eye; now as it is plain, that the pentecoſt did not begin on the 49th, but on the 50th day; ſo we ſee no reaſon why the ſame may not be allowed with reſpect to the *Jubilee*.

HOWEVER, as to thoſe who will not eaſily forego the notion of the land reſting two years in this caſe, we beg leave to obſerve, ſecondly, that even ſuch a ſuppoſition may be well enough granted, without the pretended inconveniency of cauſing a dearth in the land. For to ſay nothing of the extraordinary bleſſing which was promiſed to them upon ſuch occaſions, as long as they did religiouſly obſerve theſe ordinances, it is certain, that the natural fertility of the land, and the proviſion which every one might lay up during the foregoing years, might eaſily prevent any ſuch danger. We meet with a more ſignal inſtance of it in the time of *Hezekiah*, when the prophet *Iſaiah* ſent him word, that he ſhould be delivered from the threatning power of the king of *Aſſyria*, and as a token of it, commands the people to live on that year upon ſuch things as grew of themſelves, and on the next upon ſuch as ſprang from the ſame, and on the third year to ſow and plant [b]. Here indeed the *Jews* pretend that the middle year was a ſabbatic one, but whether it were ſo or otherwiſe, it is plain that there were to be at leaſt three years without any harveſt; for on the firſt year it is ſaid they ſhould eat, not the fruit of the foregoing harveſt, but that which grew of itſelf, and that which was ſown on the third could not be gathered 'till the fourth; and yet we do not find that there was any dearth

[b] 2 King xix. 29.

dearth upon that account. Upon the whole therefore we are more inclined to the latter opinion of the *Jubilee* being kept every fiftieth year.

THIS year was to be celebrated with the greateſt tokens of joy, becauſe it was deſigned to put them in mind of their *Egyptian* ſervitude, and to prevent their impoſing the like on their brethren. But whatever joy the maſters and land-holders might outwardly expreſs, we need not doubt, but that of the ſlaves and poor was ſincere, at the ſight of their approaching reſtoration. 'Tis true, this was not to take place till the tenth day of the month, otherwiſe called the day of expiation, which was therefore kept as a ſolemn faſt; but during the nine preceding days the ſlaves were wholly exempt from doing any work for their maſters, and ſpent that time in eating, drinking, and other diverſions, and wore garlands about their heads, not unlike the *Roman ſaturnalia*; and as ſoon as the tenth day was come, the ſanhedrin cauſed the trumpet to ſound all over the land, upon which they were reſtored to their liberty at that very inſtant, and the reſt to their poſſeſſions [c].

IT is plain, the deſign of this ordinance was to prevent the too great oppreſſion of the poor, as well as their being liable to a perpetual ſlavery. By this means alſo their law-giver prevented the rich accumulating lands upon lands, and preſerved, as much as poſſible, the freedom and order of *Iſraelitiſh* families, and a kind of equality of their poſſeſſions, than which nothing could more effectually inſpire them with a particular fondneſs for their country and patrimony, whilſt they knew, that this laſt could never be alienated from their poſterity, above the ſpace of half a century at the moſt. And that it wrought ſuch an effect upon them is plain, among many others, from the inſtance of *Naboth*, who choſe to incur the king of *Iſrael*'s diſpleaſure, rather than to part with a ſmall portion of his inheritance to him; for which tenaciouſneſs he fell a ſacrifice to *Jezebel*'s reſentment, and loſt both that and his life [†].

[c] Vide MAIM. Halak. Shemita, Veyobel. [†] 1 Kings xxi. paſſ.

Expiation-day

Expiation-day, or day of Atonement.

THIS is the laſt ſolemn day that was of divine inſtitution. It differed from all the reſt, in that they were days of joy and thankſgiving, but this a day of faſting, humiliation and confeſſion of ſins, and the only one of that kind of divine appointment [d], if we except that occaſional one which God enjoined the *Iſraelites*, after their ſetting up of the golden calf [e] (R), but which we do not find to have been made annual by *Moſes*, or obſerved by the people till after the captivity, when they became ſo religious, that they appointed as many faſts for every miſcarriage and misfortune that had happened to their nation before it, as filled near the fourth part of their calendar [f]; but this is not the proper place to ſpeak of them. Thoſe who conjecture, that this expiation-day was ordained in memory of the golden calf, do limit the deſign of it too much, ſeeing it appears rather inſtituted to expiate for the ſins of the whole nation, both public and private, but more particularly for thoſe of the foregoing year. This is to be plainly inferred from the name which *Expiation-day.*

[d] Levit. xxiii. 26. & ſeq. [e] Exod. xxiii. 5. & ſeq. [f] Vide Miſan. Megillath, Tahanith, per tot. LAMY, CALMET, & al.

(R) And yet we do not find one word of faſting, on that ſolemn occaſion of humiliation, nor even on this day of expiation, unleſs we ſuppoſe it to be implied in the words, *afflicting your ſouls*. However, it would be abſurd to deny, that faſting had been in uſe long before *Moſes*'s time, becauſe he has not taken notice of its being practiſed by any of the old patriarchs; or that it was not intended as part of ſolemn humiliation, becauſe it is not expreſſed in ſo many words. The contrary ſeems rather to follow from his ſilence, not only becauſe the early cuſtom of faſting among the *Heathen* upon all particular occaſions, as in the caſe of the *Ninivites* (59), and many others, ſhews it to have been diſcovered by the light of reaſon; but becauſe the very courſe of nature ſeems to give it a ſanction, for when men are viſited with any ſenſible affliction, or threatened with any immediate danger, it never fails of palling the appetite, and inclining them to faſt. And what evinces, that this practice was well known among the *Iſraelites*, is the many inſtances which we meet with from *Moſes*'s time. Thus after their unexpected defeat before *Ai*, *Joſhua* and all the elders of *Iſrael* continued proſtrate before the ark from morning till night

(59) *Jonah iii.* 5. 6.

which *Moſes* gives to it (S), as well as from the confeſſion of ſins, and other remarkable ceremonies, which he enjoined to be uſed on that day, of which we are now going to ſpeak. We ſhall ſay nothing of the typical relation it bears to the grand expiation wrought under the goſpel, it being out of our province.

IT was to begin, as other ſolemn days, on the evening of the ninth day of the ſeventh month, and to laſt till the evening of the tenth, during which time they were obliged to abſtain from all labour and pleaſure, and to continue in the work of mortification, under the penalty of being cut off from among their people. They were likewiſe to hold a ſolemn convocation, confeſs their ſins, and to offer a peculiar ſacrifice for them by fire g.

THE high-prieſt's office on this day was ſtill more ſolemn and awful. It was the only time in the whole year on which

g Levit. xxiii. 27, & ſeq.

without eating or drinking (60); the ſame was practiſed by the eleven tribes upon another occaſion (61); by all the people at *Mizpeh*, in token of their repentance for having ſerved *Baalim* and other ſtrange gods (62): and more particularly by *David*, in hopes of ſaving the life of the child he had got by *Bathſheba* (63). And, by theſe and many more inſtances of the like nature, it appears, that they not only abſtained from eating and drinking, but from all other things that might refreſh either the body or mind. Accordingly, the *Miſhnah* forbids theſe ſix things on theſe days, eating, drinking, bathing or waſhing, anointing, putting on of ſhoes or ſandals, and matrimonial intercourſe (64), for every one of which they quote one or more precedents out of the ſacred books.

(S) The original calls it יום הכפורים, *Yom hakkipburim*, *the day of expiations* or *atonements*; becauſe on that day there was an atonement made for the ſins of the whole foregoing year, and of the whole people. For which reaſon the *Talmud* calls it by way of excellence יומא, *Yoma*, *the day*; and perhaps likewiſe from a tradition they had, that it was on that day that *Adam* began to repent of his tranſgreſſion, and God was reconciled to him (65). For the world, and conſequently our firſt parents, according to them, were created on the firſt day of this month, as we have ſeen before; their tranſgreſſion and puniſhment followed immediately after, and ſo conſequently their repentance; for which reaſon ſome of them think that this day was appointed in memory of the fall †.

(60) *Joſh. vii. 6.* (61) *Judg. xxi. 2.* (62) 1 *Sam. vii. 6.* (63) 2 *Sam. xii. 16.* (64) *Tr. Yoma.* (65) *Rab.* Eleazer, *in Talmud. Vide* Abarb. *Comm. in Levit. xxiii.* † *See Vol. I. p. 119.*

he

he was permitted to enter into the moſt holy place, under pain of ſudden death from the Lord [h]; and therefore he was obliged to prepare himſelf for that grand ceremony, in that extraordinary manner which was preſcribed by GOD himſelf, as follows: he was firſt of all to waſh himſelf, not his hands and feet only, as at other times, but his whole body. The *Talmud* adds, that he was to abſtain during ſeven whole days from all matrimonial commerce, and from every thing that might cauſe an accidental pollution, and thereby render him unfit for this duty [i]; ſecondly, his mitre, breaſt-plate, and other prieſtly ornaments, were to be ſet aſide that day, and he only to appear cloathed in linen; this garb did conſiſt only in a linen mitre, or cap, a coat, breeches, and a girdle. He was in the third place to offer, as ſoon as he came to the holy place, a young bullock for a ſin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering for himſelf and his whole houſe, confeſſing his and their ſins over them. After this he received from ſome of the heads of the congregation a couple of kids for a ſin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for the whole congregation. Then were two goats ſet before the tabernacle, and the high-prieſt caſt lots for them, which of the two ſhould be ſacrificed on that day, and which ſhould be ſent away; and this latter was called *Hazazel* (T), or *ſcape-goat.*

[h] Ibid. xvi. 2. [i] Vide præc. affirm. 209.

(T) We have here followed our verſion, and the generality of commentators, who derive the word עזאזל *Ghazazel*, from עז, *a goat*, and אזל, *to go*, or *to eſcape*; in which they have followed the *Septuagint*, who have rendered it ἀποπομπαῖος, and the *Latin* after them *emiſſarius* (67): and it is certain that the verb אזל, *Azal*, is often uſed in that ſenſe in the *Old Teſtament* (68). However from *Moſes*'s words (69), it ſhou'd rather ſeem, that *Hazazel* is the name of the place whither the goat was led; for he ſays, that the man who lets the goat go לעזאזל, *lehazazel*——— which laſt cannot properly be rendered any other way than to *Hazazel*; and in this ſenſe moſt of the *Jews*, and ſome *Chriſtians*, have taken it (70); and ſome of the former do tell us, that it is a mountain diſtant about ninety furlongs, or about eleven thouſand paces from *Jeruſalem* (71).

(67) LXX. Aquil. Simmach. Theodoret. Bochart. *de Animal. Sacr.* Marſh. *Seeul. ix.* Pagn. Jun. & *al.* (68) *Vide* Kimch. *in rad.* Buxtorf. *Theſ. in voc.* (69) *Levit. xvi.* 26. (70) Munſt. Ar. Mont & *al.* (71) *Targ.* Jonath. *R. R.* Saad. Gaon. Kimch. Salom. Abenez. & *al.*

ſcape-goat. He then entered into the holy of holies, with his cenſer in one, and a large quantity of fine incenſe beaten ſmall in the other, that the ſmoak of it might fill the place, ſo as to cover the mercy-ſeat from ſight: and as ſoon as he had ſet the cenſer upon the altar, he came out and dipped his fingers into the blood of the bullock, which he had offered for himſelf, and went and ſprinkled it towards the mercy-ſeat eaſtward ſeven times. This done he killed the goat for the

And here we cannot but take notice of a ſtrange notion which *Spencer* has taken into his head, that this *Hazazel* was neither the name of the place, nor of the ſcape-goat, but of a devil, unto which the goat was ſent by the meſſenger (72). He mentions one *Mark*, an *arch-heretic*, who pretended to have a dæmon of that name, by whoſe aſſiſtance he performed wonders (73), and from this and ſome expreſſions, which he found in ſome cabbaliſtical writings, and in thoſe of *Julian* the apoſtate, he pretends, that this ſcape-goat was ſent with its load of ſins to the devil, in which notion he is followed by ſome others *†*, who believe, that both the ſacrificed goat and the ſcape one were typical of *Chriſt*, and think the firſt to be ſignificative of his death, and the other of his being expoſed to, and overcoming the power of *Satan*. But as for us, we ſhould rather prefer Mr. *Le Clerc's* opinion, that *Hazazel* was a ſteep and cragged precipice, down which the goat was thrown: and this is not only more agreeable to the original, as we obſerved above, and to the *Jewiſh* notion of its being a rocky mountain, but the ſame author has further proved it from the words of *Moſes*, that it ſhould bear all their iniquities אל ארץ גזרה. *el eretz Gezarah* (74). which doth properly ſignify, not only *an uninhabited land*, or *a land of ſeparation*, as our verſion renders it, but *a land that is cut off, or broken off, from another*, ſuch as precipices are. It might alſo be probably enough called *Hazazel*, from its being inhabited only by goats, as *Hottinger* obſerved in his notes upon *Goodwin*. *Le Clerc* doth further confirm it by a new etymon of the word *Hazazel*, which we ſhall not dwell upon. Neither is it eaſy to gueſs either what was done to the goat, or what became of it, after it was brought to the place appointed. The *Talmudiſts*, if we may rely on them, affirm, that it was thrown down a precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall. They add, that during the high-prieſthood of *Simon*, ſurnamed *the juſt*, which was ſignalized by many remarkable tokens of the divine favour, the goat uſed to fall in pieces before it had reached half way to the place, but that after his days, it uſed to be caught and eaten by the *Saracens* (75).

(72) *Diſſert. in hirc. emiſſar.* (73) *Vide* Epiphan. *Hæres.* 34. *†* Turretin. Cocceii, Alting. Meyer. & *al.* (74) *Levit.* xvi. 22. *Vide* Le Clerc. *in loc.* (75) *Miſhn. Tract.* יומא *vide & Maim. in* יום הכפורים

people's

people's ſin-offering, and went and ſprinkled the mercy-ſeat with the blood of it, as he had done with that of the bullock, and by theſe aſperſions the tabernacle was purified from all the pollution it had contracted, by ſtanding in the midſt of that ſinful people. During all this ceremony, that is, till this ſolemn atonement had been made for the ſins of the prieſts and people, neither prieſts nor any perſon were permitted to come either within the tabernacle or even into the courts of it.

As ſoon as theſe ablutions were ended, and the prieſts and people purified, the goat, whoſe lot it had been to eſcape (V), was

(V) How theſe lots were caſt doth not appear from ſcripture. What the antient *Jews* tell us of it is, that there was an urn brought unto the high-prieſt, into which he threw two wooden lots, upon one of which were written the words, FOR THE LORD, and on the other, FOR HAZAZEL, and after he had ſhaken them; he put both his hands into the urn, and brought up the lots, the one in his right, and the other in his left; and as the goats ſtood on each ſide of him, their fate was determined by the lot that came up in the hand next to them. They alſo uſed to draw a good omen of god's being pacified with them, if the right-hand chanced to draw the lot that was for the Lord, as they ſay it happened all the time of the high-prieſt mentioned in the laſt note. As for the reſt of their cuſtoms obſerved on that day, ſuch as their mutual aſking and granting forgiveneſs for paſt offences, making reſtitution, and the like, though they are probably as old, or very near, as the inſtitution of this feaſt, yet we rather chooſe to refer our readers for them to the two laſt quoted books; or if he pleaſes to *Leo de Modena* and *Buxtorf* (76).

One thing, however, is worth obſerving, that on the eve of this ſolemnity the *Jews* of old uſed to take a white cock, if it was to be had, if not, of any other colour but red; and after a prayer they ſtruck their heads with that of the cock three times, ſaying, *Bear thou my ſins, ſuffer thou the death I have deſerved, die thou for me, and make thou reconciliation for me, that I may be admitted into a bleſſed life, with all the people of* Iſrael. After which they killed the cock, confeſſing, that they deſerved the death they inflicted on him, and threw his entrails on the top of the houſe, in hopes that the crows would bear them and their ſins into the wilderneſs. 'Tis true, this ceremony is looked upon by the *Dutch Jews* as ſinful, and that *Leo de Modena*, who owns that it was practiſed heretofore in the *Levant* and *Italy*, adds, that it was afterwards left off, becauſe it was found to be a mere piece of ſuperſtition, for which no tolerable reaſon could be aſſigned. But he ſeems to have forgot,

(76) *Cerem. Jud. part. iii. c* 6. *Vid.* & Buxtorf. *Synagog. Jud. c.* 20.

that

was brought to the high-priest, who laid his hands upon its head, and confessed his own sins, and those of the whole nation, in words to this effect: *O* LORD, *thy people, the house of* Israel, *have sinned, have rebelled against thee; —— and now, O Lord, I beseech thee, forgive their sins, rebellions, and backslidings, by which they have offended thee, according as it is written in the law of thy servant* Moses: *in that day he shall make atonement for you, he shall cleanse you, and you shall be clean from all your sins before the Lord* (W) †. The confession being ended, he delivered the scape-goat

† Levit. xvi. 30.

that they gave one, which however ridiculed by our learned *Goodwin*, is not without a singular meaning. It is this: the word גבר, *Geber*, in the scripture, signifying a man, and in the *Talmud* and *Chaldee* a cock, the divine justice required, that as *Geber* in the first sense had sinned, *Geber* in the other sense should bear his sin. Now what other foundation can this custom have than the prophecies that the *Messiah*, as *Geber*, in his human nature should expiate for the sins of man; unto whom therefore they substituted this typical *Geber*, or cock, till the antitypical one should accomplish that expiation by his death? And might not the christians urging this against them be the motive of their abolishing it? Might not moreover, the Περίψηματα of the *Gentiles*, those human victims, which they chose out of the dregs of the people, to sacrifice yearly to their gods, by way of expiation (77), and their Κάθαρματα, which they offered in times of plague, famine, and other public calamities, and on whom they so liberally bestowed all the curses, which they thought due to themselves, have their original from hence (78)? this is what the apostle justly complains was practised against the first christians (79), since there hardly happened any public calamity in the empire, but they were immediately persecuted with the utmost cruelty, as the cause of them; and were looked upon as proper victims to avert the divine anger.

(W) He was likewise to make such another confession when he offered the bullock for himself and family, before he ventured to enter into the holy of holies; only instead of the house of *Israel*, he only mentioned that of *Aaron*. The reader may find it in the *Mishnah*, in the place above-quoted. It is plain, however, from the ceremonies which he was to perform there, that he was to enter four times into it on that day; 1. To set the incense a burning,

(77.) *Vide* Suid. *in voc.* περίψημα. (78) *Vide Vet. Scholiast. in Aristoph.* (79) 1 *Cor.* iv. 13. *Vide* Budæ. *Annot. in Pandect. de panis.* Goodwin's *Mos. & Aar. lib.* iii. *c.* 9. § 7. *& seq.*

for

goat to a man appointed for the purpoſe, who conducted it into a deſert place, and there left it to ſhift for itſelf, according to ſome, or threw it down a ſteep precipice according to others, as we have ſeen in the laſt note. After this ceremony the high-prieſt waſhed himſelf all over, and having changed his cloaths, or, as ſeems moſt likely, having put on the ephod, mitre, breaſt-plate, and his other prieſtly garments, he was to offer a burnt-offering of two rams, one for himſelf and the other for the people. As for the man that conducted the ſcape-goat, he was deemed unclean, 'till he had bathed himſelf and waſhed his cloaths, as were alſo thoſe who carried away the fleſh, blood, and entrails of the bullock, and goat of the ſin-offering, to be burnt without the camp [k].

IT was likewiſe on this day, that the high-prieſt did give the people the ſolemn bleſſing preſcribed by *Moſes* [l], in which he pronounced the unutterable name of God, of which we have ſpoken in another place ‡; for according to the *Jews* [m], the uttering of that word had been forbidden upon any other occaſion by a particular law, ever ſince the ſtoning of a notorious blaſphemer [n]; but whether true or not, the pronouncing of that tremendous name, joined to the ſacred awfulneſs of the place, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have filled him with uncommon dread whilſt he ſtayed in it, which is the reaſon, why he uſually made what haſte he could decently out of it, leſt he ſhould be ſtruck dead for ſome accidental miſcarriage or inadvertency during his ſhort ſtay there; and

[k] Ibid. 26. 27, 28. Vide FAG. in loc. HOTTING. & al. [l] Numb. vi. 24, & ſeq. ‡ See Vol. II. p. 488, note (T). [m] PHILO in vit. Moſ. lib. iii. Joſeph. Talmud, & al. [n] Levit. xxiv. 10. & ſeq.

for he went in with both his hands full, and could carry nothing elſe with him (80). 2. When he carried ſome of the blood of the bullock that was offered for himſelf (81). 3. When he carried ſome of that which he offered for the people (82). And 4. when he went to fetch out the cenſer and fire. The *Talmud* adds, that it was death for him to go in the fifth time. And therefore when the apoſtle ſays, that he went in but once a year (83), it is plain he has followed the verſion of the *Septuagint*, which renders the words אחד בשנה, *Achad baſhanah*, by ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, but it is certain it might have been more properly rendered *one day in the year*.

(80) *Levit. xvi.* 12, 13. (81) *Ibid. Ver.* 14. (82) *Ver.* 15. (83) *Heb. ix.* 7.

whom

when he came out he went backwards, keeping his face ſtill towards the mercy-ſeat, and bending towards the ground. All theſe things no doubt took up a conſiderable time; the reſidue of the day was ſpent in prayers and other works of mortification, and they were ſo afraid of ſhortening it, that they begun it half an hour ſooner and ended it half an hour later than in other feaſt-days; after which the trumpet gave notice that the ſolemnity was expired, and then they dreſſed themſelves in white, or at leaſt put on clean linen, and after a bleſſing, ſat down to break their faſt. They ſeldom failed making a plentiful meal, and to rejoice that their ſins were now expiated; but above all, the high-prieſt expreſſed a more than ordinary joy, that he had gone through the ſolemn and dangerous office of that day, and was come out alive of the moſt holy place ° (X).

Laws concerning other expiations or atonements.

BEFORE we leave this ſubject of expiations, it will not be amiſs to give an account of ſome others, which were enjoined by *Moſes* upon their contracting of any legal impurities, ſuch as thoſe of a woman after child-birth, of a man by touching of any unclean thing, as a dead body or carcaſe, or an unclean perſon, as a leper, and the like; and ſecondly by the breach of any one branch of the law, whether knowingly or through ignorance. By theſe and ſuch like the perſons contracted a kind of legal defilement, from which they could not be cleanſed, but by offering ſuch ſacrifices as the law appointed (Y); and this purification was to be performed in the following manner. The perſon who had committed

° Vide Miſhnah, Tract. Yoma. MAIMON. Tract. Yom hakephur. MEYER, c. xv. § 9.

(X) The *Jews* add ſeveral other particularities relating to this day, which we dare not affirm to have been in uſe during the firſt temple, ſuch as theſe, that the ſcape-goat was eſcorted all the way, by prieſts and laymen, to the place appointed; that between the temple and it, there was a cauſey made on purpoſe, with ten different ſtages on it; that as ſoon as the goat was thrown down the precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall, notice was immediately given to the people, who waited impatiently for the news in the temple, by proper ſignals ſet up at convenient diſtances, with many more of the like nature.

(Y) We believe, it is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve here, that, in the language of the *Old Teſtament*, all tranſgreſſions, before they were expiated, are compared to a filth or defilement contracted by

committed any treſpaſs, whether knowingly or ignorantly, was to bring his victim or ſin-offering to the door of the tabernacle. This offering was to be a bullock or a goat, if it was for a prieſt, and if for a layman, a goat, ſheep, kid, or lamb; and if the perſon was too poor to afford one of theſe, then two pigeons or turtle doves, or even a ſmall quantity of flour was accepted of. One or more then of theſe, according to the nature of the treſpaſs, or the circumſtances of the perſon, were brought to the prieſt, and the perſon to be purified brought his victim; and having confeſſed his ſin, laying his hands upon the head of it, killed and offered it up. The prieſt then took up ſome of the blood of it with his fingers, and applied it to the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, and poured the remainder at the foot of it. He then took the fat of the caul, kidneys, and the rump, and burnt it upon the altar; and having prayed for the perſon, pronounced him pardoned and abſolved from his treſpaſs; the fleſh of ſuch victim thus offered, belonged to the prieſt alone; none other was to eat it [p]. This ceremony was performed ſomewhat more ſolemnly when the king, high-prieſt, or the whole nation had committed a treſpaſs, but in the main it came much to the purpoſe.

As for legal pollutions, ſuch as we mentioned above, there was added another ceremony for their cleanſing; namely, the aſhes of the red heifer reſerved for that purpoſe. The ceremony of killing and burning it, as it was preſcribed by *Moſes* [q], was after this manner. The high-prieſt was to take care that it was without ſpot or blemiſh, and that it had never been yoked. It was to be carried out of the camp, where he killed it, and made a ſevenfold aſperſion of the blood with his fingers towards the ſanctuary; after which, a large fire being kindled, it was flung into it, with its ſkin, entrails, and other appurtenances, and a bundle of cedar-wood, hyſſop, and ſcarlet, and burnt to aſhes before his face, himſelf helping to caſt her into the fire; and this was to be done in the preſence of all the people. The aſhes were

[p] Vide Levit. iv, v, vi. paſſ. [q] Numb. xix.

the tranſgreſſor; and the pardon, that attends this expiation of them, to an ablution or purification from it. It is according to this alluſion, that the *Septuagint* have rendered the words כופר and כפר, *Kopher* and *Kaphar*, as likewiſe thoſe of טהר and חטאה, *Tahar* and *Chatab*, when this laſt ſignifies a forgiveneſs, by καθαρισμος and καθαριζειν; and it is in the ſame ſenſe that the writers of the *New* affirm *Chriſt* to cleanſe and purify us from our ſins by his blood.

then gathered and laid up for uſe, and all that had had a hand in this ceremony were to be unclean until evening. Whenever afterwards any perſon had contracted a pollution, ſuch as made him unclean ſeven days, he was to be ſprinkled with water, in which ſome of theſe aſhes had been thrown, on the third and ſeventh day, on which laſt he was to be clean; but if he neglected being ſprinkled on the third, he was not to be clean till the tenth day. This law was ſo ſevere againſt thoſe who were polluted by the touch of a dead body, or by coming into the tent or room where it lay, that if they offered to go to the tabernacle before they had been thus purified, they were to be cut off, as having polluted the ſanctuary. The very veſſels that were in the place uncovered, as well as the place itſelf where the corpſe lay, were likewiſe defiled, till ſprinkled with this water of ſeparation, as it is called in the text. How often this grand ceremony was repeated from *Moſes* to the captivity is not agreed. Some affirm, that the heifer which was burnt by *Eleazar*, *Aaron*'s ſon, did laſt them all that time; others, that there was one burnt every year, and that ſome of the aſhes of it were ſent to every city and town in *Iſrael* [r] (Z). Whether or

[r] Vide HIERON. Epiſt. 27.

(Z) It is juſtly wondered, that this water thus mixed with the aſhes of the red heifer, ſhould purify the unclean, and at the ſame time pollute not only thoſe who aſſiſted at the ſlaying, burning, and gathering of the aſhes of it, but even thoſe who ſprinkled the unclean perſon with it (84). The *Jews* have a very antient tradition, that *Solomon*, who was maſter of all other myſteries and knowledge, and could account for every precept in the law, even thoſe which forbad the eating of ſwine's fleſh, or wearing of mixtures of linen and wool, yet owned himſelf ignorant of the meaning of this *red heifer* (85). However, our *Spencer* has ventured to dive deeper than he, by the help of his infallible rule of relation either of conformity or oppoſition to the *Egyptian* rites, he ranks therefore the red heifer under this laſt claſs, becauſe that nation ſacrificed none but male animals, and that they had an averſion to all red-haired creatures, and even to the colour itſelf; whereas the *Mo-*

ſaic law makes no diſtinction of colours in any caſe but this (86). But we beg leave to obſerve here, that the *Jews* were as little fond of the red as the *Egyptians*, and that *Moſes* commanded the uſe of

(84) *Num. xix.* 7, 8, 10, 21. (85) *Miſhn. Tract. de* פרה אדמה Maimon. *More Nevoch*, p. 3. *c.* 26. *vide & lib. Jalcut & al.* (86) *De Leg. Rit. lib. ii. c.* 15.

ſcarlet

or no this ſacrifice was to be numbered among the burnt-offerings which were made for the whole nation, is a diſpute amongſt the learned, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, which we ſhall not enter into; ſure it is, that the author of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* looked upon it as a figure of *Chriſt*, who therefore ſuffered without the gates of the city even as the heifer was burned without the camp *; and whoſe blood is of much greater efficacy towards the purging and ſanctifying of men, than that of bulls and goats, the aſhes of an heifer, or any other legal ſacrifices †.

* Heb. xiii. 11, 12. † Ibid. ix. 13.

ſcarlet in ſacrifices for ſin. only to expreſs the guilt of it. Accordingly all the inſpired writers compared ſins of the deepeſt guilt to crimſon and ſcarlet, as they did innocence to white (87); and this, we think, doth ſufficiently account for the colour of the heifer.

And here we beg leave to ſubjoin a remark to the ſame effect, which is, that in the twenty ſecond pſalm, which abounds with many particularities relating to *Chriſt*'s paſſion, there is one expreſſion, not hitherto obſerved, nor rightly rendered, by any tranſlation that we know of. It is where he is called *a worm* and *no man* (88), for it is plain, the word תּוֹלַעַת, *Tholahath*, is no where uſed in ſcripture, but to expreſs either the crimſon or ſcarlet colour itſelf (in which caſe it is commonly joined to the word שָׁנִי, *Sheni*, and ſignifies *double dyed*); or at moſt *the inſect from which that dye is made*, unleſs it be figuratively taken to imply a deep degree of guilt, as in the place above quoted out of *Iſaiah*. The moſt literally therefore that the pſalmiſt's words can be rendered would be; *as for me, I am a ſcarlet inſect or worm, and not a man*; but the figurative ſenſe will be plainly this; *I bear the ſcandal and reproach of the deepeſt guilt, and am wholly free from it; I am reputed a ſinner, and yet am free from ſin.* But this by the by. We ſhall only add, that the *Jews*, *Maimon* excepted, whom *Spencer* affects to follow, allow, that there is a deeper myſtery in the ordinance of the red heifer, than any in the whole ſcripture, and highly condemn the preſumption of thoſe who pretend to dive into that deep abyſs (89). However, what was a myſtery to the *Jews*, is ſufficiently explained to the *Chriſtians* by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, in the place quoted above, and to which, we think, *Spencer* has given but a jejune and trifling anſwer (90).

(87) *Vide int. al. Iſai. i.* 18. (88) *Ver.* 6. (89) *Vide Miſhn. ubi ſup. R.* Abr. Seba. *in Zeror Hamor, fol.* 118. & *ſeq. R. R.* Salom. Abenez. Abarban & *al.* (90) *Ubi ſup. ſect.* 6. *obj.* 3.

Laws concerning some other sacrifices and oblations, not mentioned under the former heads.

AS we had occasion to mention the sacrifices that were enjoined to be offered upon every solemn festival, under the head of each, and of those which were offered by way of expiation for sin; we shall now mention those few others that remain unspoken of. These may be reduced under the seven following heads. 1. The daily sacrifice. 2. Peace-offerings. 3. Meat and drink-offerings. 4. Offerings for cleansing. 5. First-fruits. 6. First-born, and 7. Tythes. Besides these there were other occasional sacrifices, some of them directed by some prophets, as in the case of *Samuel* [t], and *Elijah* [u], and others observed by particular families, which were rather feasts than sacrifices, as appears by the pretence which *David* made for absenting from *Saul*'s table [w], and the like, of which we shall take no further notice, they being entirely arbitrary; as for those that were to be offered at the consecration of the high-priest, and of other inferior priests, they will be better seen in another place.

1. THE daily, or, as it is called in the original, the continual sacrifice, consisted first and before all things in burning a certain quantity of incense upon the golden altar, after which they were to offer two lambs of the first year, and without blemish, as a continual burnt-offering for the whole nation; these were burned every morning and every evening, and with a stower fire than ordinary, that it might last the longer. They offered likewise a certain quantity of wine and of flour, mixed with oil, for a meat and drink-offering. This was ordained by God upon mount *Sinai* [x], and is therefore called continual, because it was not to be interrupted by any other sacrifices or solemnity, as we have seen under the article of each festival.

2. PEACE-offerings; this sacrifice was either eucharistical, in acknowledgment of some mercies received from God, or supplicatory, in order to obtain some blessings from him, or out of mere devotion in honour to God, or lastly upon account of some vow. These were all free and voluntary, there being no law that obliged the *Israelites* to them, except where it is said, that *they should not appear empty before the*

[t] 1 Sam. ix. 13. xii, 9. xvi. 2, & seq. [u] 1 King. xviii. 30, & seq. [w] 1 Sam. xx. 29. [x] Exod. xxix. 38. Num. xxviii. 6, & seq.

Lord

Lord, but be liberal in theſe kind of ſacrifices according as God had bleſſed them. It was likewiſe left to them to offer what beaſts they would, without regard to ſex or age, ſo they were of the clean ſort, and free from any pollution or defect. The votary was to bring it to the door of the tabernacle, lay his hands upon the head of it, and kill it. The prieſt then took ſome of the blood, and ſprinkled it upon, and round the altar, and poured the remainder upon the ground, at the foot of it. All the fat of the offering, the kidneys, and, if it were a ſheep or lamb, the rump were burnt upon the altar, after the prieſts had laid them upon the hands of the perſon, and directed him to wave them to the four points. The breaſt and ſhoulder of the victim was the perquiſite of the prieſt in waiting, and the reſt belonged to the owner, who might then dreſs and eat it, how and with whom he would, as if it had been killed within his own gates [y].

3. THE meat and drink-offerings; theſe we have already ſpoken of occaſionally, becauſe they uſed to accompany the burnt-offerings of every feſtival, the daily and all other ſacrifices made with fire. They conſiſted of a certain proportion of wine, oil, and fine flour, to every beaſt that was ſacrificed. Thus, for inſtance, with a bullock they offered half an hin, that is about a wine galion, of wine and oil, and three tenth deals, or wine pints of flour; to a ram, was allowed the third part, and to a lamb the fourth part of an hin, and ſo proportionably of the flour [z]. Beſides theſe there were ſome others of the ſame nature, which were to be offered by the poor, who could not reach a higher offering, of which we have ſaid enough already.

4. Offerings for cleanſing; we have ſpoken of ſome of them above, under the head of expiation. There remains two more, namely, that of two pigeons, which a woman was to offer for her purification after child-bed, in caſe ſhe could not afford a lamb; or even a ſmall quantity of flour and oil, if the pigeons were alſo above her circumſtances [a]; and that of two ſparrows, which the leper offered, after his cure, for the cleanſing of himſelf [b] and his houſe [c]. In both theſe caſes one of the birds was inſtead of a lamb for a burnt-offering, and the other for a ſin-offering. The firſt bird was to be killed in a clean earthen veſſel over a running water; after which the prieſt took the other bird, with a

[y] Levit. iii. paſſ.
[z] Numb. xxviii. paſſ.
[a] Levit. xii.
[b] Ibid, xiv. 4. & ſeq.
[c] Ibid. ver. 49, & ſeq.

bunch

bunch of cedar-wood, ſcarlet, and hyſſop, and dipped them in the blood, and ſprinkled the perſon or houſe ſeven times with it, and then pronounced them clean, and the living bird was let looſe. The perſon was likewiſe to add three tenths of flour mingled with oil, and a *log* of oil. Theſe quantities of flour and oil were made into cakes, and offered up to God. Some were of barley, others of wheat-flour, ſome had leaven, and conſequently came not near the altar [d]; others had none. All of them were to have ſome ſalt. Some were voluntary, others not, ſome dreſſed one way, and ſome another, as the reader may ſee more fully at the end of the next note (A).

The

[d] Ibid. ii. 11.

(A) It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that all the offerings which had life were called קורבן, *Corban*, and thoſe which had not מנחה, *Minchah*; the firſt is derived from קרב, *Karab*, *to approach*, becauſe the victims were brought to the door of the tabernacle, the other ſignifies *a preſent*; but both of theſe conſiſted of ſuch things as were commonly eaten, if we except the incenſe and the wood, which were likewiſe called offerings. The *Corban* was always looked upon as the moſt ſacred, and was therefore called קדשי קדשים, or *moſt holy*, the others קדשים קלים, or *holy things of a lighter*, or *inferior nature*. Theſe *Minchabs* were of five ſorts, 1. Of bare flour. 2. Made into cakes, and baked in an oven. 3. Fryed in a pan. 4. Upon a gridiron. And 5. The firſt-fruits, of which we ſhall ſpeak under the next head. Again, theſe cakes were either kneaded with, or fryed in, or only rubbed over with oil, which was always that of olives, and as none of theſe three were to have any leaven, ſo neither were they to have any honey (91). If this laſt was at all offered, it was by itſelf, and under the notion of firſt fruits.

There is one of *Moſes*'s laws which expreſly forbids the prieſts to offer any thing to God, that is in any way marred or ſpoiled, and particularly any bread from the hands of a ſtranger, as being polluted and corrupted (92); by which ſome underſtand any kind of ſacrifices, and others only that of theſe cakes, or meat-offerings; but in either caſe there is no doubt, but if a ſtranger was ſo well diſpoſed as to offer any ſacrifice to the God of *Iſrael*, the prieſts could furniſh him with either victims or bread ready baked, provided he payed the price of them †. But be that as it will, it ſeems from two or three texts, that they had a conſtant reſerve of loaves or cakes, kept in baſkets, for thoſe who came to offer up

(91) *Levit. ii.* 11, 12. (92) *Levit. xxii.* 24, 25. † *Vide Num. xv.* 14, *& ſeq.*

theſe

THE next under this head is the ſhew-bread, called in the original *the bread of faces* (B), becauſe it was always to ſtand before the Lord upon the golden table in the holy place. It was to be made of the pureſt wheat, into twelve loaves or cakes, anſwering to the twelve tribes. The prieſts were to take care to bring freſh ones warm every ſabbath-day in the morning, at which time they took away the old, which were to be eaten by none but prieſts. Each loaf was to contain two tenth deals, or about three wine pints of flour, and to be ſet up in two rows, ſix to each row, one loaf upon another. The *Jews* tell us, that there were ſome double plates of gold between each loaf, to give them air, and prevent their growing mouldy. This offering was accompanied with incenſe, with which the loaves were to be perfumed, but they were to be without leaven. Some commentators ſay, that there was a quantity of wine offered with them, but the text mentions nothing but incenſe and ſalt [e]. Theſe loaves were called the hallowed bread, in oppoſition to the common ſort which every body might eat [f].

[e] Exod. xxv. 30. Levit. xxiv. 5, & ſeq. [f] Vide 1 Sam. xxi. 3, 4.

theſe meat-offerings, or any other ſacrifices that required them (93). And here we might add likewiſe under this head the meat-offerings of the *Nazarites*, and the cake of jealouſy, but they will be better ſeen in their proper places, when we come to ſpeak of them in the ſequel.

(B) The words are לחם פנים, *Lechempanaim*, which name ſome, eſpecially of the *Jews*, affirm to be given, becauſe the loaves had four *phanim*, or *faces*, that is, were four ſquare (94); but it is more likely, that they were ſo called from their ſtanding continually, לפני אלהים *Liphne-elohim*, *before the Lord*. Some have thought it improper to place this ſhew-bread among the meat-offerings, becauſe they were not offered upon the altar as theſe were. For our part we think with ſome others, that the ſacred table on which they were ſet, (which may not improperly be deemed an altar) their being kept before the Lord, and called hallowed bread, and as ſuch allowed only to be eaten by the prieſts, may eaſily excuſe our ranking them under this claſs, rather than any other, eſpecially they being accompanied with incenſe, and offered in the name of the twelve tribes. The *Jews* add, that they were covered with leaf gold, but do no where tell us where they are commanded to do ſo.

(93) *Compar. Exod. xxix.* 32. *& Num vi.* 15, *& alib.* (94) *Vide* Maim. *Tract.* תמידין, Abr. Haroph. שלטי גבורים, *& al.*

5. Firſt

5. First fruits. We have already ſpoken of theſe that were offered at *Eaſter*, *Whitſuntide*, and at the feaſt of *Tabernacles*; and theſe were offered in the name of the whole nation; but beſides them, every private man was likewiſe obliged to bring the firſt-fruits of his fields, orchards, and vineyards, to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, as an acknowledgment that God was the giver of them. Neither the time, nor the quantity being preſcribed by the written law, the former was left to the conveniency of the people, and the latter was determined in ſome ſort by their wiſe men, yet ſo as to leave room for generoſity to exert itſelf, more or leſs according to the diſpoſition of each perſon. Thus it was agreed, that they ought to offer at leaſt the ſixtieth part of the product; but ſome did offer the fiftieth, and ſome even the fortieth part [g]. After the building of the temple they were all obliged to bring them thither, and the ceremony was performed as follows.

As ſoon as the perſon who came to offer them had reached the court of the prieſts, the *Levites* began to ſing the 30th pſalm, after which the perſon made this confeſſion: *I do this day make a publick acknowledgment before the* LORD *your* GOD, *that I am entered into the good land which he ſware unto our fathers that he would give us* (C). Whilſt he

[g] Vide Miſhn. Tract Terumoth & Bekorim, & commentat. in eund. vide & Maim. in loc.

(C) The *Talmud* adds ſeveral other remarkable particulars concerning the bringing of the firſt fruits to the temple, which we can neither warrant nor diſprove to have been uſed during the firſt temple. They are as follows. As ſoon as a man was got to the foot of the mount on which the temple ſtood, he was to take up his baſket (in which the firſt-fruits, or rather a ſample of them, were laid, not confuſedly, but every ſort by itſelf) and put it on his ſhoulders, and carry it up to the prieſt's appartment. They tell us, that the kings themſelves were not diſpenſed from it. Theſe baſkets were more and leſs magnificent, that is, from thoſe made of gold wire to the common ozier ones, according to the circumſtances of the perſons. To prevent confuſion as much as poſſible, they uſed to join themſelves by troops of four and twenty to a troop, which drove before them a bullock crowned with olive-branches, and having his horns tipped with gold or ſilver, which was to be offered with their firſt-fruits. They generally had a man to go before them, playing upon a flute or ſome ſuch inſtrument, and in that order they marched to *Jeruſalem*, ſinging ſome pſalm or hymn proper for the occaſion. As ſoon as they came near the gates of *Jeruſalem*, the inhabitants uſed to go out to congratulate, and bid them welcome. Theſe firſt-fruits did

he was ſpeaking theſe words, he took his baſket off his ſhoulder, the prieſt lending him a hand, and whilſt theſe two held it up, he made an end of his confeſſion in theſe remarkable words preſcribed by *Moſes* [h], *A* Syrian *ready to periſh was my father, and he went down into* Egypt, *and ſojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous; and the* Egyptians *evil entreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppreſſion. And the Lord brought us forth out of* Egypt *with a mighty hand and with an out-ſtretched arm, and with great terribleneſs, and with ſigns and with wonders; and he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this land, even a land flowing with milk and honey. And now behold I have brought the firſt-fruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, haſt given me.* After this the baſket was ſet before the Lord by the ſide of the altar, and he offered the burnt-offering and peace-offering which were always to accompany the firſt-fruits, and having paid his devotions to God, he went to make merry with his acquaintance with his ſhare of the peace and meat-offerings. And here he was likewiſe obliged to impart ſome portion of his good chear to the fatherleſs, widows, and to the *Levites*, that they might rejoice with him. And this the rich, who ſacrificed a bullock, might be the more ready to do, becauſe they were forbid to leave any fragments till the next day [l].

UNDER this head we may add the firſt cake of every lump of dough that exceeded the bulk of forty eggs, of which the woman was obliged to ſet aſide one part, to be

[h] Deut. xxvi. 4, & ſeq. Vide Munſt. Jun. & al. in Levit. xxii. & xxiii. & Deut. xxvi. [l] Levit. vii. 15, & alib.

did not conſiſt of all the different products of the earth, but only of ſix kinds; namely, barley, wheat, grapes, figs, dates, and olives; to which ſome add apricoct, or peaches, and pomgranates. Theſe firſt-fruits are not indeed called in the text מנחות, *Menachoth*, or offerings from *Minchah* mentioned in a former note, nevertheleſs we have ventured to rank them under that claſs, becauſe they were offered up at the altar (95). They add, that after each band had performed their duty in the manner mentioned above, they were to lie one night in the city, and then return to their homes (96).

(95) *Vide* Deut. *xxvi.* 10, & *alib.* (96) *Vide* Baſnag. *tom.* 3. *lib. iii.* c. 2.

given to the next priests or *Levites* [k], in order to sanctify the rest. But as *Moses* did not determine the quantity, it was left to the discretion either of the master or mistress of the house, till the rabbies assigned the twenty fourth part of that which was baked for ones own family, and the forty eighth part of that which was designed for sale [l] (D).

6. FIRST-BORN. The *Mosaic* law makes a three-fold distinction of these; namely, the first-born of men, of cattle, and of the product of the earth (E). We have already spoken in a former section of the first of these, of the reason of their being consecrated to God, and of their redemption by their parents ‡. And here we must observe, that the word first-born of the males must not be restrained to the eldest son; for he may be eldest, and yet not first-born. And therefore *Moses* adds, that first opened the womb: so that it was possible among the *Jews*, where po-

[k] Num. xv. 19, & seq.
‡ See Vol. II. p. 525.
[l] Vide Mishn. Tract. חלה, c. 1.

(D) The *Jews* we are told, were so scrupulous in this, that if they could come at neither priest nor *Levite*, they threw the cake into the oven and burnt it to ashes, before they put the bread into it (97). This is one of the three things that are committed to the care of the women, who were to say a blessing at the same time that they separated the paste; and this extended, according to them, to the bread that was made of wheat, rye, barley, wild barley, and oats.

(E) We must remind our *English* readers, that this expression has no such harshness in the original as it has in ours, and other languages, because the word which in these is rendered first-born, in the original is בכור, *Bechor*, which properly implies *the principal* or *most excellent of every thing*, or *creature in its kind*, whether in a good or bad sense. Thus God expresses himself concerning *David*, *I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth* (98); where the word means nothing like first-born in a strict sense. On the other hand, a most cruel death is in *Job* called בכור מות, *Becobr-maveth, the first-born of death* (99); and *Isaiah* calleth the poorest, or rather the weakest of all בכורי דלים, *Becbore dallim, the first-born of the weak* (100). It is therefore probable, that this word was figuratively applied to the first-born, to imply their excellency in strength and dignity, according to *Jacob*'s expression to *Reuben* his eldest son (1),

(97) *Mishn. Tract.* חלה, Philo *de præm. Sacerd.* Hieron. *in cap.* 45. Ezek. Maim. Leo de Moden. & *al.* (98) Ps. *lxxxix.* 27. (99) Job *xviii.* 13. (100) Isai. *xiv.* 30.
(1) Gen. *xlix.* 3.

lygamy

lygamy and polyguny were allowed, for a man to have ſeveral firſt-born, and all to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels, as ſoon as they were thirty days old; at which time they were preſented to the prieſt, and the mother offered the ſacrifice of her purification, mentioned in a former article; and the price being payed for the child's redemption, he began then to belong to the parents, and not till then [m] (F). How they redeemed them ſince the deſtruction of the ſecond temple is out of our purpoſe. The reader may ſee it in *Leo de Modena* and other *Hebrew* rabbies; only we may obſerve, that the children of the prieſts needed not to be redeemed at any time.

THE firſt-born of clean beaſts, ſuch as calves, lambs, kids, and the like, were alſo conſecrated to God; but with this difference, that they could not be redeemed, but were to be brought to the tabernacle or temple, and there killed; the blood was poured at the foot of the altar, the fat burnt upon it, and the reſt of the fleſh was the prieſt's perquiſite; with this precaution however, that if the beaſt had any natural or legal defects, ſuch as blindneſs, lameneſs, the want of a limb and the like, it was not to be ſacrificed: the prieſt took it home, and there killed and eat it; and might invite whom he would to partake of it, as of any other common meat. But if it was an unclean beaſt, ſuch as an aſs, a dog, and the like, the owner was at his

[m] Exod. xiii. 2. Num. xviii. 15, & alib.

(F) According to this law we find the virgin *Mary* redeeming her child *Jeſus* (2); nevertheleſs it has been much diſputed, whether he was ſubject to this or not, tho' he is allowed on all hands to have been her firſt-born. Some think he was not, becauſe he did not break open the ſeal of her virginity (3). Others, thinking that every male opening the matrix is equivalent to every firſt-born male, maintain, that he was to be redeemed (4). But ſome of the fathers have ſtill improved this argument, affirming, that in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech this law of redemption was only applicable to *Chriſt*, ſeeing he was the only male child that properly opened the womb of his mother, whereas in other women it was opened already, if not before, yet when the firſt-born was begot. For which reaſon they think this law to have been wholly typical of *Chriſt* (5).

(2) Luke *ii.* 22, 23. (3) Cyril. Hieroſol *Homil de Occurſ. Domin.* (4) *Vide* Cornel. *a lapid. on* Exod. *xiii.* & *auct. ab eo citat.* (5) Origen, Tertul. Ambroſ. & *al. ap.* Calin. *ſub voc. premier né.*

liberty either to redeem it with a lamb, or with five ſhekels of money, or to break the neck of it [n] (G).

As to the firſt product of the trees, all that is meant by it is, that every new-planted tree was to be reckoned uncircumciſed and impure during the firſt three years. It was not lawful to gather, much leſs to eat, the fruit of it; on the fourth year, all that grew upon it was the Lord's, and conſequently the perquiſite of the prieſts, from whom, however, the owner might redeem it, if he thought fit, by an equivalent [o]: but from that time the owner was at liberty to make the ſame uſe of them as he did of his old ones [p].

7. TITHES. Theſe, and the firſt-fruits, and the redemption of the firſt-born, were the moſt conſtant and conſiderable income of the prieſts and *Levites*; tho' the firſt is by far the moſt antient, as we have ſeen in ſeveral places of this hiſtory *. However, we confine ourſelves to thoſe preſcribed by the laws of *Moſes*, in which he has been ſo ſtrict, that he ordained, that of all thoſe which conſiſted of clean animals, none ſhould be redeemed at any rate, but that they ſhould all be ſacrificed to the Lord; and that thoſe which conſiſted of the fruits of the earth, ſuch as grain, fruits, and the like, ſhould not be bought off, without paying one fifth part more than their intrinſic value [q]. We need not here obſerve, that they were given to them as an equivalent for their not having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land, nor any portion or inheritance with the reſt of the people (H).

THESE

[n] Vide Num. xviii. 15. & ſeq. Exod. xiii. 13. Deut. xv. 20. & ſeq. [o] Vide præc. affirm. 137. [p] Levit. xix. 23. * See Vol. II. p. 170. note (S), & p. 395. [q] Levit. xxvii. 30, & ſeq.

(G) *N. de Lyra*, a learned convert from *Judaiſm*, tells us, that dogs, and ſuch like creatures of no intrinſic value, were never to be redeemed, but put to death, by reaſon of a precept in *Deuteronomy*, againſt bringing the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog into the houſe of the Lord (6); wherein he is followed by the learned *Bochart* and others, as the moſt received opinion of the rabbies (7). But we queſtion very much whether the generality of the *Jews* were ſo exact as to obſerve which came out firſt of a whole litter, it is more likely, that they deſtroyed them all for ſecurity's ſake.

(H) And perhaps too, with a very judicious view of making them more careful to keep up the religious obſervance of God's

(6) Deut. xxiii. 18. (7) *Vide Miſhn.* Maim. & *al.* & Munſt. *in loc.*

laws

THESE tithes were of four ſorts; namely, 1. Thoſe which were thus aſſigned to the tribe of *Levi* [r] (I), and theſe not being of the higher rank of holy things, all the *Levites*, men and women, clean or unclean, might eat of them. 2. The tenths of theſe tithes which were aſſigned to the prieſts, for theſe laſt did not gather the tithes themſelves, but that office belonged to the *Levites*, who were not to touch any part of them, till they had paid that proportion to the prieſts [s], and had ſent it to *Jeruſalem*. 3. After a layman had payed his firſt tithes, to the *Levites*, he was obliged to ſet aſide a ſecond tenth, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value; and this he was obliged to bring to *Jeruſalem*, and there make a feaſt, and invite, beſides his friends and relations, the prieſts and *Levites* to it [t] (K). 4. The laſt kind of tithes which *Moſes* commands, was to be ſet by every third year, and conſumed

[r] Num. xviii. 20, & ſeq. Deut. xiv. 22, & alib. vide & 2. Chron. xxxi. 4, & ſeq. [s] Num. xviii. 25, & ſeq. [t] Deut xii. 17, 18. xiv. 22. 23.

laws among the people, too prone naturally to backſlide; ſince their income was ſure to riſe and fall according as the ſpirit of religion and obedience proved more or leſs vigorous.

(I) Some authors have been of opinion, that every man was obliged to bring or ſend by proxy theſe firſt tithes to *Jeruſalem* (8); but beſides that there doth not appear the leaſt ſhadow of a precept for it, it ſeems rather from the ſecond tithes, which the *Levites* were to ſend to *Jeruſalem* (9), to the prieſts, that the firſt was to be payed upon the ſpot, or at fartheſt in the cities of the *Levites*. And indeed it would have been a terrible trouble and expence, eſpecially for thoſe that dwelt at a conſiderable diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, to have even ſent them thither. If it be objected, that it was equally ſo to the *Levites*, the anſwer is obvious, that it was much eaſier for them to ſend a tenth part, than to carry the whole thither, and be forced to bring nine parts back to their reſpective homes.

(K) That this tenth is different from the firſt that was payed to the *Levites*, whatever ſome commentators have thought to the contrary, is plain. 1. Becauſe the firſt was the hereditary right of the tribe of *Levi*, which would have ſtarved without it, and this was conſumed by the owners and their friends. 2. The *Levites* were obliged to refund a tenth part of the firſt, to the prieſts but in this they were only invited as gueſts. 3. The firſt was payed all the land over, but this only at *Jeruſalem*.

(8) Joſeph. *Ant. lib. iv. c.* 8. *Vide* Sixt. Amam. *de Decim. & auct. ab eo citat.* (9) *Comp.* Deut. *xiv.* 22, 23, *with* Nehem. *x.* 34, *& ſeq.*

in

in feasts at home, to which they were obliged to invite the *Levites*, the poor, fatherless, widows, and strangers [u] (L).

WE read indeed of another kind of tithes, such as *Samuel* threatened the *Israelites*, that their king, if they persisted in the choice of one, would levy upon them out of their fields, vineyards, and flocks [w]. But as there is nothing of such a right mentioned by *Moses*, in the rules which he settled for the conduct of their future kings [x], it is likely, the prophet only forewarns them ofwhat they would be apt to, rather than of what they might lawfully, do.

WHAT the first sort of tithes consisted in, which were thus appropriated to the maintenance of the priests and *Levites*, whether in all great and small cattle, and other kinds of animals, as well as all sorts of grain and fruits, or only in the latter, is not easy to determine. The *Jews*, if we will believe some of the learnedest among them [y], affirm, that they had no share nor title in the former, and that the flesh of all those creatures that were decimated belonged to the owners; and *Obadias de Bartenora* adds, that there is not one passage in the whole law that proves, that the priests had a right to any part of it [z]. It is hardly worth the while to dive farther into this matter, because we cannot attain to any certainty about it. As for the manner in which the cattle was usually decimated, we shall give it in *Maimon*'s own words [a]. "A "man, *says he*, who out of ten lambs, for instance, should "have set aside one, or ten out of an hundred, would not "be reckoned to have paid the tithes of them: the right "way therefore of doing it was as follows. They did shut "up all the lambs, kids, or calves, in a stable, which had "one door so straight that two of them could not get out a-"breast: they then brought their dams to the door, that "their young ones, hearing their voice, might strive to get

[u] Deut. xiv. ver. 28, 29. [w] 1 Sam. viii. 15, & seq. [x] Deut. xvii. 14, & seq. [y] Vide. MAIMON, in Bechoroth, c. 6. [z] BARTHENOR. in Zebachim, c. 5, & al. [a] MAIM. ubi sup.

(L) It is, however, more likely that this last tenth differed in nothing from the third, but only in that this was spent at home every third year, and the other at *Jerusalem* on the other two years; so that there might be properly but three sorts of tithes, that of the *Levites*, of the priests, and these last, which were rather a kind of eucharistical agapæ, which the *Jews* therefore called מעשר עני, and the *Greeks* πλουχοδεκάτη, *the tenth of the poor*, and *Tobit the third tenth* (10).

(10) Tob. *i.* 8.

 "out;

" out; purſuant to what is ſaid in *Leviticus* xxvii. 32. " *Whatſoever paſſeth under the rod.* Accordingly it was re- " quired, that theſe young ones ſhould come out, of themſelves, " and not be driven out; and as faſt as they came out, one af- " ter another, they that ſtood by told them one, two, three, " and ſo on to ten. This tenth was immediately marked " with red lead, and whether it were male or female, whe- " ther with or without blemiſh; the owner ſaid, *this ſhall* " *be conſecrated to pay the tithes.* If it was fit, it was then " to be ſacrificed to God; if not, it might be killed and " eaten where the owner pleaſed; for it could be neither " redeemed nor exchanged [b] (M).

To

[b] Vide BASNAG. Rep. Heb. tom. iii. lib. 33. c. 4.

(M) the reader will not perhaps think it amiſs, if we add ſome few remarks concerning their manner of ſacrificing their living creatures, not ſo much with regard to their ſlaying them, concerning which all that needs be ſaid is, that they were extremely careful to let out all their blood, and to avoid every thing that might ſtagnate it in any part; but with reſpect to ſome ceremonies that were uſed by way of diſtinction, between the ſacrifices of a more, and thoſe of a leſs, ſacred nature. Of the firſt ſorts were all the burnt-offerings and ſacrifices for ſin, and thoſe were always killed on the north ſide of the altar; whereas thoſe of the lower ſort, ſuch as peace, free-will, and all euchariſtical offerings, were killed in any part within the court of the ſanctuary. As for birds, the prieſt pinched their neck with his thumb-nail, and that which was for a burnt-offering had its neck quite pulled off, but that for ſin only broken (11). We have already ſpoken of thoſe victims of the firſt rank, whoſe blood was carried and ſprinkled within the tabernacle; that of the others they only poured at the foot of the altar, except touching the horns with ſome of it, on ſome occaſions (12). The *Jews* add, that there was a grate through which the blood did fall into a kind of ſewer, which carried it into the brook *Cedron* (13). However, as for theſe aſperſions they were always to be repeated ſeven times; and from them, as well as the ſeven days of the week, the week of years, and ſeven weeks of years, as likewiſe from the ſeven-fold circumvection of the ark round the walls of *Jericho*, *Naaman*'s being commanded to plunge ſeven times in *Jordan*, and many more of the like nature, the *Jews*, eſpecially the *Cabbaliſts*, tell us great wonders of the number ſeven, too great indeed for us to enter upon.

The next thing was the ſlaying and dividing of the victims, according to the deſign for which they were offered, wherein we ſhall

(11) Levit. i. 15. v. 8. & *alib.* (12) Levit. xvi. 14, 15 & iv. 7. 34, & *ſeq.* & *alib.* (13) *Vide Miſhn. Tract. Middoth.*

only

To these kinds of offerings we might add some others, such as that of incense, which the priests only were to burn every day

only take notice of one circumstance with respect to the burning the fat of them; namely, that if it was a sheep or a lamb, they always burned also the rump (14), because they were commonly very fat; especially in that kind of *Syrian* sheep whose rump was between two and three cubits long, and weighed as far as 30 or 40 pounds (15). So that not being able to drag them after, without wounding them against the ground, the shepherds laid them upon a kind of sledge, which the creature drew after it. Hence one may understand the meaning of that prohibition in the *Mishnah* (16), *the sheep shall not be sent to pasture on the sabbath, that hath its sledge tyed to it.* As to the burnt-offerings of four-footed beasts, the priests were obliged to wash their legs and intestines in water before they burnt them (17). This was done in a place by itself, that the court might not be defiled with their dung. *Philo* thinks there is a mystery in it, and that it implies, that we ought to wash away all our sinful filth before we present ourselves to God (18). *Grotius* says almost the same thing concerning the fat of the kidneys, *&c.* which were not to be eaten, but burned, those parts being the seat of lust (19) But however that be, it is certain, that they were not allowed to eat any fat except that which stuck to the flesh. After these sacrifices were duly dissected and salted, a number of priests brought them upon the altar with the usual quantity of wine and cakes. They were more or fewer, according to the days and the sacrifices, and each carried one piece thither. Thus every common day, at the morning and evening sacrifice, when there were but nine in waiting, the first carried the head and right foot; the 2d the two fore-feet, or hands, as the rabbies call them; the 3d the back-bone, liver, and kidneys; the 4th the breast and neck; the 5th the ribs; the 6th the inwards and legs in a dish; the 7th a cake to be joined to the lamb; the 8th the cake that belonged to the high-priest; and the last brought up the wine for the drink-offering; each having his province decided by lot. All these pieces of the victim were to be set upon the altar, close by one another in the same order as they were in before their being dissected, according to what is enjoined by *Moses*; *and the priests, Aaron's sons shall lay the parts, the head, and the fat, in order*, &c. (20); after which the fire was kindled and kept under them till they were consumed. This formality, however, was observed only for those burnt-offerings which were made for the whole people, but not for those which private men offered for themselves. There are many more particularities relating to these and other offerings, the bare mention of which would be too tedious; the

(14) Levit iii. 9. *& alib.* (15) *Vide* Herodot. *lib. iii.* Plin. *Nat. Hist lib. viii. c.* 48, *& al.* (16) *Vide Tract. Sabbath. c.* 4. (17) Levit. i. 9. (18) *De Anim. Sacr.* (19) *Com. in* Levit. iii. 5. (20) Levit. i. 8.

reader

day upon the altar of perfume (N), before the morning and evening ſacrifice, and the high-prieſt once a year in the holy of holies, both which we have already ſaid ſomething of, and thoſe which were offered on ſolemn feſtivals, new moons, ſabbaths, and the like, beſides ſome others of leſs note; but we have already dwelt too long upon this article, and ſhall only add, that as *Jeruſalem* became afterwards to the *Jews*, what the camp was during their abode in the wilderneſs; thoſe victims, which were ordered to be burnt out of the reader may ſee them at full length in the *Miſhnah* and the two rabbies mentioned above, and more particularly in *Cunæus*. All that we ſhall add is, that whatever was to be burnt of them upon the altar was to be done, not with common, but with ſacred fire, which was preſerved for that purpoſe (21).

(N) Some authors, who have inadvertently followed St. *Auſtin*'s miſtaken notion, that this altar ſtood in the moſt holy place, have affirmed accordingly, that none but the high-prieſt was to offer it up, and have even maintained, that *Zacharias*, the *Baptiſt*'s father, was inveſted with that dignity. Theſe have been ſufficiently confuted by *Cunæus*, among many more. However, there is one expreſſion in *Moſes* (22), which ſeems to favour that notion, where he ſays, that *Aaron ſhall burn therein ſweet incenſe every morning*, &c. But the *Jews* have made it plain, that the high-prieſt never offered it but on expiation-day, and on the firſt day of his inſtallation, on all other days, it was left to the prieſt in waiting, as the lot fell out (23); exclusive of the *Levites* and all other perſons, under pain of death. This mixture, which our verſion doth ſimply call incenſe, was rather a perfume, the compoſition of which is preſcribed by *Moſes*, and forbid under pain of death to be uſed by any but prieſts, or any where but in the ſanctuary (24), tho' any other compoſition might be, and was lawfully uſed, as appears by ſeveral places of ſcripture. Thus we read that *Hezekiah* ſhewed ſeveral ſorts of them among other rarities of his treaſure-houſe, to the king of *Babylon*'s ambaſſadors (25): and king *Aſa* had ſome ſuch like ſort uſed at his funeral (26).

As to the reaſon of this continual burning of incenſe, tho' we grant, that it might be typical of the prayers of the ſaints, yet we believe, we may take that of the learned *Maimon* along with it, that the multitude of victims, that were continually offered up, would have made the holy place ſmell like a ſlaughter houſe, and conſequently have inſpired the comers rather with diſguſt and contempt than awe and reverence, had it not been over-powered by the agreeable fragrancy of theſe perfumes (27).

(21) *Comp. Levit. x.* 1, 2. *v. xvi.* 12. (22) *Exod.* xxx. 7. (23) *Vide Luke i.* 9. (24) *Exod.* xxx. 34, *& ſeq.* (25) 2 *Kings.* xx. 13. (26) 2 *Chron.* xvi. *v. ult.* (27) *Ap.* Baſnag. *in Cun. tom. ii. lib. i. c.* 12.

camp, were, after the building of the temple, to be burned out of the walls of the city.

Laws concerning vows.

Laws concerning vows.

AS theſe made a ſolemn part of the *Jewiſh* worſhip and offerings, they may properly be joined as an appendix to the former, tho' their being free and arbitrary doth not permit us to put them in the ſame rank. How ſoon they began to be in uſe we have ſeen an inſtance of, in *Jacob*'s vowing the tenths of all his acquiſitions, as he went to *Padan-aram* †; however, we confine ourſelves to thoſe under the *Moſaic* diſpenſation, concerning which that lawgiver made ſeveral regulations, in order to direct and inforce the performance of them [c].

Vows were of a two-fold nature; namely, 1. Of ſuch as devoted the thing vowed, whether man, beaſt, money, or any part of a man's poſſeſſion, to the ſervice of GOD [d]. 2. Of ſuch as devoted them to utter deſtruction [e] (O). Under the firſt head it plainly appears, that perſons that were *ſui juris*, might vow themſelves, their children, or any part of their poſſeſſions, to God. We ſay *ſui juris*, becauſe the vows of a ſon or a daughter, of a wife or ſlave, were of no further force, than as they were approved, or diſapproved, by thoſe under whoſe power they were [f]. So that a parent, huſband, or maſter, if he heard the vow when it was made, or when he came afterwards to be informed of it, was at liberty either to give it a ſanction, or to diſannul it: but if the latter, he was obliged to do it on the ſame day, according to

† See Vol. II. p. 461. [c] Levit. xxvii. paſſ. [d] Ibid. ver. 2. & ſeq. [e] Ibid. ver. 28. 29. [f] Num. xxx. paſſ.

(O) The original diſtinguiſhes them by the words נדר, *Nadar*, which ſignifies *to vow*, in the firſt ſenſe and חרם, *Charam*, which implies *to lay a thing or perſon under an anathema*, or *to devote it or him to deſtruction*. Several learned commentators indeed will not allow of this laſt meaning, when it relates to men; but think, that thoſe perſons who were thus vowed, were to become wholly devoted to God beyond the poſſibility of redemption (28); but the reader may ſee, by the inſtances which we ſhall give above, that it meant quite another thing; namely, the death of the perſon, and extermination and deſtruction of the thing anathematiſed; and that the difference between the firſt and ſecond vow was, that the firſt might be redeemed, but not the ſecond.

(28) *Vide* Munſt. Grot. Le Clerc. Pagnin. Jun. Calm.

the

the text, or in twenty four hours, according to the *Jewiſh* doctors.

OF perſons vowing themſelves in this ſenſe, we meet with no plain inſtance, but of their vowing their children we have, among others, that of *Samuel*, who was dedicated to God by his mother's vow, ratified, as is to be ſuppoſed from what we juſt now hinted, by her huſband[g]; and he was accordingly conſecrated to GOD's ſervice all his life-time. However, in theſe caſes the law of *Moſes* allowed of a redemption or commutation for a ſum of money, which was either greater or leſs, according to the age and ſex of the perſon vowed, for which the reader will find a rate fixed to each of them, and an allowance made for thoſe who were not able to pay that ſum, in the chapter above quoted concerning vows[h]. It was otherwiſe with reſpect to cattle, lands, or the product of them, and the like. For theſe could not be redeemed or exchanged, in any caſe, except, where a man had vowed, for inſtance, a lamb, calf, or any ſuch creature, which, before the time came of his offering it, had contracted any legal defect, which made it unfit for ſacrifice. For in ſuch caſes, he was to ſubſtitute another that was perfect and equivalent unto it, and if the beaſt which a man had vowed was an unclean one, he was, beſides the equivalent, to add a fifth part of its value by way of fine[i]. The ſame was to be obſerved if it was a houſe, field, or the like. As for the firſt-born of cattle, they could not be vowed, becauſe they belonged to GOD already[k].

THE caſe was quite different, with reſpect to thoſe things which were vowed to deſtruction; for they could not be redeemed at any rate[l]. That which had life was to be put to death, and that which had not was to be deſtroyed by fire, or ſome other way. We meet with various inſtances of it in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, but ſhall ſingle only a few of the moſt remarkable. We may remember, that the children of *Iſrael* vowed the whole kingdom of *Arad* to deſtruction, and that all the cities of the *Canaanites* were under the ſame anathema[m], and more particularly *Jericho*; and that *Achan*, and all that he had, fell under the ſame curſe, becauſe he had ſaved ſome of the plunder of that city[n], which was to have been deſtroyed. As for *Jephthah*'s vow, beſides that it was not exactly of the ſame nature, and authors are much divided, about the manner *Anathemas*

[g] 1 Sam. i. 21, & ſeq. [h] Levit. xxvii. 3. & ſeq. [i] Ibid. ver. 13. [k] Ibid. ver. 26. [l] Ibid. ver. 28. 29. [m] Num. xxi. 1. & ſeq. Deut vii. 23. & ſeq. xx. 15. & ſeq [n] Joſh. vi, vii, paſſ.

of his fulfilling it, it will be more proper to examine it when we come to the history of that judge. The *Israelites*, assembled at *Mizpeh*, vowed those to destruction that did not assist in punishing the tribe of *Benjamin*, for their barbarous usage of the *Levite*'s concubine [o] : and *Saul* would have sacrificed his own son *Jonathan*, for ignorantly incurring the curse, which he had laid upon those, that should eat or drink whilst he was in pursuit of his victory; had not the whole army strongly opposed it. By all which instances, and many more that could be brought, it appears, that nothing less than death was the lot of the persons devoted by this kind of vows.

THOSE who think, that when they related to human victims, they meant no more than, that they should be dedicated to GOD's service as long as they lived, do indeed object the abhorrence which GOD expresses against all kind of human sacrifices; but we beg leave to observe, that the case here is not about sacrifices, but vows, and such as, for ought appears to the contrary, by all the instances we meet with, were not in the power of private men to make, but only either of the whole nation, as in the case of the land of *Arad*, or of the kings and judges, as in the other instances above-mentioned. Besides, they seem altogether to relate to those idolatrous nations they were going to conquer, the measure of whose sins had already provoked God to pass sentence of destruction against them; in which case, if they bound themselves by a solemn vow to put it in execution, they would be more likely to fulfil it. Accordingly we find them very exact where that was the case, and as remiss when it was not; else they had not left so many nations undestroyed, to be a continual snare to seduce them into all manner of idolatries. If therefore it was of so great consequence to them to remove all such dangerous incitements, we need not wonder, if they were in some measure led into it by the stronger obligation of an oath. But after all, this precept may be only an inforcement of that vow, which *Moses* had exacted of the whole nation a little before his death *†*, of observing all the commandments of GOD; one of which was the extirpation of all these nations, with all their monuments of idolatry: in which case the meaning of those words will be only this, that as they had solemnly vowed it to God, they must not pretend,

[o] Judg. xxi. 5. *†* See before, p. 38.

hereafter

hereafter to exempt themſelves from it, upon any pretence whatever (P).

WHAT curſe *Jonadab* the ſon of *Rechab* had laid upon his poſterity, if they did not obſerve his arbitrary injunctions, of abſtaining from wine, from planting, ſowing, and the like, doth not appear; but how ſtrict obſervers they were of them, we may conclude from their anſwer to *Jeremiah*, when he invited them to drink wine [p]. We ſhall conclude this article with a ſhort account of the *Nazarites*, often mentioned in the *Old Teſtament*, who were perſons that either dedicated themſelves, or were ſo by their parents, to obſerve the laws of *nazaritehood*. Theſe were of two ſorts; namely, of ſuch who obliged themſelves to it only for ſome ſhort ſpace, as a week or a month, and thoſe who were bound to it all their life; and theſe were moſt commonly dedicated by their parents. Of this kind were *Samſon* and *Samuel* [q], and all that we find peculiar in their way of life was, that they were to abſtain from wine and all intoxicating liquors, and to wear their hair to its full length. As for thoſe of the firſt *Nazarites.*

[p] Jerem. xxxv. paſſ. [q] Judg. xiii v. 1 Sam. i. 11.

(P) Thoſe who underſtand the original know, that the future tenſe is very often uſed for the paſt, and ſo *vice verſa*: ſo that the words may be properly rendered, *ſhall have vowed*, inſtead of *ſhall vow*. Theſe two verſes therefore ſeem to us, to come in as an exception to the regulations which *Moſes*, had made a little before, concerning the redemption of thoſe things which had been vowed in the firſt ſenſe; and which he therefore prefaces with the word אך *Ak*, *notwithſtanding*, or *nevertheleſs*, whatſoever ſhall be vowed in the ſecond ſenſe, that is, to deſtruction, whether of men or beaſts, *&c.* ſhall not be redeemed, but be put to death: that is, ye have all bound yourſelves, by a ſolemn oath, to deſtroy all thoſe nations that will not accept of proffered peace, and forſake their idolatry, and to eliminate all that belongs to them; remember therefore, that there is no redemption for them, and that if you ſuffer yourſelves, either through pity or covetouſneſs, to ſpare any of them, you will not only incur the puniſhment of perjury and rebellion, but be inſnared into greater guilt, by conforming to their ways. Had *Saul* been mindful of this, he had not ſaved the king of *Amalek*, and the choiceſt of the cattle and plunder (29). When therefore he made that weak and puerile excuſe, that he deſigned the latter as an offering to God, *Samuel* did juſtly reprove him, by ſhewing him, how vain it was to pretend to at one for one open violation of God's command by another.

(29) 1 Sam. *xv.* 9. *& ſeq.*

ſort,

sort, they were moreover to avoid all defilement, even that of entering into a house where a dead person was; for if they chanced to be polluted by it before the term was expired, they were obliged to begin afresh [r]. Women as well as men might bind themselves to this vow, and after it was accomplished, they presented themselves to the priest, who brought them to the door of the tabernacle or temple, where they offered the sacrifices prescribed by *Moses* in such cases [s], after which he caused their heads to be shaved, and the hair to be thrown into the fire which was under the sacrifice, and then pronounced them freed from their vow.

Those that lived at such a distance from the temple, that they could not reach it by that time their vow was expired, might shave their heads at what place soever they found themselves; at which time they set aside the price of their sacrifice, in order to bring or send it to the temple by the next opportunity. This is what we find St. *Paul* did, who made this vow at *Corinth*, shaved his head at *Cenchrea*, and went soon after to *Jerusalem*, to accomplish it by the usual offering [t].

Laws concerning the Priests, Levites, and Nethinims.

Laws concerning the priests.

THE two last things to be considered under this head, of the worship of God, or as it is commonly called, the commands of the first table, are, 1. The persons, and 2. The things, which were in a more peculiar manner consecrated to his service. Of the first sort were the priests, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*; of the second, the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, with all the pompous *apparatus* of utensils, prescribed by God himself to *Moses* on the mount, in order to inspire the carnal people with a greater awe and reverence for his religion. As to the tribe of *Levi*, we have seen above how, and upon what account, it was separated from the rest, and appointed for this important office †. Before that time the priesthood, or sacrificature, is generally thought to have belonged to the first-born; and when *Moses* ratified the covenant between God and the people at the mount, he acted the part of chief-priest, and chose a set of young men to act under him [u]; but after the tribe of *Levi* had been thus set apart for the inferior, and the family of *Aaron* for the higher, offices of the ministry, it became a capital crime for any other

[r] Num. vi. 1, & seq. [s] Ibid. ver. 13, & seq. [t] Acts xviii. 18. † See before p. 28. [u] Exod. xxiv. 5, & seq.

tribe

tribe to interfere with them in the ſacred function; inſomuch that GOD's vengeance did miraculouſly diſplay itſelf, in the puniſhment of the firſt offenders, *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and in confirming the prieſthood in that family by the ſupernatural budding of *Aaron*'s rod [w]. It is not indeed eaſy to reconcile what is ſaid of the *Levites* being choſen above all other tribes, upon the account of the zeal which they ſhewed in puniſhing the worſhippers of the golden calf [x], with *Aaron*'s being raiſed to the higheſt dignity in that tribe, he who had ſo baſely conſented to and countenanced that defection. This choice may therefore more properly be aſcribed to the mere pleaſure of GOD, like that which he made before of *Seth*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *David*, and many more. But however that be, *Moſes* tells us in another place, that GOD took the *Levites* inſtead of the firſt-born of *Iſrael*, to be his own tribe, and it is remarkable, that when the ſums of both were taken, and the number of the latter exceeded that of the former, he commanded that the overplus ſhould be redeemed, at the price of five ſhekels *per* head, and the price to be given to *Aaron* and his ſons [y]. So that it is plain, that here was an actual ſubſtitution or exchange of the *Levitical* tribe in lieu of the firſt-born, which God had claimed to himſelf for his having ſpared theſe of *Iſrael*, when he deſtroyed thoſe of *Egypt*; and a ſuperiority given to the family of *Aaron* over all the reſt of that tribe, both as to office and dignity, as we ſhall preſently ſhew under each head. As for the *Nethinims*, they were not ſo much as of the ſeed of *Jacob*, and we only rank them here, as being appointed to ſerve in the loweſt offices of the tabernacle and temple.

I. *Of the prieſts.*

WE have heretofore taken notice, that the tribe of *Levi* conſiſted of three main branches, diſtinguiſhed by their principal heads, namely, *Gerſhon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*. But the prieſthood was given ſolely to the family of *Aaron*, which was no more than a ſmall branch of that of *Kohath*; whilſt all the reſt of it, even the ſons of *Moſes* himſelf, as well as the other two branches, remained in the common rank of *Levites*; and were only admitted to the inferior functions of the miniſtry,

[w] Numb. xvi, & xvii, paſſ. [x] Deut. xxxiii. 8, & ſeq. & Exod. xxxii. 26, & ſeq. [y] Vid. Numb. iii, 12, 13, 45, & ſeq.

whether

whether of the tabernacle, or afterwards of the temple. So that these were always subject to, and dependent on, the priests, as will appear in its proper place.

At the head of the priesthood was the high-priest, who was also the head of the *Jewish* church, and the final judge of all controversies, whether concerning religion, or even about the administration of common justice. This last at least seems plainly implied in the directions, which *Moses* gives the people, to have recourse to the priests in all difficulties of that nature, and to abide by their determination under pain of death [z] (Q): and in this sense *Josephus*, *Philo*, and almost, if not, all the *Jewish* rabbies understand them [a]. However, in this respect he acted rather as a civil judge, than as high-priest. The same may be said of the subaltern priests and *Levites*, which were commonly admitted to sit in their inferior courts of judicature; for it is plain, that the main end for which they were set apart, was to bless the people in God's name, and to offer up incense and those sacrifices to him that were prescribed by the law, exclusive of all other tribes [b], under the severe penalties above-mentioned (R).

The

[z] Deut. xvii. 8, & seq. xix. 17. xxi. 5. vide &. Ezek. xliv. 24.
[a] Cont. Apion. & alib. Phil. Maimon. Vide Selden de Synedr. vet. Hebr. & al. [b] Num. xvi. 8. & alib.

(Q) The words of *Moses* run thus (30). *If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being a matter of controversy within thy gates*' (the sense of which from the last words is plainly. that if the matter is too hard for the judges of that city to which the contending parties belong (31), in such a case) '*then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, and thou shalt come unto the priests and* Levites, *and unto the judge that shall be in those days——and thou shalt exactly observe and do according to their sentence——without swerving from it to the right hand or to the left —— and the man that shall presumptuously refuse to abide by the determination of the priest, that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or to that of the judge, that man shall be put to death——*'. Now by the priest there mentioned, the generality of commentators understand the high priest.

(R) This ought not however, to be understood too strictly, because it is certain, that several kings, judges, and prophets, have

(30) Deut. *xvii.* 8, & *seq.* (31) *See Vol.* II. *p.* 378.

THE laws relating to the high-prieſt are reducible to theſe three heads; 1. Such as related to his office. 2. To his conſecration. And 3. To his dreſs.

As to his office, beſides his having it in his power, whenever he pleaſed to perform any of the functions of the inferior prieſts; his being alone poſſeſſed of the divine oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, ſpoken of more particularly in a former ſection ‡, and his being alone authorized to enter into the holy of holies, and to pronounce that ſolemn bleſſing on the day of expiation, mentioned under that head; all theſe great privileges were confined to him, and intailed on his ſon and ſucceſſor, either of his own body or family. Accordingly we find the two branches of it, that of *Eleazar* and that of *Ithamar*, the ſons of *Aaron*, in the high-prieſthood at different times, till the captivity, whilſt the other occupied the next in rank: and this is the moſt probable reaſon why the prophet mentions a high-prieſt, and a *The high-prieſt's office.*

‡ See before p. 30. note (C).

taken this office upon them, that were not of that tribe. Thus we read in one place, that *Samuel*, who was of that of *Ephraim*, was waited for to bleſs the ſacrifice (32); and in another, that he offered up a lamb for a burnt-offering (33), tho' theſe two functions did properly belong to the prieſts. Thus again, *Saul*, *Elijah*, and *David*, are ſaid to have offered up burnt-offerings to God (34); and both he and his ſon *Solomon* to have bleſſed the people in the name of the Lord (35).

It is indeed commonly anſwered, that they only cauſed the prieſts to perform that office for them; but this expoſition is forced, and incompatible with the plain meaning of the original. We think it therefore more probable, that theſe perſons above named, not ſo much as being heads of the people, but as being prophets, and being directed by the ſpirit, might perform theſe functions upon particular occaſions, ſuch as theſe we have quoted, for the greater ſolemnity of the ceremony. For even *Saul* was for ſome time endowed with the ſpirit, and *Samuel* told him, that he might follow the directions of it upon all emergencies (36); when therefore that prophet reproved him for his indiſcretion (37), it is not ſo much for having offered up a burnt-offering, as for doing it contrary to his judgment, and out of an untimely fear, leſt *Samuel* ſhould diſappoint him, and his enemies ſurprize him unprepared; for *Saul* adds, *and I forced*, or did violence to myſelf, that is, my fear drove me to this action, contrary to my own judgment.

(32) 1 Sam. *ix.* 13. (33) *Ibid. vii* 9. (34) *Ibid. xiii.* 9. & *ſeq.* 1 Kings *xviii.* 30, & *ſeq.* (35) 2 Sam. *vi.* 17, 18. 1 Kings *viii.* 55, & *ſeq.* (36) *Vide* 1 Sam. *x.* 7, & *ſeq.* (37) *Ibid. xiii.* 13.

ſecond prieſt *†. How *Phinehas*'s line came to be ſet aſide from the firſt rank, the text doth not tell us: but the legal imperfections, which diſqualified a man from that high dignity, were ſo many and ſo frequent, that it is probable, that ſome of them might be the reaſon of its paſſing to *Eli*, who was of the younger branch; in whoſe houſe it continued till *Saul*'s time. After this it ſhifted once or twice more in *David*'s time, till *Solomon*, diſſatisfied with *Abiathar*, reſtored *Zadok* of the *Phinehan* family to the firſt rank again, where it continued to the end. So that *Abiathar* cannot ſo properly be ſaid to have been depoſed by that prince, as to have been reduced to the priſtine rank of his branch (S). Accordingly, we

*† Jerem. c. ult. ver. 24. vide 1 Chron. xxiv. 2.

(S) This right was then only ſo far hereditary, that the high-prieſthood always deſcended to one of the two branches, as long as it was capable of ſucceeding; if not, one of the next was choſen that was duely qualified. 'Tis true, *Moſes* has not left any written direction about it; but we find that *Eli*, who was both high-prieſt and judge in *Iſrael*, was not of the family of *Eleazar*, but of that of *Ithamar*; for his name is not to be found in the genealogy of the former (38); and *Joſephus* tells us, that he was of the family of the latter (39), and the firſt of that line that was raiſed to that high function, and in whoſe family it continued uninterrupted till *Saul*'s reign.

It were needleſs to trouble our readers with the various conjectures, that have been made about the reaſon of this tranſlation, of the high-prieſthood from the eldeſt to the youngeſt branch; it is enough for us, that it was not done without divine approbation, as appears by what a prophet ſent from God ſaid unto *Eli* (40), to this effect — *I choſe the houſe of thy father* Aaron, *to offer up incenſe and ſacrifice upon my altar* ——— *Why then do ye kick at my ſacrifices* ——— *Wherefore, tho' I ſaid, that thine houſe* ——— *ſhould ſtand before me for ever* ——— *Now far be it from me to honour thoſe that diſhonour me* ——— *Lo, the time cometh, that thy ſons* Hophni *and* Phinehas *ſhall be cut off in one day* ——— *and thou ſhalt behold an enemy in my habitation* ——— *and I will raiſe me up a faithful prieſt* ——— *Whilſt thoſe that are left of thine houſe ſhall fall into the utmoſt poverty and contempt.* How and when this prophecy was fulfilled will be ſeen in its proper place. It is ſufficient at preſent to have given the beſt light we can get to the manner of his ſacred ſucceſſion. We beg leave only to add, that where the

(38) *Vide* 1 Chron. *vi.* 3. *& ſeq.* (39) *Ant. lib. v. c. ult.* (40) 1 Sam. *ii.* 27, *& ſeq.*

prophet

we find him named in the very next chapter but one, after his ſuppoſed depoſition, as ſecond to *Zadok*. *And* Zadok *and* Abiathar *were prieſts* *†*. But to return to the high-prieſt: there was ſuch a particular ſacredneſs inherent in his dignity, as obliged him to ſeveral ſtrict laws, from which the reſt of the prieſts were exempt. It was not lawful for him to marry a widow, a repudiated woman, or a harlot; the perſon, whom he took to his bed, was to be a pure virgin, and one of his own tribe. He was forbid to put himſelf into mourning for the neareſt relation, or to go into any houſe where a corps was [c]; he was further obliged to abſtain not only from matrimonial commerce, during thoſe feſtivals in which he was to officiate, but alſo from all food, and other things which might occaſion any defilement. Beſides all theſe, he was, in common with other prieſts, to be free from all natural defects mentioned by *Moſes* [d]; that is to ſay, that he was to be neither blind, lame, maimed, crooked, or a dwarf; he was to have neither ſcurvy, itch, nor any diſeaſe in his ſkin, or defect in any of his limbs, eſpecially in his teſticles. As many as had any one of theſe blemiſhes, were abſolutely reſcinded from all prieſtly functions, from entering into the ſanctuary, and offering the ſhew-bread; only they were allowed to live upon a portion of the offerings that were made there [e].

2. HIS conſecration. This ceremony was preſcribed by God himſelf on the mount [f], and was performed by *Moſes* upon his brother *Aaron*, with a ſolemnity anſwerable to the ſacredneſs of his office. It conſiſted chiefly in the ſix following particulars. 1. And before all things, he was preſented to the Lord at the door of the tabernacle, in the preſence of all the people. 2. He was to waſh himſelf all over in pure water, which was drawn out of a large capacious veſſel, that ſtood near the altar, and was ſet up there for all ſuch purpoſes. 3. He was then immediately inveſted with all the pontifical veſtments, of which we ſhall ſpeak under the next head, and with the breaſt-plate and *Urim*. 4. His next buſineſs was offering the ſacrifices appointed for this purpoſe; *Conſecration.*

† Comp. 1 Kings i. 26, 27. and iv. 3. [c] Levit xxi. 10, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. xxi. 16. & ſeq. [e] Ibid. xxi, 22. & ſeq. Exod. xl. 12, & ſeq.

prophet tells *Eli*, *thou ſhalt ſee an enemy* in my *habitation*, the word ſignifies more properly a rival, and ſeems to point directly at the eldeſt branch; which, though ſet aſide for a time, would again be reinſtated in that ſupreme dignity; as it actually was, when *Saul* cauſed *Abimelech* to be ſlain, and *Zadok* to be put in his place.

namely, a bullock for a sin- offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, and another for his consecration; with the blood of which *Moses* anointed the tip of his right ear, thumb, and great toe, besides the usual aspersions on the altar, and other wave, meat, and drink-offerings. 5. The last ceremony was the anointing of him with the sacred oil, whose composition was likewise prescribed by God [g], and was not to be used for any other purpose. These ceremonies were repeated seven days successively, at least as far as relates to the washing, the sacrifices, and the unction: for it doth not appear, that the ceremony was repeated relating to their putting on the priestly garments [h]. During all this time, *Aaron* and his sons were not permitted to go out of the tabernacle, but continued there, and feasted themselves with the daily sacrifices which they offered for their consecration; of which no fragment was to be left till the next; morning, but was to be burned that very night. On the eighth day *Aaron* entered into his office by a double sacrifice one which he offered for himself, and the other for the people, whom he blessed for the first time: and this his inauguration was signalized by the glory of God appearing unto all the people, and by the descent of the holy fire from heaven [i]; which was thence-forwards preserved till the destruction of the first temple, and the use of any other, in the sacred ministry, expresly forbid under pain of death †.

THERE is one thing to be observed in this first consecration; that not only *Aaron*, but his sons, were consecrated at the same time, and with the same ceremonies, tho' these were to continue still in the rank of common priests. This may be the reason, why *Eleazar* is afterwards said to have been installed into the high-priesthood, by the sole investiture of his father's garments, without any other ceremony: from which several commentators have concluded, that the rest were not to be used at the installation of any new high-priest. It is true, we can offer nothing conclusive out of the *Mosaic* text to confute that notion, yet if we believe the antient *Jews*, who may be properly enough looked upon as the best judges, they will tell us, that the unction did always accompany the investiture till the destruction of the first temple, when *Josiah* did deposit the sacred oil in so secret a place, that it could never be found out after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity. From which time, and not till then, they began to con-

[g] Ibid xxx. 22, & seq. pass. vide ver. 23, 24.
[h] Levit, viii. 1. & seq.
[i] Ibid. ix.
† See before p. 1.

tent

tent themſelves with the bare inveſtiture, without the unction [k] (T). However that be, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that *Moſes* was commanded to conſecrate *Aaron*'s two ſons, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, at that grand ceremony, as being the two branches unto which the high-prieſthood was confined; as he did at the ſame time all the prieſtly garments, the tabernacle,

[k] Vide SELD. de Succeſſion. ad Pontificat. lib. ii. c. 9. BASNAG. Rep. Heb. tom. i. lib. 2. c. 7.

(T) The rabbies add, that thoſe that were conſecrated by unction were called *anointed*, and the others only *inveſted*; and that they did never venture to make a new compoſition of the ſacred ointment, after that of *Moſes* was gone (41). But we can ſee no reaſon for joining with them, becauſe *Moſes* was ſo far from forbidding any ſuch thing, that he has left a plain receipt how to make it. It is certain, that many antient fathers believed, that it continued till the time of *Chriſt* (42); and *Zechariah*, ſpeaking of his viſion of the two high-prieſts, *Joſhua* and *Zerubbabel*, calls them בְּנֵי הַיִּצְהָר *Bene Hajizhar*, *the ſons of oil* or *unction* (43): which *Kimchi* renders, rightly enough, *anointed*; becauſe, ſays he, *Joſhua* was anointed high-prieſt, and *Zerubbabel* king (44). We may add an adage of the *Gemarriſts* concerning the דִּין יְרוּשָּׁה, *Din Jeruſhah*, or *hereditary right*; about which they make this diſtinction, that an high-prieſt, the ſon of an high prieſt, muſt be anointed, becauſe that right is not abſolutely in him; but the ſon of an anointed king needs not be anointed, becauſe it is in him. *Abarbanel* adds, in his comment upon the place, that it was the judgment of their wiſe-men to chooſe him for high prieſt מֵאֲחָיו, from among his brethren, that was גָּדוֹל בְּבָנָיו גָּדוֹל בְּעוֹשֶׁר וְגָדוֹל בְּכֹחַ *the moſt beautiful, the richeſt, and ſtrongeſt*; who was therefore to be anointed, that the reſt might thereby know, that he was duely choſen from the midſt of his brethren (45).

How this anointing was performed, is not very clear (46); but, by the expreſſion of the pſalmiſt (47), as well as that which *Zechariah* makes uſe of here, it ſeems to have been performed by pouring the oil upon the head ſo plentifully, that it ran down to his beard, and thence upon the ſkirts of his garment. The rabbies are of that opinion, only ſome ſay, that it was poured in form of an X, others in that of a כ *Caph*; but theſe are not worth dwelling upon (48).

(41) *Vide* Seld. *de Succeſ. ubi ſup.* (42) Euſeb. *Demonſt. Ev. lib. iv. c.* 4. Chryſoſt. *Orat. 2. cont. Judæos.* Cyril. *Jeroſ. Myſtag. cont. Jud* Anaſt. *de incarnat. verb. vide* & Calm. *ſub voc. unction* (43) Ch. iv. *ver. ult. vide* Munſt. *in loc.* (44) *Vide* Abarb. & Munſt. in Zechar. *ubi ſup.* (45) Abarban. *Comm. in gemar. in loc.* (46) *Vide* Goodwin's *Moſes & Aaron. lib i. c.* 5. *note* 1. (47) Pſ. cxxxiii. 2. (48) *Vide* Toſtat, Janſen. Menoch.

and

and all the ſacred utenſils of it; which were to be entirely conſecrated to the ſervice of God for ever after [l].

His dreſs. 3. HIS prieſtly veſtments. And all that we can with any certainty advance concerning theſe is, that they were likewiſe preſcribed by God himſelf, and that they conſiſted of every thing that could make them truly rich, ſumptuous, and venerable; ſuch as a great variety of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, purple, ſcarlet, the fineſt of ſilk, linen, and the like: but as to the faſhion of them, all that has been advanced about it, tho' with never ſo poſitive an air, is all mere conjecture; becauſe *Moſes* has contented himſelf with giving us the names of them, without any further deſcription, as being altogether needleſs. *Joſephus* has indeed been more particular in this reſpect [m]: but all we can depend upon him for is, that he has deſcribed them as they were worn in his time; and how far the faſhion of them might have altered during ſo long a ſpace, and ſuch a variety of circumſtances which the *Jewiſh* common-wealth went through, is not eaſy to gueſs. The rabbies have deſcribed them vaſtly different from him, and St. *Jerom* deſcribes ſome of them differently from theſe too [n]. So that we may truly ſay, that thoſe moderns, who have lately given us ſuch lively deſcriptions of them, both in writing and in various prints, have rather furniſhed the world with new models for maſquerading habits, than informed us with any thing, either certain or indeed material. This caution being premiſed, we ſhall now endeavour to give our readers the beſt account we can of them, with any tolerable certainty, and refer the reader to *Joſephus* and thoſe modern authors, who have treated more fully of them *.

THEY were of two ſorts, the one made of linen, and common to him and all the other prieſts; and if there was any difference between them, it was in the former being made of finer linen, and woven in a richer manner. We have already mentioned them under the head of expiation, they being the only ones, that he is ſuppoſed to have wore when he went into the holy of holies. Only one would be apt to think, that theſe were made of a finer linen, becauſe they are called by another name; namely, *Sheſh*, which is thought a fine *Egyptian* ſort, whereas that which is called *Bad* is a more common one. Theſe were the mitre, or turban, long robe, or veſt, his drawers, and his girdle. The others,

[l] Vide Levit. viii. 10, & ſeq. ad 30, ix. paſſ. vide & verſ. 23, & 24. [m] Ant. lib. iii. c. 7. [n] HIERON. ad Fabiol.
* Ant. lib. iii. c. 7. CUNÆUS, BASNAG. LAMY, CALMET. & al.

which

which were peculiar to him, and which he was to wear upon all ſolemn days and occaſions, were ſo rich and magnificent, that the *Jews* called them *Bagde Zahab*, *veſtures of gold*, to expreſs the richneſs of them; and *Moſes*, *the glory and ornament of* Aaron [o]. The firſt was a blue or purple robe, which he put on over his linen veſt (V). This garment had no

[o] Exod. xxviii. 2.

(V) We have no great certainty above theſe colours, eſpecially the blue. The *Greek* and old verſions render the word תכלת, *Tekeleth*, by *Hyacinth*, but as there is a ſtone of that name, which is of a yellow, and a flower of a light blue, or purpliſh colour, it is not eaſy to know to which of thoſe the interpreters alluded. The old *Flemiſh* verſion, among ſome others, renders it yellow ſilk; but as that colour, when mixed with ſcarlet and purple is too glaring, eſpecially where there is ſo great a mixture of gold, the generality of interpreters think it to be the colour of the flower ſo called. As for the ארגמן, *Argaman*, which we tranſlate *purple*, it is moſt likely to have been a dye, made of the blood of a ſhell-fiſh of that name, which was caught upon the coaſts of *Paleſtine*, and for which the *Tyrians* came to be ſo famous. Some *Jewiſh* etymologiſts make *Argaman* to be a kind of adjective of the word רגם, *Regem*, which according to them ſignifies *a prince* or *royal perſon*; for which reaſon they chooſe to tranſlate it a *princely colour*, ſuch as the kings wore themſelves, and cloathed their greateſt favourites with. Thus *Daniel* was cloathed in purple by *Belſhazzar* (49); and *Chriſt* with a robe of mockery of the ſame colour (50).

Neither are we much more certain concerning the *Hebrew* words בד, *bad*, שש, *ſheſh*, פשתה, *piſhtah*, and בוץ, *buzz*; whence the *byſſus*; that is, whether they all ſignify linen made of flax or hemp, differing only in degrees of fineneſs, or weaving; or whether the *ſheſh* was not either a kind of cotton or ſilk. There is no reaſon to doubt but theſe were both uſed and eſteemed at that time; and as the prieſtly robes were to be made of the moſt coſtly things, it is not improbable, but theſe went into the compoſition under one of the three firſt names. As to the *buzz*, by which interpreters commonly underſtand the fineſt of *Egyptian* linen, it is moſt likely to have been a ſilk, made of the tail of a fiſh †. But this laſt is not to be met with in the *Moſaic* writings. The laſt quoted author has at leaſt made it probable, that the *ſheſh* was a kind of fine cotton ‡; and as for what the *Jews* ſay, that there could be

(49) Dan. v. 29. (50) John xix 5. † Baſil *in Hexaem.* Procop. *de Fabric. ap.* Calmet *Comment. in* Exod. & *Paralipom.* ‡ *Idem Comm. in* Exod & *Dict ſub. voc. Cotton.*

no

no ſleeves, or any ſeam, according to *Joſephus*, being woven, like that of our Saviour's, from top to bottom, with a ſlit to put his head through. The border of it, which reached almoſt to his ancles, was trimmed with a rich fringe; to which were interchangeably hung little bells, and pomegranates curiouſly wrought in pure gold, at equal diſtance one from another, that by their tinkling his approach might be the more eaſily diſtinguiſhed. This veſt was tied round with a rich girdle, which went twice round his body, and hung down a convenient length before him.

OVER this veſt was a third, called the *ephod*, curiouſly wrought with gold and other variegated embroidery, not unlike a ſhort coat, about two foot in length. On the top of it, on each ſide, were two ſhoulder-pieces; to which were faſtened two precious ſtones (W) ſet in gold; on which were engraved the names of the twelve tribes, ſix upon each ſtone, that he might always have before his eyes thoſe that were committed to his paſtoral care. Upon the breaſt of it was a vacancy of about half a cubit in length, and a proportionable breadth, on which the breaſt-plate was to be faſtened. This was a folded piece of the ſame rich embroidered tiſſue, on no linen thread mixed in theſe garbs, becauſe it was contrary to the law, which forbids the mixture of linſey-woolſey *. It is probable, as *Cunæus* obſerves, that it related only to ſtuffs made for common wear or uſe; and to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that were for ſacred purpoſes, ſuch as the curtains, *&c.* of the tabernacle, and the robes of the high-prieſt; which were made of every thing that was ſplendid and coſtly

(W) The word in the original is שֹׁהַם, *ſhoham*, which our verſion, after ſeveral others antient and modern, tranſlates *onyx-ſtone*, though the *Septuagint* and ſome others think, it ſignifies the emerald. The truth is, that all the light we can get from commentators, whether *Jewiſh* or *Chriſtian*, antient or modern, is too dim to lead us to the certain knowledge either of this, or any other of the twelve ſtones of the breaſt-plate; becauſe it is hardly poſſible, for any of them to have been ſufficiently acquainted with their true ſignification. And this is the reaſon, why we find ſo little agreement among them. However, as the thing is of no great conſequence, we ſhall follow our *Engliſh* verſion, which for ought appears to the contrary, may have gueſſed as right as any other. Thoſe who are curious in ſuch things may, if they pleaſe, conſult thoſe authors quoted in the margin (51), who have wrote about them *ex profeſſo*.

* Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 11. (51) *Vide Commentat. in Gen. ii.* 12. Lud. de Dieu, *in Exod. xxviii.* 17, & *ſeq* Brannius *de Veſt. S. Sacred. Heb.* Fra. Dell. Strad. *de Gemmis*, & *al.*

which were faſtened twelve precious ſtones, ſet in gold, on each of which was engraven the name of one of the tribes. Theſe were ſet in four rows, three in each row (X), and the whole was faſtened at the four corners; thoſe on the top to each ſhoulder-piece by a golden hook or ring, at the end of a wreathed chain; and thoſe below to the girdle of the ephod, by two blue ſtrings or ribbons, which had likewiſe two rings

(X) Theſe were divided one from another by the little golden partitions, into which they were ſet, and were diſpoſed in the following order: to which we have added their *Hebrew* names, together with the tribe that was engraven upon each of them (52).

1. אדם Odem	Sardius *Reuben*	2. פטדה Phiterah	Topaz *Simeon*	3. ברקת Barketh	Carbuncle *Levi*		
4. נפך Nophek	Emerald *Judah*	5 ספיר Saphire	Saphire *Dan*	6. יהלום Jahalom	Diamond *Naphtali*		
7. לשם Leſhem	Ligure *Gad*	8. שבו Shebo	Agate *Aſher*	9. אחלמה Achlamah	Amethyſt *Iſſachar*		
10. תרשיש Tarſhiſh	Beryl *Zebulun*	11. שוהם Shohem	Onyx *Joſeph*	12. ישפה Yaſhphe	Jaſper *Benjamin*.		

Some of theſe ſtones, it muſt be owned, are of ſo hard a nature, eſpecially the diamond, that one may juſtly queſtion, how they came ſo ſoon by the art of engraving on them. But here the *Talmudiſts* wonderfully help us out, by aſſuring us, that they were not engraven by any tool, which would have waſted ſome part of the ſtone, but by a miraculous worm, not now in being; which, being ſet upon each of theſe ſtones, did ſink itſelf all along thoſe places which *Moſes* had chalked to it, and ſo impreſſed the letters into the ſtones, in the ſame manner as we might do into ſome things of a ſoft and yielding ſubſtance, without taking off any part of it. They relate likewiſe ſeveral other wonders about this worm and theſe precious ſtones, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with, after what we have owned in the laſt note, concerning the little certainty we can have, from any good authority, of even the true ſignification of their names. The *Jews*, among other things, tell us, that the names of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were engraven alſo over the name of *Reuben*, in the firſt ſtone; and in the laſt, under that of *Benjamin*, the words, שבטי יה, *Shibte jah*, *the tribes of the Lord*, in order to make up the whole alphabet: ſome letters of which were wanting in the names of the twelve patriarchs (53). But this is only to confirm an hypotheſis of theirs, that the divine oracle was known by the protuberance or ſuperior luſtre of ſuch letters as compoſed the anſwer. But of this we have already ſpoken in another place †.

(52) *Exod. xxviii.* 17. *& ſeq.* (53) Maimon, *Kele hammikdaſh c.* 9. † *ee before p* 30. *note* (C).

and hooks; so that the whole might be tied fast to the garment; beyond the danger of falling off. For these were never to be severed; and the *Jews* tell us, that if the high-priest did at any time, either through inadvertency or wilfully, put on the one without the other, he was to be punished for it. This ornament is therefore called the *memorial*, to put him in mind how dear those tribes ought to be to him, whose names he wore over his breast. It is also called the breast-plate of judgment, because it had the divine oracle fastened to it. At least the far greater part of interpreters have understood the command of God to *Moses*, of putting the *Urim* and *Thummim* to the breast-plate [p], as if it implied them to be a distinct thing from it; and this has made them run into various notions, as we shall shew presently.

WHAT this oracle consisted in, and how it was consulted, we have seen in a former section †; and have now nothing left to inquire about, but its form and make. But here we are also left so much in the dark, that it would require a new *Urim* and *Thummim* to acquaint us with it; because no inspired writer has given us any hint, and those who have since wrote their conjectures about it, seem to have given so great a scope to their fancy, that one shall scarce find two or three of them agreeing in the same notion. Some antients thought, that there was a thirteenth stone in the breast-plate, whose extraordinary lustre and beauty above the rest, did signify to the high-priest, God's approbation or dislike of the thing inquired about [q]. And though St. *Austin* has plainly proved, that there was not the least foundation for such a supernumerary stone [r], some moderns have not scrupled to add another, in order to answer the two names of *Urim* and *Thummim* [s]. An antient father, who is followed by a great many moderns, thinks, that those two words were either engraven on a plate of gold and fixed to the breast-plate, or embroidered in raised work upon it [t]. Most of the *Jews* believe, that it was the *Tetragrammaton* written upon a plate of gold, or some other way fixed to the breast-plate [u]; and *Le Clerc*, that *Urim* and *Thummim* were the names of two kinds of precious stones, set in a gold chain or collar, which were hung about the high-priest's neck, and came down to his breast; probably, as he thinks, in imitation of the *Egyptians*, whose chief magistrate wore a gold chain, at the end of which hung the figures of justice

[p] Exod. xxviii. 30. † See before p. 30. note (C). [q] EPIPHAN. Tract. de XII. Gemmis. Suidas, in Εφοδ. [r] Quest. in Exod. 117. [s] ARR. MONT. & al. [t] CYRIL. Exposit. Symbol. [u] Ita Rabbin. vide R. SALOM. vide EGUB. & MUNST. in loc.

and

and truth engraven on ſome precious ſtone [w]. A modern traveller, in a letter dated from *Cairo*, tells us, that he ſaw a very antient mummy in *Egypt*, which had a large collar hanging down to its breaſt, with a bird engraven in gold faſtened to the end of it [x]. *Spencer*, after *De Caſtro*, believed, that the breaſt-plate had two little golden figures, encloſed in a kind of purſe, which did give anſwers *vivâ voce*, to the queſtions of the high-prieſt [y]; and for this he quotes St. *Jerom* and *Cedrenus* among the antients, *Cornelius a Lapide* and *Ludovicus de Dieu* among the moderns, with ſome *Jewiſh* writers: but this notion has been ſo ſeverely anſwered by the learned *Pocock* *, as abſurd and impious, that we know not of its having been embraced by any author ſince. *Philo* indeed ſeems to hint ſomething like it [z], only with this difference, that he ſays, thoſe two figures, or virtues, namely manifeſtation and truth, were only embroidered upon it: and it muſt be owned, that if there were any ſuch figures or ſymbols, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe them, with him, to have been only embroidered, than with *Spencer*, that they were real figures, whether caſt or carved by any other way; becauſe this latter ſeems too contrary to the prohibition in the ſecond Commandment (Y). But we ſee no need of ſuppoſing any ſuch figures, upon the authority of either; becauſe *Joſephus*, who was alſo a prieſt, and may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been as well acquainted with it as *Philo*, doth not ſo much as

[w] Com. in loc. vide DIOD. SICUL. lib. ii. c. 3. Biblioth. ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. & al. [x] PET. VALLA, Epiſt. xi. [y] Diſſert. de Ur. & Thum. * Comm. in Hoſ. iii. 4. [z] In vit. Moſ. lib. iii. de Monarc. l. ii.

(Y) If it ſhould be objected here, that the cherubims in the ſanctuary were as contrary to that prohibition, as theſe ſuppoſed figures; we beg leave to obſerve, that there was not the leaſt danger of the former being miſtaken for a ſymbol of the deity, even by the moſt ſtupid, becauſe God is expreſly ſaid in ſeveral places to dwell between the cherubims; ſo that they could only look upon them as ornaments to the mercy-ſeat, or at moſt, as ſymbols of thoſe heavenly beings, who continually adore and praiſe him, and fly with the utmoſt ſpeed to perform his commands. And this ſeems to be the reaſon of the humble poſture in which they were repreſented, and of their having ſo many wings. We cannot ſay the ſame of the latter, becauſe their delivering the divine oracles in any way, but more eſpecially if they had done it *vivâ voce*, as our author pretends, could hardly have failed of inſpiring the people with the ſame idolatrous notions, that the reſt of the *Heathen* entertained concerning their falſe deities.

hint any thing like ſuch figures, but makes the oracle to conſiſt in the ſupernatural brightneſs of the twelve ſtones at the time of inquiring, as we have ſeen already; and as for *Spencer*, it is plain, that he is too fond of fetching the origin of every thing from *Egypt*. Sure it is, that whoever compares the places, where *Moſes* mentions the *Urim* and *Thummim* [a], will have reaſon to wonder, that God, who took ſuch particular care to give him the moſt exact directions for all the other garments, utenſils, *&c.* ſhould not give him the leaſt hint about theſe; unleſs we do ſuppoſe them to have been things ſufficiently both known to him and to all the people. If therefore we might be permitted to prefer one opinion to all the reſt, it would be that of the judicious *Hottinger*; who thinks, that when *Moſes* is commanded to put into the breaſt-plate the *Urim* and *Thummim*, which words, as has been ſhewn already, do ſignify light and perfection in the plural, it means only, that he ſhould make choice of the moſt perfect ſet of ſtones, and have them poliſhed, ſo as to give the moſt conſummate luſtre [b] (Z). And this ſeems moſt agreeable to what *Joſephus* and *Maimon* ſaid of it, except the miraculous luſtre which the former attributes to them, in order to account for the oracle; concerning which we have elſewhere offered a more probable conjecture *†*. However we are far from diſapproving of that more ſpiritual notion of the learned *Pri-*

[a] Exod. xxviii. 30. Deut. xxxiii. 8. & Levit. viii. 8. [b] In Moſ. & Aar. lib i. c. 5. note 11. *†* See before p. 30. note (C).

(Z) This conjecture is ſo far from jarring with the literal ſenſe of the original, that the very expreſſion, which *Moſes* makes uſe of in the places above quoted (54), ſeems to lead one to it. For after God had given him all the particular directions for making the breaſt-plate, ſuch as the length and breadth, the materials, the precious ſtones, *&c.* even to the hooks, rings, chains, and ſtrings, by which it was to be made faſt to the ephod; he adds, ונתת אל חושן המשפת את האורים ואה התימים which literally runs thus; *and thou ſhalt give to the breaſt plate of judgment theſe lights or luſtres and perfections*; namely of the twelve ſtones before deſcribed. We need not to add, that according to the *Hebrew* idiom the word אור, or *light*, doth often imply *the brightneſs*, and תום, *thom*, *the goodneſs* of a thing in its kind, and that the plural number, as here, is often uſed to expreſs the higheſt degree of it. However, we leave it to the reader to adopt which of all theſe ſeems moſt probable to him, and if he is deſirous to know more about this point, he may conſult the learned *Buxtorf* the younger, who has almoſt exhauſted the ſubject (55).

(54) *Sub lit.* a. (55) *Exercit. iii. de Ur. & Thum.*

deaux;

deaux; who believes that thoſe two words were choſen, to expreſs the clearneſs and certainty of the oracle, by a particular divine virtue communicated to the breaſt-plate at its conſecration; only we are more inclined to ſuppoſe, that this latter ſenſe was emblematically ſignified by the genuineneſs and brightneſs of the ſtones. At leaſt we find that the *Jews*, immediately after their return from the captivity, thought it neceſſary to imitate this breaſt-plate in all its parts, and to call it by the ſame *name*, tho' they own, that it had not the oracular virtue of the former [c]. Now it is plain, that ſuch an imitation would have been ridiculous, if not impious, upon any other ſuppoſition, than that they underſtood the words *Urim* and *Thummim*, to have been deſigned by God, not as abſolutely expreſſive, but as ſymbolical, of the light and clearneſs of this oracle.

THE laſt garment peculiar to the high-prieſt was his mitre or bonnet. Whether, and how far it differed in faſhion from that of the common prieſts, *Moſes* doth not tell us, neither is it eaſy to gueſs, tho' their being called by different names, and made at leaſt of different kinds of linen (A), inclines one to think, that there was ſome conſiderable difference between them; if not in ſhape, yet in beauty and richneſs. The reader may ſee, in the next note, all that can be conjectured

[c] Vide MAIM. Kele hammikdaſh, cap. x. § 10.

(A) As to the names, that of the high-prieſt is called מִצְנֶפֶת, *Mizncpheth*, from which the boldeſt etymologiſts, that we know of, have not ventured to draw any hint about its make. It is not ſo with thoſe of the common prieſts, which being called מִגְבָּעוֹת, *Miggbaghoth*, they conclude, were higher than the former, becauſe גִּבְעָה, ſignifies *a hill* (56). Though the word, being in the plural, would rather incline one to believe, that there were ſome partitions in thoſe prominences, like unto the mitres worn in the church of *Rome*: but the learned *Abraham Ben David* has rejected that notion in his obſervations on *Maimon*, and maintains, that the high-prieſt's mitre was higher than all the reſt. We ſhall not take upon us to ſay which of theſe is moſt in the right.

Another difference marked by *Moſes* is, that that of the high-prieſt was made of שֵׁשׁ, *ſheſh*, and that of the prieſts of בַּד, *bad*. We have already taken notice, that the former was, if not a ſilk or fine cotton, yet at leaſt a finer ſort of linen than the latter (57).

(56) Maimon. *ubi ſup. c. viii.* § 19. (57) *Vide* Calm. *ſub voc. Cotton.*

concerning

concerning it (B), from *Jewish* and *Christian* authors; however the pontifical one was remarkably distinguished from the common, by the golden plate on which were engraven in *Hebrew* the words, HOLINESS TO THE LORD [d]. This plate is also called in some other places a crown [e], and was fastened to the fore-part of the mitre, by two blue ribbons or strings.

THESE words, the *Jews* tell us, were raised by a kind of enamel above the gold [f]: but this seems contrary to the meaning of *Moses*'s words; who expressly says, that they were to be *written, like the engraving of a signet.* However there is no doubt, but it was designed to express the holiness of the character of the person that wore it: which was to be such,

[d] Exod. xxviii. 36. [e] Exod. xxix. 6. xxxix. 30. Levit. viii. 9.
[f] MAIM. ubi sup. c. ix. § 1.

(B) All that we can gather from *Josephus*, St. *Jerom*, *Maimon* (58), and others concerning this ornament is, that it was a kind of cap not unlike a hemisphere, which consequently did not come down lower than the ears, and was wrapped several times about with a piece of fine cotton or linen, of a considerable length, and tied behind the head with a blue ribbon or string, to prevent its falling of. *Josephus* adds, that the mitre was covered with another, of fine blue or purple, having a triple crown of gold about it, and that on the top, just in the middle, it had a kind of golden cup turned upwards, resembling the bud of a plant, which he is there very particular in describing. But we shall refer the reader to the author. The *Jews* further add, that as the crown or plate of gold did go but half way round the head, the other, that is, the hinder part, was filled up with artificial flowers or festoons to the place where it was tied. Both the high-priest and the inferior ones were very careful to tie their bonnets fast, when they officiated; because it was thought a mark of reverence to appear with the head covered, and of irreverence and boldness to be seen bare-headed; according to which notion the *Chaldee* paraphrast renders those places, where the *Israelites* are said to have marched out of *Egypt*, *with a high hand* (59), by the words *bare-headed*, that is, with boldness, and intrepidity. On the contrary, the greatest token of respect with them was to be bare-foot; and this is the reason why we find no mention of shoes or sandals among the priestly robes, they being all obliged to perform their office bare-foot; and in this they became so scrupulous, that if they perceived any thing, tho' but a straw, between their feet and the ground, they were obliged to remove it, or else their ministry was esteemed null.

(58) *Jos. Ant. lib. iii. c. 7.* Hieron. *ad Fabiol.* Maim. *Kele Lammikdash, c. ix.* § 10. (59) *Exod. xiv.* 8, & *alib.*

that

that the leaſt defilement, tho' never ſo involuntary, diſqualified him from performing his office, till he had been legally purified from it. Concerning this point, the *Jews* acquaint us with a particularity, which, tho' not mentioned by *Moſes*, is well worth inſerting here, as having no ſmall probability. They tell us out of their *Talmud* [g], that on expiation-day, the high-prieſt being to perform the ſervice of that ſolemn faſt, and it being far from impoſſible, that he might contract ſome impurity, which might unfit him for his office, notwithſtanding all his care and caution, they uſed, on the eve of it, to appoint him a vicar to officiate for him, in caſe of ſuch a defilement. This vicar was neither anointed nor conſecrated for the place, tho' his new office did oblige him to go into the moſt holy place inſtead of him. They add, that as ſoon as the one was cleanſed, he re-entered into his office; and the other relinquiſhed it, and returned into the rank of common prieſts, only with this difference, that he had ſome kind of ſuperiority and rule over the reſt; and if the high-prieſt died before him, he ſucceeded him in that dignity of courſe. *Joſephus* confirms this by the inſtance of the high-prieſt *Matthias*, who, having defiled himſelf by a dream, on the night preceding the expiation, *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Eli*, a near relation of his, officiated for him [h]. *Maimon* calls this vicar *Sagon*; and adds, that he had two prieſts to wait upon him, as he himſelf waited on the high-prieſt; with ſome other particulars which we ſhall not dwell upon, becauſe they appear of later inſtitution [i] (C). However, with reſpect to the high-prieſt, it is plain, that he might be ſullied ſo many

[g] Idem in Maſſec. in Yoma. [h] Ant. lib. xvii. c. 8. [i] Vide MAIM. Kele hammikdaſh.

(C) The truth is, that after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when they became more ſcrupulous obſervers of the law, their prieſts and wiſe men made abundance of ordinances, for keeping a ſtricter diſcipline; even to the adminiſtring a ſolemn oath to the high-prieſt on the eve of expiation, that he would exactly conform to the *Moſaic* injunctions, according to the traditions then received. This caution became highly neceſſary, not only after the high prieſthood became venable, and the purchaſers leſs ſcrupulous about the functions of it, but alſo by reaſon of ſome difference in opinions, about the burning of incenſe in the holy of holies, the ſcape-goat, and ſome other things; concerning which the reader may conſult *Ben Maimon* (60).

(60) *Halaka havodath yom hakepburim, c.* 1. *Vide* Baſnag *in* Cun. *lib. ii. c.* 6.

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unforeſeen ways, and ran ſuch risk, if he entered the moſt holy place with any ſuch pollution, that it is more than probable, there was ſome perſon appointed by way of precaution to perform his office in all ſuch caſes. But who this ſubſtitute was, how, and by whom, he was appointed, we dare not affirm; though it is not improbable, that he might be the head of the other branch, which, as we obſerved at firſt, did hold the next rank to him; and is therefore moſt likely to be the perſon meant in the laſt chapter of *Jeremiah*, where it is ſaid, that *the captain of the guard took* Seraiah *the high, and* Zephaniah *the ſecond prieſt* *. In this ſenſe likewiſe it is thought by many of the learned, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* are ſaid, by St. *Luke* † to be high-prieſts in the ſame year; but, concerning the perſon that named him, or the ceremony by which he was qualified for it, *Moſes* has left no written direction, any more than about the choice of a ſucceſſor to the pontifical dignity, when the next immediate heir was unfit for it.

Laws concerning the prieſts.

Laws concerning prieſts. WE have already taken notice, that theſe were deſcended from *Aaron* the firſt high-prieſt, by his two ſons *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*. *Moſes*, indeed, mentions only theſe two, as being the heads of the two main branches of the prieſthood; but it were abſurd to ſuppoſe from thence, that they were the only two that officiated under their father; for we find that *Phinehas* was already come to years of manhood, by that zeal which he ſhewed againſt the *Midianitiſh* defection [k]; and probably there were more of age ſufficient to perform the prieſtly functions. Theſe, being ſubordinate to the high-prieſt, and of a rank and office ſuperior to the *Levites*, may be conſidered in a threefold view; namely, with regard to their conſecration, office, and dreſs. But of theſe we ſhall not need ſay much, becauſe there was nothing of pomp or ſolemnity uſed in any of them.

Their conſecration. THEIR conſecration, if we except that of the ſons of *Aaron*, which we mentioned in a former article, was performed with little or no ceremony. They were firſt carefully examined, whether they were free from all natural defects

* Ver. 24 † Luke iii. 2. Vide CAUSAUB. adver. Baron. Jos. SCALIGER. proleg. in EUSEB HOTTING. in GOODWIN'S Moſ. & Aar. lib. 1. c. 5. ſub. not. 19, & al. [k] Num xxv. 7 & ſeq.

and

and impurities (D), and if ſo, they were introduced into the court of the tabernacle or temple, where they waſhed themſelves with pure water preſerved there for that purpoſe; after which, being cloathed in their prieſtly habit, they were brought to the high-prieſt, who preſented them to the Lord; and after the uſual ſacrifices preſcribed by *Moſes*, that pontif, or the prieſt in waiting, ſanctified them, or, as the original imports *filled their hands*, by which is underſtood their being immediately ſet about ſome branch of the prieſtly office. At leaſt theſe ceremonies are inferred from thoſe of the conſe-

(D) Theſe were the ſame as unqualified the high-prieſt, and are mentioned under that head out of *Leviticus* (61); but the *Jews* tell us, that theſe are but a ſketch of thoſe that exclude from the prieſtly functions, which they have enlarged at a very ſtrange rate. We ſhall juſt mention the heads of them. They reckoned eight of them belonging to the head, nineteen to the eyes, five to the eye-lids, ſeven to the eye-brows, nine to the ears, as many to the noſe, ſix to the mouth, three to the lips, two to the neck, three to the belly, three to the back, ſixteen to the genitals, twelve to the joints of the hands and feet, eight to the ſkin and fleſh, and at leaſt ſeven to the upper ſkin (62).

Beſides theſe, which unqualified a man, either from being admitted to the prieſtly office, or from being continued in it, if he contracted them after his admittance, there were ſeveral other voluntary ones for which he was ſet aſide from the miniſtry, either for a time, or for his life. Of the firſt kind were ſeveral legal pollutions, the greateſt of which was that of a dead body. For this reaſon they were not allowed to aſſiſt at the funeral of any but the neareſt relations, that is, a father or mother, and a brother or ſiſter that died virgins. In all ſuch pollutions they were forbid not only to perform any ſacerdotal office, but even to eat of holy things, till they had thoroughly purified themſelves, according to the law (63). Thoſe that excluded them wholly from the prieſthood, beſides the natural and accidental ones above-mentioned, were, for inſtance, unlawful marriages, that is, the marrying of a harlot, or a *Canaaniti∫h*, or any ſtrange woman, and refuſing to put her away. Something like this we find practiſed in the time of *Ezra* (64), after the captivity; to which we may add, that of the prophet (65), that they were even forbid to marry the widow of any but a prieſt. Idolatry likewiſe, and many other crimes of that high nature, did wholly exclude a perſon from the prieſthood (66).

(61) *Ch. xxi.* 18. & *ſeq.* (62) *Vide* Maim. *in Biath hammikd. ch.* 8. Baſnag *ubi ſup. tom. iii. lib.* 2. *c.* 4. (63) *Lev.* xxii. 6, & *ſeq.* (64) *Ezr. x.* 10, & *ſeq.* (65) *Ezek. xliv.* 22. *vide* & *Levit.* xxi. 13. (66) *Vide* Maim. ביאת המקדש, *c. i.*

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cration of the *Levites* [l]; for as theſe were of an inferior rank, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the prieſts could not be conſecrated with leſs ceremony; but even here it is very much queſtioned, whether any of theſe, except only the two or three firſt, were ever yet uſed, unleſs in caſes of ſome ſignal defection, or long diſuſe of their office and the like, ſuch as frequently happened during the reigns of ſome of their wicked kings [m].

THEIR office, which was ſeverally determined by lot, and which they did caſt at their firſt coming into waiting, was either to burn incenſe morning and evening in the holy place, or to offer up the daily ſacrifice; to kill, dreſs, and offer up the victims proper for the day, to pour the blood at the foot of the altar; to keep up a continual fire upon the altar of burnt-offerings; to light the lamps, and to make and offer the ſhew-bread upon the golden table; with ſome others of the like nature, the moſt material of which we have had occaſion to mention under the articles of ſacrifices, firſt-fruits, purifications, and the like. Their waiting was weekly from ſabbath to ſabbath, and quarterly according to their claſſes; the age in which they were to begin to miniſter, was fixed by *Moſes* at about twenty five or thirty years of age, and ended about fifty [n]; but in *David*'s time they were made to ſerve from the age of twenty [o]. Thoſe who either by age or infirmity were diſabled from miniſtring, were maintained by the offerings of the altar, and other perquiſites of the prieſthood; and any *Levite* that willingly offered himſelf to ſerve in the temple all his days, was admitted to the like maintenance [p], as we ſhall ſee in its place: other more important parts of the prieſtly office were the inſtruction of the people [q], judging of controverſies [r], of leproſy and other pollutions [s], cauſes of divorce, and the uſe of the water of jealouſy [t]; of vows, and of the fitneſs or unfitneſs of victims; blowing the trumpets, in order to proclaim the ſabbath and ſolemn feaſts, the calling of aſſemblies; ſounding to war; encouraging of the combatants, and others of the like nature, which have been occaſionally ſpoken of already. But the moſt ſacred part of their function was the bearing of the ark, preſerving of the volumes of the law, and bleſſing of the people in GOD's name [u]. There were likewiſe ſome ſevere

[l] Numb. viii. 5. & ſeq. [m] Vide 2 Kings ii. 5, 7. [n] Num. iv. 3 viii. 24. [o] 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. 2 Chron. xxxi. 17. [p] Deut xviii, 6. [q] Lev. x. 11. Malach. ii. 7. [r] Deut. xvii. 8, & ſeq xix. 17, & alib. [s] Lev. xiii. xiv. & xv. paſſ. & alib. [t] Numb. v. 12, & ſeq. [u] Num. vi. 23, & ſeq.

inhibitions

inhibitions relating to their office, ſome of which were explicit, and ſome implicit. Of the firſt ſort were thoſe which forbad them to make uſe of any ſtrange fire [w], of drinking either wine or any intoxicating liquors, when they came to miniſter [x] (E). They were likewiſe forbid to begin any ſacerdotal function till they had firſt waſhed their hands and feet [y]. The implicit ones were ſuch as theſe not to appear in the miniſtry without their prieſtly garments, or with any rent in their cloaths, becauſe they were tokens of mourning; or with their hair grown to too great a length, or their heads uncovered. To theſe the *Talmudiſts* have added ſome others, ſuch as ſitting down whilſt they performed any part of their office (F); making uſe of the left hand inſtead of the right (becauſe *Aaron* and his ſons had their right ears, thumbs, and great toes ſanctified by the blood of the victims); and others of leſs conſequence [z].

IN *David*'s time the two families of *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* were, for better order's ſake, divided into twenty four claſſes, according to the number of each family; ſo that the former, being the more numerous, was divided into ſixteen,

[w] Lev. x. 1. [x] Ibid. ver. 9. [y] Exod. xxx. 21, [z] Vide MAIM. Biath. Hammickdaſh, c. 1. & ſeq. BASNAG. R. H. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 4.

(E) The reaſon of this prohibition we have hinted at heretofore †; but as expreſs and plain as it is, the *Jewiſh* doctors have ſubtiliſed a conſiderable part of it away, and thereby fruſtrated its main deſign, by diſtinguiſhing between wine under or above forty days old; between the latter and other ſtrong drink; between drinking the quantity of a quarter of a pint, at one or at ſeveral draughts, and the like (67). Sure it is, that this prohibition was intended to prevent all kind of blunders and indecencies in God's ſervice: whereas it is plain, that a prieſt might drink enough to endanger his being guilty of them, and yet be deemed guiltleſs, or at the worſt come off with a baſtinado, by theſe nice diſtinctions.

(F) Some of their rabbies have indeed been more remiſs, and allowed them to ſit down, when they were not in the actual performance of their office; but the *Talmudiſts* are ſo far from ſuch an indulgence, that they would not permit them to ſit, or to be in any other than a ſtanding poſture, even whilſt they waſhed their feet. And this they inferred from the words of *Moſes*, *the Lord hath choſen them to ſtand to miniſter*, &c. (68).

† *See before p.* 1. (67) Maim. *ubi ſup.* (68) *Deut. xviii.* 5, 7. & *alib. Vide* Chryſoſt. *ad Hebr.* x. 11. Maim. *ubi ſup. c.* 5. R. Sal. Jark. *in Deut.* xviii. & *al.*

and the latter into eight classes. These took their turns in the ministry, according as it was assigned to them by lot, which was commonly cast before the king, high-priest, and other persons of distinction, to avoid fraud and confusion: an account of which the reader will find in the twenty fourth chapter of the first book of the *Chronicles*. All that we shall add is, that these classes took their names from their heads or chiefs, and continued to be called by them to the end of that commonwealth, and from this the heads of each class came afterwards to be called *chief-priests*. This is the reason why we meet in two of the evangelists *†*, with an assembly of them, which ought therefore to be distinguished both from the high-priest and from his suffragan.

Dress. WE have already said something of their dress when we spoke of that of the high-priest going to the holy of holies. It consisted of a vest, a pair of drawers, a girdle, and a mitre or cap, all of linen. The cap resembled, according to *Josephus*, and those who follow him, a helmet or pointed turban. Their girdle was variegated with the finest colours, about three finger's-breadth, and woven round like an eel-skin. Their vest or long coat, it is pretended, was without seam woven from top to bottom, and with the sleeves to it. Some of those authors have ventured to give us the print of a loom or frame for making such kind of garments [a]. No priest was to wear his hair to its full length, but was obliged to clip it with a pair of sciſſars, at least when he went into waiting [b]. As to their dress, they were only bound to wear it at the time of their ministring, at other times they were left at their liberty. What relates to their maintenance, revenue and perquisites, will be best seen when we come to speak of the *Levites*: in the mean time we cannot forbear making one observation upon the garb both of the high and lower priests; in describing of which we have followed *Josephus* and the current of interpreters, that if their vests had been of the length which they tell us of, and they had had a pair of drawers under them, there would scarce have been any room for that precaution of building the altar without steps, for fear of their discovering that which modesty requires to be hid [c]. We hope this will be a sufficient excuse for our enlarging no further on that subject.

† Matth. xxvii 3.. Mark. xv. 1. [a] See the versions of JOSEPHUS, LAMY, CALMET, and others. [b] Comp. Levit. xxi 5, & Ezek. xliv. 20. [c] Exod. xx. ver. ult.

Laws

Laws concerning the Levites.

Levites.

THESE related either to their office, or to their privileges and incomes, for as to their deſcent, the choice of their tribe, and their conſecration, we have had already occaſion to mention all that is material concerning them; only with reſpect to the laſt of theſe, it is obſervable, that this ceremony was begun with ſprinkling them with the water of ſeparation, which was that which they uſed to purify thoſe who had contracted any legal impurity, with ſhaving their whole body, and waſhing all their cloaths before they were preſented by the people to the high-prieſt [d]. As to their dreſs, it was the ſame with that of the reſt of the *Iſraelites*, *Moſes* not having appointed them any particular one. We have likewiſe heretofore given an account of their number, claſſes, incampments, marches, carrying, ſetting up and taking down the tabernacle and all its moveables [e]; of their being ſubject to their brethren; of the family of *Aaron*, and officiating under them in the lower and more laborious branches of the miniſtry, during all the time that the ark was removing from place to place. But after it was once fixed, they were freed from that labour, and their ſervice became eaſier aad more delightful [f]. This ſeems to be the reaſon why *Moſes* ordered at firſt, that they ſhould not be admitted into their office, till they had attained to the age of between five and twenty and thirty; and that they ſhould be diſcharged from it at fifty [g], their office then being ſuch as required more ſtrength and vigour: but in *David*'s time, when they were eaſed of it, they were then thought fit for it at the age of twenty [h]. And it is more than probable, that they continued in it much longer than to the fiftieth year, as we ſhall ſhew preſently.

Their conſecration and dreſs.

BEFORE *David* did divide them into claſſes, their miniſtry was in common; they took it by turns, from week to week, as the prieſts did: and their buſineſs was, ſome to bring the water, wood, and other things, that were uſed by the prieſts; others to keep the court of the ſanctuary, and all the utenſils that ſtood out of the tabernacle clean and decent; and others to keep guard at night before the tabernacle.

[d] Num. viii. 7, & ſeq. [e] See before, p. 54. [f] Vide Maim. Baſnag. ubi ſup. [g] Comp. Numb. iv. 3, & viii. 24. [h] 1 Chron. xxiii. 27.

Some

Some were likewiſe appointed to ſing and play upon inſtruments, others to ſtudy and expound the law to the people, and to aſſiſt at the inferior courts of judicature; and theſe provinces were, in all probability, aſſigned to them according to their ſeveral capacities. But after *David* had once fixed the ark at *Jeruſalem* (by which time they were become very numerous, and yet not more ſo than the vaſt project he had premeditated, of building the temple, would moſt likely require) that wiſe monarch made ſeveral neceſſary regulations concerning their different employments, which continued till the diſſolution of the *Jewiſh* polity. We have ſeen above, that they were diſtinguiſhed into three families, namely, *Gerſhon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*. To each of theſe, which he alſo ſubdivided into twenty four claſſes, which were to ſucceed one another weekly in their turns, he appointed their ſeveral functions, as follows; to the one he aſſigned the aſſiſting of the prieſts at the tabernacle, preparing of flour, cakes, wine, and oil for the ſacrifices, and all other ſervices of that kind; the ſecond was appointed to ſing and play on muſical inſtruments, at proper periods of the divine ſervice; and the third to keep a conſtant guard about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple. Over theſe claſſes he appointed from among them proper officers and overſeers of ſeveral ranks, according to their merit or capacities. He choſe likewiſe from among them, men of learning and piety to teach and breed up the younger *Levites*, either to their miniſtry, or to expound the law unto the people (G); beſides thoſe

(G) The *Jews* tell us, that the *Levites* paſt through four different degrees. From one month old to the twentieth year, they were inſtructed in the law of God. From twenty to twenty five, they were taught the functions of their miniſtry. From thence to thirty, they ſerved, as it were, an apprenticeſhip to them, and began to exerciſe themſelves in ſome of the lower branches of it, ſuch as cleanſing the courts and veſſels, guarding the gates, ſinging and playing upon inſtruments. Laſtly, when they attained the thirtieth year, they were peremptorily inſtalled into their office. Some ſuch degrees we find obſerved among the veſtal virgins, who were bound to the ſtricteſt chaſtity during thirty years; the firſt ten of which they ſpent in learning the myſteries of their profeſſion, the ſecond ten they adminiſtred in holy things, and the laſt ten they beſtowed in bringing up of young novices (69). And it is probable, that the apoſtle alluded to this, when he tells *Timothy*, that they who have performed the office of a deacon well, do pur-

(69) *Vide* DION. HALICARN. *lib. ii.*

chaſe

thoſe whom he appointed to aſſiſt at the courts of judicature of every city. Now it is plain, that in all theſe functions there was nothing that could incapacitate a man from performing them after the age of fifty, if we except, as the *Jews* do, that of ſinging, for which it is poſſible enough for old age to render one incapable, by reaſon of the diſagreeable tremor which that brings to the voice [i].

THESE ſingers king *Solomon* diſtinguiſhed from their brethren, by their being allowed to wear a kind of linen robe, or ſurplice, when they were upon duty [k]; but the reſt did not obtain that privilege till the reign of king *Agrippa*, about the year of *Chriſt* 62, and about ſix years before the deſtruction of the laſt temple. *Joſephus* adds [l]; that the prieſts did highly reſent it, and obſerves, that ſuch innovations ſeldom went unpuniſhed. It is true, that he calls them *ſingers*; but 'tis plain he muſt have been either miſtaken or miſcopied; ſeeing there could be no alteration in their caſe, but what was as old as the time of *Solomon*.

2. THEIR revenues. We have choſen to ſpeak jointly of thoſe of the prieſts and *Levites*, becauſe they were intermixed together by God's own appointment, at leaſt in their main branches, thoſe of the tithes, cities, and ſome other perquiſites. As for what either of them had in particular, it is ſcarce worth mentioning. The reader may recollect, that according to *Jacob*'s prophecy, the tribe of *Levi* was to be interſperſed among the other tribes **, and that they were excluded, by an expreſs law in *Deuteronomy* [m], from having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land, and had their portion aſſigned to them out of the tithes, offerings of the altar, and the redemption of the firſt-born of *Iſrael*, in whoſe ſtead they *Their revenues.*

[i] Vide OBAD. BARTENOR. Tract. Cholin c. i. § 6. [k] 2 Chron. v. 12. [l] Ant. lib, xx. c. 8. ** See Vol. II. p. 440. note (F), & alib. paſſ. [m] Ch. xviii. paſſ.

chaſe to themſelves καλὸν βαθμὸν *a good degree* (70). *Moſes* indeed ordered (71), that they ſhould be diſcharged at the age of fifty from ſerving any more; but he adds, in the next verſe, that they ſhould miniſter to their brethren in the tabernacle, and keep the charge, but do no ſervice: by which it is plain, that they were only exempted from the harder ſort of ſervice, but continued ſtill in ſome others, ſuch as they were fitteſt for; in which number the breeding up of the young *Levites*, teaching, judging, and the like, may be reaſonably reckoned (72).

(70) 1 *Tim. iii.* 13. (71) *Num. viii.* 25. (72) *Vide* Maim. *ubi ſup.* Abarban. *in c* Baſnag. *R. H tom. iii lib. ii c.* 2.

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were ſubſtituted. We have already ſpoken of all theſe; but as it was neceſſary, that they ſhould have ſome certain places of abode appointed for them, as ſoon as they were come to the plain of *Moab*, over-againſt *Jericho*, God was pleaſed to aſſign them forty eight cities, with their ſuburbs; thirteen of which were to belong to the prieſts, and the other thirty five to the reſt of the tribe of *Levi* [n] (H). The only difference between them was, that the cities of the prieſts were for the moſt part in the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and conſequently nearer to *Jeruſalem*; whereas thoſe of the *Levites* were divided unto them by lot out of all the other tribes on either ſide of *Jordan*. Thus did God turn *Jacob*'s curſe into a bleſſing, and the prieſts and *Levites*, whoſe office it was to preſerve knowledge, became thus ſo diſperſed, that the people might be every where ſupplied with it. What theſe cities were, is not worth inquiring, ſeeing we know little more of them than their names, and the tribes they were in. All that we ſhall examine at preſent is, what their rights, privileges, immunities, and revenues conſiſted in, and how far they did extend. (As for the ſix cities of refuge which were choſen out of that number, we ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſeparate article.) With reſpect then to the privilege of the former, which ſome authors have queſtioned the extent of, further than the bare enjoyment of their revenues, we may obſerve on the contrary, that their owners had power to ſell or mortgage them, as well as the other tribes, only with this advantageous difference on their ſide, that they might redeem them at any time, if they were able; and if not, they devolved to them on the year of

[n] Numb. xxxv. 1, & ſeq. Joſh. xxi. 10, & ſeq.

(H) The right of the *Levitical* tribe to theſe cities and lands adjacent is not without ſome difficulties, which have made ſome authors doubt, whether they had any more than the bare uſe and income of, without the power of alienating, them (73). Thus is objected, that *Hebron* was given to the prieſts as a city of refuge, and yet *Caleb*, who was of the tribe of *Judah*, had the fields and villages belonging to it aſſigned to him (74). This difficulty may be eaſily removed, by ſuppoſing with our author, that *Caleb* did yield the city unto them, becauſe the Lord hath determined it for a city of refuge; but that he reſerved the territories to himſelf, as being out of the caſe. However, as to the prieſts and *Levites* having power to alienate their houſes and lands, or even to purchaſe new ones, excluſive of thoſe allotted to them, we have ſufficient proof, as the reader will ſee by what follows above.

(73) *Vide* Baſnag. *ubi ſup. c.* 7. (74) *Joſh.* xxi. 11, & *ſeq.*

Jubilee: whereas, as we obſerved before, thoſe alienated houſes of the laity, which ſtood in walled cities, if not redeemed within the year, were irrecoverably loſt to the firſt owner [o]. Hence it is plain, that their right to theirhouſes was even ſtronger than that of the people, for which reaſon it was called their inheritance [p]. The caſe was indeed different with reſpect to the grounds that were annexed to thoſe cities, which could not be alienated upon any account [q]; but the reaſon of it was, that they were in the nature of a common to them, to which therefore every one had an equal right, they being the only paſture ground they had for their cattle; and if they agreed by conſent to incloſe or appropriate any part for fields, orchards, gardens, and the like, the diviſion was made in proportion to the largeneſs of their families, which could not have ſubſiſted, had ſuch an alienation been permitted.

It is likewiſe manifeſt, that their being excluded from any portion in the diſtribution of the land, was ſo far from depriving them of the right of poſſeſſion, or even purchaſe, that we have ſeveral inſtances to the contrary in both caſes, and they authoriſed by God. With reſpect to the firſt, we find, among other regulations concerning vows, that if a man had vowed his houſe or land unto the Lord, and had not wherewith, or was unwilling, to redeem them, they were then to continue ſacred unto God [r], that is, the prieſts became the right owners of them; accordingly we find, that the high-prieſt *Abiathar* had ſome eſtate of his own, into which he was relegated by *Solomon* [s]; and even in the apoſtle's time, *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite* of *Cyprus*, had ſome land which he ſold for the uſe of the church [t]. To this we may add, if what *Maimon* tells us be right, that the tribe of *Levi* had their twelfth ſhare of all the lands, which were got by the ſword [u]. As for their having it in their power to purchaſe eſtates, we need but read the 32d chapter of *Jeremiah*, who was a prieſt, where we ſhall find a curious account of his purchaſing of a piece of land, with all the formalities that were then uſed in ſuch caſes [w].

EVERY one of theſe cities had ſuburbs, the limits whereof were alſo appointed by God himſelf [x]; but *Moſes* has expreſſed them in ſuch terms, that it has given more pains to interpreters to reconcile the two numbers mentioned by him,

[o] Levit. xx. 29, & ſeq. [p] Ibid. ver. 33. [q] Ibid. ver 34, [r] Levit. xxvii. 14, & ſeq. [s] 1 King ii. 26. [t] Acts iv. 36, 37. [u] Halak. Shemit veyobel Vide BASNAG. ubi ſup. [w] Ver. 7, & ſeq. [x] Halak. Havoda. Hacokabim Umazaloth, ap. BASNAG. R. H. tom. i. lib. 1. c. 7.

than our readers would care to be troubled with (I); in which uncertainty we are willing to rely on the *Jews*, who tell us, that those two numbers were to be taken jointly; so that the extent of those suburbs, or rather territories, should extend to the distance of three thousand cubits from the out-walls[y]. They add, that the first thousand were assigned for pasture ground, on which therefore it was not lawful to build, sow, or plant; but within the limits of the other two thousand cubits, they might do any of them. One thing further is remarkable, namely, that they were not permitted to bury their dead either within those cities or their suburbs; but that they had, according to the *Jews*, a piece of ground allotted to them by the people for a burying place, which was quite out of the verge of those limits. We shall venture no farther on the rights and privileges of these cities, concerning which the *Jews* tell us wonders, but without any probability; those that are fond of such fables may find more than they can give credit to in *Maimon*[z], and other *Jewish*

[y] Vide Commentat. in Ex. xxi 13. Num. xxxv. 6. Deut. iv. 41. & xix. 2. [z] In Num. xxxv.

(I) *Moses* expresses himself in one verse thus, *and the suburbs of the cities of the* Levites, *from the wall of the city outwards shall be*, a thousand cubits round about, and in the next verse it is said, *thou shalt measure from without the city, on the east——west——north——and south sides of it*, two thousand cubits, *and the city shall be in the middle*, &c. (75). To reconcile these two numbers, *Junius* (76) has supposed the latter to be mentioned *kat'exegesin*, of the diameter of the suburb, the city abstracted, so that which way soever one measured it, it had two thousand cubits; but this construction seems to us somewhat too forced and unnatural; we therefore think with the *Jews*, that the two numbers may be more properly joined together, namely, the last as a further addition to the first. The word מגרש. *Migrash*, which we translate, *Suburbs*, doth properly signify *expulsion*, or *thrusting out*, from גרש. *to expel* (77); and consequently in a figurative sense, may signify *extension*. Accordingly the *Chaldee* renders it *a space* The sense might therefore, we think, run naturally thus: *the first extent of the Levitical cities shall be one thousand cubits from the out-wall; after which thou shalt measure again from without the city another space of two thousand cubits, and this shall be the extent of their outward space or territories*. We own however, that this latter sense is not altogether literal, but we hope, it will be found less forced than the former, and to remove the seeming contradiction to the full as well.

(75) *Num. xxxv ver.* 4, & 5. (76) *In loc.* (77) *Vide* Kimch. Buxtorf. Pagn. *in Rad.*

commentators

commentators on theſe places of the pentateuch, where mention is made of them [a]. This however we may ſafely add concerning the cities themſelves, namely, that they were not taken by equal numbers out of every tribe, but according as they were found more or leſs abounding in each of them. Thus for inſtance, the tribe of *Judah*, whoſe lot was full of them, did allot nine, whereas that of *Benjamin*, which had but a few, was obliged to part with four only [b]; as to the nomination and diſtribution of them among the *Levites*, it was done in the ſame manner as they had done the land itſelf, namely, by lot; which was the moſt effectual to prevent all difference; for even this tribe doth not ſeem to have been ſo diſintereſted, that any other method could have ſatisfied them but this (K).

Laws concerning the ſix cities of refuge.

THESE were choſen out of thoſe forty two which had been aſſigned to the tribe of *Levi* [c]. They differed from the *Aſyla* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in that they were deſigned to protect innocent perſons only, from the rigor of the law, in caſes of involuntary homicide; whereas theirs did equally ſhelter the guilty and innocent from it. There is an expreſs command in *Exodus* with relation to wilful murder, that the guilty perſon ſhall be torn even from God's altar to be put to death [d]; from which one may naturally infer, that the tabernacle was a ſanctuary to the innocent, not only during their wandering in the wilderneſs, but all the time of their abode in the land of *Canaan*; at leaſt, the inſtance of *Joab*'s taking refuge there ſeems to imply as much, though his crime excluded him from the benefit of it [e]. And indeed ſo ſevere were God's laws againſt murder, that if it was even committed in a fray, or in correcting of a ſervant

[a] Rab. SALOM. in loc. vide & MOS. DE COTZI, MUNST. JUN. & al. in loc. [b] Joſh. xxi. paſſ. [c] Num. xxxv. 6. [d] Exod. xxi. 14. 1. [e] 1 Kings ii. 28.

(K) According to thoſe lots, the tribes of *Judah*, *Simeon*, and *Benjamin*, furniſhed the thirteen cities which were allotted to the prieſts; thoſe of *Ephraim*, *Dan*, and half of *Manaſſeh* on the other ſide of *Jordan*, yielded ten to the *Kohathites*: the *Gerſhonites* received thirteen, namely, two from the other half of *Manaſſeh*, three from *Naphtali*, and eight from *Iſſachar* and *Aſher*; and laſtly, *Reuben*, *Zebulun*, and *Gad* gave four, each, to the *Merarites* (78).

(78) *Vide Joſh. xxi. paſſ.*

and other cases which our milder laws call chance-medley, the guilty person could not go unpunished [f]. And where the fact was accidental and involuntary, tho' his concern for the life of the innocent person was such, that he not only appointed these cities for his protection, but seemed, as it were, to take the fault upon himself (L), yet he condemned him to a kind of banishment, till the death of the high-priest then in being [g] (M); insomuch that if he ventured out of the limits, *Josephus* says out of the walls, of the city [h], it was lawful for any relations of the deceased either to kill him, or to have him put to death by the hand of Justice.

[f] Exod. xxi. 12, 20. [g] Num. xxxv. 25, & seq. [h] Ant. lib. iv. c. 7.

(L) The words are, *if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand.* This we purposely take notice of, because these and such like expressions, which occur in scripture, whatever sinister sense some may put upon them, import no more, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* idiom, than that though a man may die contrary to the seeming course of nature, yet he cannot be taken off without the permission of heaven; whose providence directs all such events, either for the punishment of the person, or for some other wise purposes beyond our reach. However, it is plain, that it is only used in this place, to shew the injustice there would be in punishing a man for an act which had been so directed by providence, that one person lost his life without the least design in the other of hurting him.

(M) We shall not trouble the reader with the various reasons, which interpreters have conjectured, concerning the time of a man's return being fixed to the death of the high-priest. Some of the *Jews*, who affirm, that the death of so great a person, which was universally lamented, was the most proper motive to make all resentment on the part of the prosecutor to cease, seem rather to trifle than to be in earnest (79); and one would wonder, that they should have been followed by any *Christians*. But the far greater part of these look upon this circumstance to have been typical of the reconciliation, which *Christ*, our eternal high-priest, made of sinners to God by his death (80). This is what the apostle to the *Hebrews* seems to intimate (81): however, it must be owned, that some men have given too great a scope to this way of allegorising; and that, where so little light is to be had from the sacred writings, it would be more advisable to say nothing, than to say all that a pious fancy suggests.

(79) *Vide* Maim. *More Nevoch.* c. 40. (80) Hieron. August. & *al. vide* & Grot. Jun. Corn. a Lap. & *al. mult. in loc.* (81) *Heb. ix.* 15.

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THESE cities were not only for the *Iſraelites*, but for all ſtrangers that either lived among them, or came thither occaſionally. The *Jews* do indeed confine the benefit of them to their proſelytes; but this ſenſe ſeems to flow more from their narrowneſs of ſoul, than from the words of the text [i]. We may remember, that *Moſes* ordered three of them to be aſſigned on either ſide of *Jordan* [k]. This partition ſeems indeed ſomewhat unequal, becauſe one ſide had but two tribes and a half, and the other nine and a half; the reaſon of which ſome *Jews* tell us was, becauſe there were a great many more homicides committed in the former by way of ſelf-defence, than in the latter: but this is ridiculous, and that of *R. Nachman* is by far more probable and judicious; namely, that the extent of the country of the former was at leaſt as large as that of the latter, tho' leſs inhabited; which made it neceſſary for them to have ſo many of thoſe cities. However as to thoſe tribes on the other ſide, God permitted them to add three more to their number, whenever the largeneſs of their conqueſts ſhould make it neceſſary [l]; but as this depended upon their conſtant obedience, and they, on the contrary, proved continually ſtubborn and diſobedient, they never found occaſion for this addition: for which reaſon they think it will be made in the days of the *Meſſiah*.

HOW, where, and by whom, the examination of the manſlayer was made, in order to his being admitted to, or excluded, the benefit of the city of refuge; that is, whether by the next judges of the place where the fact was committed, or by thoſe of the city, where the man fled for ſanctuary, is neither clear from the text, nor agreed by interpreters. However, as a late author juſtly obſerves [m], from an expreſſion in *Deut.* and *Joſhua* [n], there ſeems to have been a double trial, one before the judges of the city of refuge, and one before what the text calls there the congregation; by which is underſtood either thoſe of the place where the fact was committed, or perhaps the great council; and this ſeems to us to have been neceſſary only when the avenger of blood appealed from thoſe of the place of refuge. As ſoon therefore as a man had been unfortunately guilty of accidental homicide, his firſt buſineſs was to flee, with all convenient haſte, to the next city of that kind. The ways leading to it were, by God's own appoint-

[i] Vide Num. xxxv. 15. [k] Ibid. ver. 14. Deut. xix. paſſim. [l] Ibid. ver. 9. [m] CALM. ſub. voc. Refuge. [n] comp. Deut. xix. 11, 12. with Joſh. xx. 6, 9.

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ment, to be kept in good repair (N), that nothing might retard his ſpeed. As ſoon as he came to the place, he preſented

(N) The text (82) ſays only, *thou ſhalt prepare thee a way, and divide the coaſts of the land into three parts, that every ſlayer may flee thither.* But the *Talmudiſts* and *Rabbies* add a great number of circumſtances for keeping thoſe roads in continual repair, that the perſon may meet with no obſtruction in his flight. Theſe roads, according to them, were to be 32 cubits in breadth, ſmooth, plain, and without aſcent, deſcent, or ditches. At every place where the road parted, a poſt was to be ſet up to direct them, which had the word מקלט, *miklat, refuge,* engraven upon it. Every brook or river was to have a good bridge; all watery places were to be drained, and the ſurface kept ſmooth and hard. To theſe precepts the words of the *Baptiſt, prepare ye the ways of the Lord, make his paths ſtrait, every valley ſhall be filled, and every mountain levelled,* &c. are thought to allude. Once a year at leaſt, in the month *Adar*, which anſwers in part to our *February*, the magiſtrates of every city were obliged to viſit them, and ſee that they were kept in good order; otherwiſe, in caſe the avenger chanced to overtake and kill the ſlayer, the magiſtracy of the place were judged guilty of his death. As for the cities of refuge, they were to be of a moderate bigneſs, well furniſhed with water, proviſions, artiſts, and all manner of conveniencies, weapons excepted. The reaſon they give for excluding this laſt was, leſt the avenger ſhould, in a fit of anger, make uſe of them againſt the ſlayer (83). Thus far they agree, in ſome other points they are divided. Some pretend, that the refuged was to be kept at the charge of the city; and others affirm, that he was obliged to follow ſome trade, if he could not maintain himſelf without it. Some ſay, that the houſes in the ſuburbs were to obſtruct the entrance of the proſecutor, till they had taken all proper means to pacify him; and others, that they only ſent ſome grave and reverend deputies to meet him without the gates, to perſuade him to clemency and moderation. Some add, that the tribe of *Levi* was excluded the benefit of theſe ſanctuaries; ſo that if any of them happened to kill a man, how accidentally ſoever, they were forced to wander from place to place (84). The modern *Jews* do ſo far keep up this cuſtom, that a manſlayer is baniſhed for three years into ſome city, in which they have a ſynagogue; where, by way of penance, he is forced to ſay aloud, *I am a manſlayer*, at his entering into the ſynagogue, and at every courteous civility that is ſhewed to him (85).

(82) *Deut. xix. 3.* (83) *Vide Gemar. Tract.* מכלם, *præcept. aff. 75. & ſeq. Rab.* Salom. Munſter, *& al. in Num. xxxv.* (84) *Targ.* Onkel. *Fag in Num. xxxv.* (85) *Vide* Baſnag. *lib. ii. c. 7.*

Maimon

ed himſelf to the judges of it, and declared the occaſion of his coming, and the manner of his killing the perſon, and according as his account appeared true or falſe, he was admitted to, or excluded, their protection. If the avenger of blood, who was always the neareſt relation to the deceaſed, came to demand juſtice, he and his evidence were heard, and the judges did either confirm their former ſentence in favour of the manſlayer, or delivered him up to be puniſhed, if the fact was proved to be wilfully done: but if the former, he was to be conducted to the place where the fact was committed, and there tried a ſecond time; and if he was found innocent, he was reconducted to the place of refuge, with a ſufficient guard, and remained there free from all farther proſecutions; and at the death of the high-prieſt he was at liberty to return to his own home. This, at leaſt, is what the generality of interpreters conclude to have been their proceeeding, in ſuch caſes. However, as the account we have of it from *Moſes* is far from being clear in this point, and the cities of refuge were ſometimes at ſuch a diſtance from the place where the fact was committed, that the manſlayer might be eaſily overtaken by the proſecutor, before he could reach it: we think it at leaſt as reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he went and ſurrendered himſelf to the judges of the neareſt place, and, having cleared himſelf before them from the guilt of wilful murder, was by their order conducted ſafely to the next city of refuge; where the magiſtrates had a further hearing of the cauſe, and either confirmed, or revoked, the ſentence of the former, according to the evidence of it. It is true, that what we quoted out of the rabbies in the laſt note, about the conveniencies of the roads leading to ſuch places, would be needleſs in this caſe; but we look upon their teſtimony to be very dubious,

Maimon and ſome other rabbies tell us from antient tradition, that all the forty two cities of the *Levites* were places of refuge; with this difference however from the ſix properly ſo called, that the former might refuſe their protection to any man, how innocent ſoever, but the latter were obliged to receive him; and that in the former he lived at his own, and in the latter at the public charge (86). The *Miſhnah* on the contrary tells; upon the authority of R. *Eleazar*, that the death either of the high-prieſt, or of him that is anointed for the war, reſtored the ſlayer to his freedom, and that the mothers of theſe two prelates did find the refugees in food and raiment, that they might not by their prayers accelerate the death of their ſons, in order to their ſpeedy releaſe from their baniſhment (87).

(86) *Idem ibid. vide* & Calm. *ſub. voc. Refuge.* (87) *Ap.* Hotting. *in* Goodwin, *lib. ii. c.* 5. *ſub note* 9.

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and in some cases plainly wrong. Thus the *Talmud* tells us [o], that those cities were to be situated by some rivers, in order to be well supplied with water and all kinds of provision, that the access to them was to be easy and without ascent; and yet it is plain, that the far greater part were built upon rocks. There are many other particulars which they tell us there, which we purposely omit, because they are still more incredible. But the reader is at liberty to choose which supposition he likes best.

BESIDES these cities of refuge, the tabernacle, as we have partly observed above, and afterwards the temple, had likewise the privilege of sanctuaryship, especially the altar of burnt-offering [p]. The rabbies do indeed tell us, the latter was only for the priests; but we have seen the contrary in the instance of *Joab* mentioned above. Those indeed who were guilty of wilful murder sheltered themselves there in vain, and were, by God's express command, to be taken away from the very altar, to condign punishment. To this end there were proper judges appointed there also, whose business it was to make a strict examination of the case, and either to deliver up the criminal into the hands of justice, or send the innocent under a proper escort to one of the cities of refuge [q]. There are several other material circumstances relating to those kinds of cases, which *Moses* having left no particular directions about, they may be reasonably supposed to have been left to the discretion of the judges. Such as, for instance, when the fact was committed just before, and the sentence of the judges not obtained in favour of the homicide till after the death of the high-priest; or when it was done in the time of an interregnum; or in case the high-priest was killed by some friends of the exiled person; or lastly, when the high-priest himself became a manslayer, which was far from impossible: concerning which, and several others of the like nature, the *Talmudists* have made very judicious and equitable regulations, but which we shall not trouble our readers with.

The altar a place of refuge.

Nethinims. THE *Nethinims* are the last sort of persons dedicated to the worship of God (O). These were not of the children of *Israel*,

[o] Gemar. Tract. Makloth. [p] Vide PHILO, Legat al Cai. [q] MAIM. Tract. דיסה שמורת נפש, cap. 5. Vide HOTTING. in GOODW. lib. ii. c. 5. note 2. & Commentat. in Num. XXXV.

(O) We may however add another sort, who were called אנשי מעמד, *Anshe Maamad*, *Station-men*, which were a pious, grave sort

Iſrael, but of the *Gibeonites*, who obtained a treaty of peace with the former by a ſtratagem, which we have taken notice of before †, and whom *Joſhua* condemned to the loweſt and moſt laborious offices in the tabernacle under the *Levites*; ſuch as the drawing of water, the fetching and hewing of wood for the altar, and the like [r]. We do not find that this name of *Nethinims* was given to them till after the captivity, when a ſmall number returned with *Ezra* and the reſt of *Iſrael* from *Babylon*. That name imports as much as *given*, and *Ezra* ſays [s], they were given or appointed by *David* and other kings to ſerve in the temple under the *Levites*; and in another place, that they were the children of *Solomon*'s ſervants [t]. But by this time the name was not confined to the *Gibeonites* alone, but was given alſo to *Canaanites*, whom theſe princes had conquered and converted [u]. We read of ſome ſuch abject perſons alſo in the time of *Moſes*, who mentions them in his laſt pathetic ſpeech, in theſe words: *You all ſtand this day before the Lord ---- your little ones and your wives, and the ſtranger that is in your camp, from the hewer of thy wood, to the drawer of thy water* [w]. And probably the

† See Vol. II. p. 176. [r] Joſh. ix. 23, 27. [s] Ezr. viii. 20. [t] Ibid. ii. 58. [u] 1 Kings ix. 20, 21, & alib. [w] Deut. xxix. 10, 11.

ſort of perſons, choſen, not out of the tribe of *Levi* alone, but out of all the twelve indifferently, to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices, as repreſentatives of a certain number of people. They were called by that name, becauſe, as we obſerved before, no man was allowed to be in any but a ſtanding poſture, during the time of divine ſervice. The law required, that every man ſhould come and make his offerings, of what kind ſoever, in perſon, and to ſtay there till the ceremony was ended; but becauſe this was not practicable in many caſes, as when an offering was made for the whole nation, or in times of great reſort, becauſe the place could not contain them; they choſe theſe repreſentatives to perform that duty for them. Theſe were divided, as the prieſts and *Levites*, into twenty four claſſes, who took their turns weekly as they did. Each claſs having a head or captain, who was called ראש מעמד, *Roſh Mahmad*, or *head of the ſtation* (88). We do not indeed read of any ſuch order of men in the ſacred writings, and conſequently do not think it of divine inſtitution; but the *Jews* do fetch it from the oral law, and believe that it began long before the captivity; but moſt *Chriſtians* are rather of opinion, that it began ſoon after their return from it (89); for which reaſon we ſhall ſay no more of it.

(88) *Vide* Moſ. Kotz. ם טצות גדול. (89) Goodwin's *Moſ. & Aar. lib. i. cap.* 5. Hotting. *Diſſert. de Viris Stationar.*

lowneſs of their condition might be one main reaſon, why ſo few cared to return from the captivity, where they did perhaps fare better. For we do not read of above two hundred and twenty that came with *Ezra*[x], and three hundred and ninety two with *Zerubbabel*[y]; which number was ſo inſufficient for the exigencies of the temple, that *Joſephus* tells us, they did inſtitute a feſtival, which he calls *Xylophoria*, on which the people were obliged to carry a certain quantity of wood to the temple, to ſupply the altar of burnt-offering[z]: and not unlikely, that alſo of bringing water thither from the pool of *Siloah*, on the laſt day of the feaſt of tabernacles, the inſtitution of which is attributed to the prophet *Zechariah*, of which we have made ſome mention before.

II. *Of things conſecrated to the ſervice of God.*

THESE were, 1. The tabernacle. 2. The ark. 3. The two altars. 4. The candleſtick and other utenſils belonging to it. 5. The table of ſhew-bread. And 6. The court, with all the utenſils which were repoſited in it. Concerning all which, whatever can be ſaid with any tolerable certainty is ſo well known to the curious in this kind of learning, and ſo diſregarded by the reſt of the world, that we ſhould gladly content ourſelves with the bare mention of them, did we think that our readers would be ſatisfied with it, without a further deſcription of them. It may indeed appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that *Moſes* ſhould have beſtowed almoſt as many pages in deſcribing the ſtructure of the tabernacle and its ſumptuous furniture, as he has lines in his account of the creation, and yet that we ſhould be ſo much in the dark about it; and that there ſhould be ſo much room left for conjecture, for want of knowing the proper ſignification of a great number of its parts and materials. But as this is plainly the caſe, we ſhall not expatiate upon them, unleſs we can do it upon ſome ſure grounds, or where they have an apparent relation to the goſpel.

The tabernacle. 1. THE tabernacle was built by the command and directions of God himſelf, that he might dwell in the midſt of his people[a]. Their rebellions and murmurings having provoked him to prolong the term of their wandering in the wilderneſs, and thereby delayed the time of their entering into the poſſeſſion of the promiſed land; it was neceſſary that this ſacred place, where the moſt ſolemn parts of the divine

[x] Ezr. viii. 20. [y] Ibid. ii. 58. [z] Wars of the Jews, lib. ii. c. 17. [a] Vide Exod. xxv. 8, & alib. paſſ.

worſhip

worſhip were to be performed, ſhould be fitted to their frequent marches, and be eaſily ſet up and taken down, as occaſion required. For which reaſon, among other names which it has in the *Moſaic* writings (P), it is moſt commonly called by that of *Ohel*, which doth properly ſignify *a tent*; but ſuch a magnificent one, both in its ſtructure, materials, and utenſils, as might inſpire both the *Iſraelites*, and all other nations, with an awful reſpect and regard for the ſervice of God. To this end, the moſt coſtly and precious things, which they had brought with them from *Egypt*, and from thoſe other kingdoms which they had conquered, were liberally beſtowed by the people, and put into the hands of the ableſt artificers, to be wrought in a manner ſuitable to the deſign of it, and to the richneſs of the materials [b].

OUR learned *Spencer* has here again been at the pains to fetch this tabernacle, the ark, altars, and all their appurtenances from *Egypt* [c]. He quotes the ſacred and prophane writings to prove, that the *Heathens* had ſuch portable temples, in which they depoſited the moſt valuable utenſils that belonged to their religion. It is indeed eaſy enough to prove, that they had both theſe and many other things very like thoſe of the *Jews*; but to infer from thence, that they had them before them, and that God condeſcended ſo far to the genius of the *Iſraelites*, as to introduce them into his own worſhip, to be a kind of fence againſt their proneneſs to their idolatrous ſuperſtitions, is not only very preſumptuous and unlikely, but

[b] See Vol. II. p ult. [c] De leg. rit. Hebr. differt. i.

(P) The tabernacle is called by ſeveral names in ſcripture, the moſt common of which is that of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. *Obel Mohed*, *the tent* or *tabernacle of the congregation* or *aſſembly*, becauſe it was made in the faſhion of a magnificent tent or pavilion (90). For this reaſon *Joſephus* calls it μεταφόρμιον ναὸς, *a portable temple* (91); we find it elſewhere called מִקְדָּשׁ, *Mikdaſh*, *the holy place* (92), and by the *Septuagint* ἁγιάσμα, becauſe it was made holy by God's preſence; it is therefore elſewhere called, by way of excellency, מִשְׁכָּן, *Hamiſhcan*, *the habitation*, which the *Greek* renders σκηνὴ accordingly (93). Sometimes this laſt is joined with the word הָעֵדוּת, *Habeduth*, *teſtimony* (94), *the habitation* or *tabernacle of teſtimony*, becauſe God delivered his oracles from thence; laſtly, it is in other parts of ſcripture called הֵיכָל, *Hecal*, *palace*, and *the palace of the Lord* (95), which name was afterwards given to the temple.

(90) *Exod. xxviii.* 43, & *alib. paſſ.* (91) *Ant. lib iii c.* 5. (92) *Exod xxv.* 8. (93) *Ibid. ver.* 9. (94) *Ibid. xxxviii.* 21. (95) 1 *Sam. i.* 9. *iii.* 3. 1 *Kings xxi.* 1, & *alib. paſſ.*

doth too evidently thwart the known design of them, and the typical application which the apostle to the *Hebrews* makes of them [d]. And yet this sophistical way of reasoning is justly enough observed by a later author *** to run through all his writings on this subject; for which reason we shall forbear saying more about it, having so often given our reasons for dissenting from him. The reader, however, may see this last supposition sufficiently exploded by the author last quoted, and but weakly defended since by *Le Clerc* *†*.

THE tabernacle was of an oblong square figure, thirty cubits long, ten cubits broad, and ten in height. It had two apartments within, divided by a row of four columns of *Shittim* wood (Q), covered over with massive gold, fixed in

[d] Heb. ix. pass. & ver. 8. *** Vide SAURIN's discourse on the Pentateuch, disc. liv. pass. & alib. pass. *†* Bibliot. A. M. tom. xii. part 2. § 1. pass.

(Q) This wood, though so famous in scripture, is yet so unknown, that interpreters have not ventured to translate its name. St. *Jerom* has retained its *Hebrew* one, and the *Septuagint* only calls it imputrible wood; and indeed it is more than probable, that it was called *Shittim* from the place where it grew, often mentioned in scripture †. Our readers therefore may be perhaps willing enough to be let into that little light that can be got about it. The most probable account we can meet with is that of St. *Jerom*, who says, that it is a hard, smooth wood, free from knots, and of exquisite beauty and lightness; insomuch, that the rich used to make screws of it for their presses: that its leaves and colour were not unlike the white thorn, but that it grew to such a height, that one might saw it into boards of a considerable length, and that it grew no where in the *Roman* empire, but only in the uncultivated parts of *Arabia* (96). Hence some authors have concluded, that he meant the black *Acacia*; not only because it has all the smoothness, hardness, length, and beauty, which he speaks of, but because this latter is the only one that is to be found in those parts of *Arabia* (97). But whoever reads the description, which other authors give us of the *Acacia* (98), will find, that it cannot be the *Shittim* of St. *Jerom*, though we are told by very many travellers, that it is the only tree that grows in these deserts (99); but be it which of the two it will, it is plain they were both very fit for *Moses*'s purpose.

† *Num. xxv.* 1. *xxxiii.* 49. *Micah. vi.* 5. (96) Hieron. *Comm. in Joel iii. ad fin. in Mich. vi.* & 5, & *alib.* (97) Bellon's *Observ. lib. ii. c.* 56, & 80. Ætius, *lib. iv. c.* 11. (98) *Vide* Prosp. Alpin. *ap. Auctor. Notar. in lib. iv* Theophrast. Thevenot, La Rocque, & *al.* (99) *Vide* Le Clerc, Calmet, & *al. Comm. in Exod.* xxv. 5. Theven. La Rocque, Radzivil, Ludolph, & *al.*

It

in the ſame number of pedeſtals or ſockets of ſilver; from which probably might come that antient method of ſetting porphyry columns on baſes of white marble. *Moſes* doth not tell us, whether they were round or ſquare: but it ſeems more likely to have been the latter, not only becauſe they became much in vogue in the inſide of great buildings, under the name of pilaſters; but alſo becauſe they were more proper for the deſign for which they were intended, and more eaſy of carriage, with the boards and other flat pieces, than round ones. To the tops, or rather capitals, of theſe, was faſtened by golden hooks, a rich embroidered curtain, which divided the whole breadth of the place, an diſtinguiſhed the outward, called *the holy*, from the inward apartment, called *the moſt holy*, or *the holy of holies*. This latter was but ten cubits deep (R), and conſequently ſquare. The other

It is certain, at leaſt, that it could not be a kind of cedar, as ſome have imagined; not only becauſe the *Hebrew* has another name for that tree, but becauſe there grew none nearer than the *Libanus*, which was at too great a diſtance from *Sinai*; and yet the *Jews* are not aſhamed of entertaining a more ridiculous notion, that *Moſes* cauſed it to be brought from *Egypt*, whither *Jacob* had carried and ſown the firſt ſeeds of it, foreſeeing what uſe his poſterity would have for it (100). But had *Moſes* known any thing of a tabernacle being to be reared in the wilderneſs before he came thither, it is certain, the *Jews* had ſomething more valuable to load themſelves with than timber, how rare and uſeful ſoever.

(R) This proportion is not mentioned by *Moſes*; ſo that the reader is at his liberty to fix the partition in any other place, or, according to the rules of architecture, in the middle, and ſo make both apartments of equal length. What has determined the generality of interpreters to fix it where we do it, that in the temple of *Solomon*, the moſt holy place was but half the length of the holy one (1), and is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made according to the dimenſions of the tabernacle; the only difference between them being, that the one was a fixed, and the other a moveable temple. To this may be added, that the moſt holy having nothing but the mercy-ſeat in it, and none but the high-prieſt being permitted to enter it, leſs room ſufficed than for the outward one, which had the table of ſhew-bread, the altar of incenſe, candleſtick, &c. and was more frequented. *Joſephus* (2), though he agrees with *Moſes* in the length of the tabernacle, adds two cubits both to its height and breadth, with ſome other particularities, ſome not mentioned by *Moſes*, and others differing from him. See the next note. How-

(100) *Vide* Baſnag. *tom. ii. lib ii ch.* 3. (1) *Vide* 1 *King. vi.* 16, 17. 2 *Chron. iii.* 3. (2) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 6.

ever,

other was twenty cubits; and at the entrance of it, at the weſt end, hung a ſecond curtain to another row of five columns, of the ſame fabricature with the former, only the baſes of theſe were of braſs, and this covered the inſide of the holy place from common ſight. The curtain, or, as it is called, the vail, that parted the holy from the moſt holy place, was made of the richeſt ſtuff, both for matter and workmanſhip; and adorned with cherubims, feſtoons, and other ornaments, curiouſly embroidered upon it. The whole was incloſed on the north, weſt, and ſouth ſide, with a flight of boards of the ſame wood, covered alſo with plates of gold, and fixed below and above into ſockets or mortiſes like the columns. Theſe boards were ten cubits in length, and one and half in breadth; ſo that there were twenty on each ſide, and eight at the weſt end. They were moreover faſtened to one another, by a five-fold row of golden rings at equal diſtance one over the other, five to each board; and through theſe were run five bars of gilt *Shittim* wood, which locked or unlocked them on thoſe three ſides. As for the eaſt end, it had no boards, but was ſheltered by a vail, like that which divided the two apartments, except that this outward one had no cherubims embroidered upon it, as the innermoſt had: for theſe were never expoſed to public ſight, but it was only adorned with flowers, leaves, and ſuch like embelliſhments of needle-work [e]. How low this curtain did hang, is neither expreſſed in the text, nor agreed about; ſome thinking, that it came no lower than five cubits, and afforded the people a view of what was done in the holy place [f], others believing that it touched the ground, and concealed it all [g]; which laſt is the more probable of the two (S). The whole had

[e] Exod. xxvi. 36. [f] JOSEPH. Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. [g] PHILO ap. BASNAG. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 5.

ever, it is not improper here to take notice, once for all, that the cubits were ſomething longer than ours, though how much is not agreed. The moſt received opinion is, that from twenty to twenty two inches. The *Jews* add a ſtrange diſtinction between the cubits within and without the tabernacle, making the former longer by one hand, or three inches, than the latter: but we find no warrant for it but their bare word

(S) *Joſephus* adds further, that there was another curtain over that which came down to the ground, and was to preſerve it from the weather, being made of ſtuff that was proof againſt rain, but that it was drawn aſide on the ſabbath and other feſtivals, to give the

had four different coverings, the two innermoſt of which were by far the richeſt, being of a beautiful light blue mohair, ſtriped with ſcarlet and purple, or crimſon, and adorned with cherubims [h]. The other two were made, the under one of ram-ſkins, with the wool on, of ſcarlet dye; and the uppermoſt of all, of badger's ſkins, of a light blue. Theſe were to preſerve the other two from wind and rain; for which reaſon they were made to hang down to the ground on the three ſides that were boarded, whilſt they left the outward vail open to public view on the weſt end, which was the entrance into that ſacred place. The inſide of both theſe apartments was ſtill made more awful by the darkneſs that reigned in them: for we do not find that there were any apertures made for the light; ſo that the moſt holy had none but what the cenſer gave it, when the high-prieſt

[h] Exod. xxvi. 1.

the people a view of the inner one, and of its ornaments; if ſo, it muſt at the ſame time expoſe the altar of incenſe, candleſtick, &c. to public ſight. *Philo*, on the contrary, pretends (3), that no layman was ſuffered to ſee the fumigations which were performed within that place, the prieſts being the only perſons who had that privilege. This ſeems at leaſt more likely, by what we read of *Zacharias*'s tarrying longer than uſual in the holy place, and of the people's waiting without not knowing what had happened to him (4). However that be, *Moſes* calls theſe two curtains or vails by different names, namely, this outward one by the name of מוסך, *Muſſak* which only ſignifies *a covering*, whereas the inward, which divided the holy from the moſt holy place, he calls פרוכת, *Parocheth*, from *Parach*, which ſignifies *to ſnatch away*, and figuratively, *to deliver*, becauſe it covered the mercy-ſeat, and kept it from public ſight.

The *Talmud* adds another particular concerning this laſt vail; namely, that it conſiſted of two curtains, which hung parallel acroſs the tabernacle, at the diſtance of two cubits from each other; and that when the high-prieſt went into the moſt holy place, he lifted up the firſt curtain at one end of it, and ſo walked between them quite to the other end, and then entered within the ſecond curtain, and marched forward towards the ark (5): if ſo, it was the moſt effectual way to keep that ſacred place from ſight; but we dare not warrant the truth of it. The apoſtle to the *Hebrews* mentions indeed a ſecond vail *, but whether in alluſion to this double curtain, or, what ſeems more probable, in oppoſition to the *Muſſak*, or outward vail, we ſhall not determine.

(3) *Ap.* Baſnag. *ubi ſup.* (4) *Luke* i. 21. (5) *Vide* Maim. *Kele Haminikdaſh.* * *Hebr.* ix. 3.

weſt

went into it on expiation-day: as for the holy place, it had the golden candleſtick with a ſufficient number of branches to enlighten it in the night. We ſhall follow the *Jewiſh* lawgiver no farther, in his ſuccinct account of every minute part that compoſed this portable edifice, much leſs thoſe who have commented upon him; the greateſt part of whom have given ſuch a ſcope to their luxuriant fancies, that they ſeem rather to have viewed it with the utmoſt nicety, than to have taken their deſcription from him: we think it ſufficient for us to ſay, that there was nothing wanting in it, that could make it rich, ſumptuous, and venerable, firm, laſting, and eaſily moved [i].

Of the Mercy-ſeat and ark of the teſtimony.

The mercy-ſeat and ark.

THESE were the two chief things that were depoſited in the moſt holy place, and the former was as a lid or cover to the latter; for which reaſon ſome interpreters have fancied, that this was all that was meant by the word *Kaphoreth*, by which *Moſes* calls it. But moſt verſions do more properly render it the *Propitiatory* [k], others the *Oracle* [l], and ours the *Mercy-ſeat* (T); becauſe God is ſaid to have heard their prayers, to have delivered his oracles from thence, and to dwell between the cherubims which cover it. Beſides, it is plain, that it had a more than ordinary ſanctity attributed to it, and that it was looked upon as the place of God's immediate preſence; for which reaſon there were ſuch ſevere judgments inflicted on thoſe who preſumed to approach it [m]. *Moſes* was commanded to make it of pure gold [n]; from which one may conclude, that it was

[i] Ibid. Joſh. iii. 4. [k] LXX [l] HIERON. Vulgat. & al 2 Sam. vi. 6 & ſeq. [m] Vide [n] Exod. xxv. 17.

(T) The word כפורת. *Kaphoreth*, indeed comes from the verb *Caphar*, which doth ſignify *to expiate*, *to forgive*, in a figurative ſenſe, and in the primitive one, *to cover*, according to that of the pſalmiſt——*whoſe unrighteouſneſs is forgiven, and whoſe ſin is covered* (6). But it would be abſurd to infer from hence, that the word here ſignifies only *a bare covering*; eſpecially when the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, who in other caſes has followed the verſion of the *Septuagint*, departs from it here, and calls it ſimply Ἱλαστήριον, *the propitiatory*, or *mercy-ſeat* (7), where they had rendered it Ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα, *the propitiatory lid* or *covering*.

(6) Pſ. xxxii. 1. (7) Hebr. ix. 5.

not made of *Shittim* wood overlaid with gold, like the ark, the golden table, and other ſacred utenſils. The length of it was two cubits and half, and the breadth of it one cubit and half; ſo that it exactly fitted the dimenſions of the ark. It was fixed with the cherubims that over-ſhadowed in a frame, or as *Moſes* calls it, a crown [o], not of a round, but oblong ſquare figure, which cloſed the upper part of the ark, like a rim or ogee. As to the cherubims, it is certain, that they were made of gold, but whether ſolid, and caſt of the ſame piece, and in the ſame mold with the mercy-ſeat, as ſome *Jews* and *Chriſtians* render it [p], or only chaſed and hammered, as the original, which only expreſſes it by hardened gold, ſeems rather to intimate, is not worth diſputing. It would indeed be more material to know ſomething concerning their form, poſture, and attitude; but *Moſes* has here alſo left us in the dark, except where he ſays, that they ſtretched out their wings on high, and covered the mercy-ſeat with them from each end of it, and faced one another, with their faces turned down towards the mercy-ſeat [q] (V); from

[o] Ibid. ver. 11. [p] CHALD. Paraph. R. SAL. ARR. MONTAN. TREMEL. & al. in loc. ver. 18. [q] Ibid. ver. 20.

(V) We have had occaſion in another place to hint ſomething concerning the form of theſe cherubims; not that either theſe which *Moſes* ſpeaks of here, or thoſe which were embroidered on the vails and curtains, can help us to form any idea of them, except we have recourſe to other places of ſcripture, where they are ſomewhat more particularly deſcribed. The generality of interpreters, both antient and modern, have ſuppoſed them to have human ſhapes, becauſe *Moſes* ſays here, that they had their faces turned towards the mercy-ſeat; and elſewhere (8), that *God ſet them with flaming ſwords*, in their hands it is ſuppoſed, *to guard the entrance of paradiſe*. But this concludes nothing, becauſe face and hands, if any had here been mentioned, are attributed to beaſts, as well as men, in the *Hebrew*. The greateſt part of the *Jews* derive the word from another, which ſignifies, *to be like a child*, from which they conclude, that they were like young men naked, and covered only for decency with ſome of their wings (9). But it is certain, on the contrary, that the prophet *Ezekiel* repreſents them quite otherwiſe, and ſpeaks of the face of a cherubim as ſynonimous with that of an ox or calf, (10); according to which, the *Apocalypſe* calls them ζῶα, *beaſts* (11), and it is not improbable, that the

(8) Gen. iii. *ver. ult.* (9) *Vide* Kimc. & Buxtorf, *ſub voc. Cherub.* Baſnag. *R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c.* 5, 6, & 7. *paſſ.* (10) *Comp. Ezek. i.* 10, & x. 14. (11) *Apoc. iv.* 6.

from which we may reasonably conclude, that they were at least in a kind of bowing posture. This attitude, though not so clearly expressed by *Moses*, may be further evinced, not only as it was the most decent and respectful, but as it seems to be alluded to by the psalmist, who having declared, that God was seated between the cherubims, and expressed his majesty, justice, and power in the two or three verses following, adds, *prostrate yourselves before his foot-stool* [r]. Neither is it improbable, that what is said of their looking down upon the mercy-seat, in a kind of admiring posture, might give occasion to that beautiful allusion of St. *Peter*, when speaking of the mysteries of our redemption, he says, *which the very angels desire to look into* [s]. We might likewise give a very probable conjecture of their height, if it be allowed, that their wings, which met about the middle of the mercy-

[r] Ps. xcix. 1, & seq. [s] 1 Pet. i. 12.

different descriptions we meet with of them, in several places of scripture, made *Josephus* say, that they were a kind of winged creature, answering to the description of that which *Moses* saw about the throne of God, but to which no man had ever seen the like before (12).

However, we think with many learned moderns (13), that the word is derived from *Charab*, which, in the *Syriac*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic*, signifies, *to plow*; according to which, *Charub*, or *Cherub*, doth often imply *a strong man*, or *beast*; and as the ox is known to be very proper for agriculture, both on account of his strength and docility, the authors above quoted have made no difficulty to believe, that the cherubims here spoken of resembled them, if not in the whole, at least in face and some other parts of the body. To these we may add the authority of an antient father, who believed, that the *Egyptian Sphinx* and other hieroglyphical beasts were borrowed from those of *Moses* and *Ezekiel* (14). And indeed *Moses* seems to hint at least, that the cherub-work, which was embroidered on the vail and curtains within the holy of holies (15), was full of such symbolical figures, after the manner of the famous *Phrygian* tapestry. Whether therefore these took the hint from *Moses*, or he from them, is not very material; either supposition may be allowed without any harm. If the first, *Moses* might thereby design to intimate the existence and office of those spiritual beings; and if the latter, it might serve to expose the folly of their *Gentile* worshippers, seeing they were no more than servants to the God of *Israel*.

(12) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 6.* (13) Grot. Bochart, Spencer, Le Clerc, Mede, & *al.* (14) Clem. Alex. *Strom. lib. v.* (15) Exod. xxvi. 1.

seat,

ſeat, did bear the uſual proportion to the reſt of their bodies: but theſe enquiries are more curious than uſeful.

THE ark was a ſmall cheſt made of *Shittim* wood, and covered over with beaten gold. We have ſeen the dimenſions of its length and breadth, by thoſe of the mercy-ſeat; its height was equal to its breadth, that is, one cubit and half. It is called the ark of the covenant, and the ark of the teſtimony; the firſt, becauſe it was a ſymbol of the covenant made between God and his people, and contained the two tables of it, the pot of manna, and *Aaron*'s miraculous rod which were depoſited in it, to be as ſo many witneſſes againſt every deviation of theirs. It had on each ſide two golden rings, through which were faſtened the two bars, by which it uſed to be carried on the prieſts ſhoulders. Theſe bars were made of the ſame wood with the ark, and like it overlaid with gold; and theſe were never to be taken off. The ark with its covering ſtood lengthwiſe, and not croſſwiſe, as ſome have imagined, in the midſt of the moſt holy place. *Moſes* doth not tell us, whether or no it had either feet or ſome pedeſtal to ſtand upon; and yet it is hardly to be ſuppoſed that it ſtood upon the bare ground.

SEVERAL learned rabbies have a notion, that there were two arks, the one made by *Moſes*, and the other by *Bezaleel*; becauſe *Moſes* is ſaid in one place to have made an ark of *Shittim* wood, into which he put the two tables of ſtone [t]; and in another place, that *Bezaleel* made an ark and covered it with gold [u]. But they might as well conclude, that *Solomon* built one temple, and his workmen another; however they add, that *Moſes* did always carry his own, and the prieſts the other; and that this latter, which had in it the book of the law, was always carried with them when they went to engage their enemies [w]. *Abenezra* endeavours to confirm this opinion, by what is ſaid in *Joſhua* of the diſtance that was to be kept *between the people and it* (the ark) [x]. He pretends, that the particle *it* is in the plural in the original, and that the words ſhould be tranſlated *between you and them*, that is, the two arks [y]. But, beſides that his criticiſm has no foundation, but on different readings of the *Maſorites*, and that grounded on the diſputed authority of the points; we have elſewhere ſeen, that the plural is ſometimes uſed to expreſs the excellency of a thing; ſo that we ſee no

[t] Deut. x. 3. [u] Exod. xxxvii. 1, 2. [w] NACHMAN, KIMCHI, ZACHUT, & al Vide BASNAG. ubi ſup. [x] Joſh. iii. 4. [y] ABENEZ. in Deut. x.

reaſon to ſuppoſe two arks from either of theſe arguments; and yet ſome *Chriſtians* have given into that opinion [z] (W).

BESIDES the ark and mercy-ſeat, there was ſtill in this moſt holy place the volume of the law, which *Moſes* gave the *Levites* to depoſite by the ſide of the ark [a]: whether in the in or outſide is not agreed; but moſt probably without †. St. *Paul* omits this in the mention he makes of the things that were preſerved there [b]; for which no other reaſon can be given, than that it was ſufficiently known; for it is ſaid elſewhere, that there was nothing in the ark but the two tables of ſtone, which *Moſes* put into it at *Horeb* [c]; though it is plain, that the pot of manna and *Aaron*'s miraculous rod were likewiſe preſerved in it. But we do not think, that either of theſe ſeeming inconſiſtencies, or the depoſiting of the ſacred volume, and the other holy utenſils, are matters of ſuch weight, as to deſerve all the pains which ſome learned authors have given themſelves to little purpoſe [d]. However, as to the book itſelf, we muſt not ſuppoſe, that it was the only copy, ſeeing it would not have been lawful for the high-prieſt to have fetched it out and in but on expiation-day; whereas the public reading of it was to be on the feaſt of tabernacles. We may therefore ſuppoſe with the *Jews* (X), that there were ſeveral copies of it, and that this prototype

[z] GOODW. & HOTTING. ubi ſup Diſſert. de Tabernacul. § 13.
[a] Deut. x. 2. † Vide PRID. Connect. part 1. lib. iii.
[b] Comp. 1 King. viii. 9. with Heb. ix. [c] 1 King. viii. 9.
[d] GOODW. ubi ſup. § 18, ad 24. 1 Sam. vi. & alib. vide PRID. ubi ſup.

(W) R. *Kimchi* adds, ſpeaking of theſe two arks, that the one had the pieces of the two tables which *Moſes* had broke, and the other thoſe which he made afterwards. And even the *Talmudiſts*, who do not ſeem to have dreamed of a double ark, are yet of opinion, that thoſe precious relics were preſerved in that one in which the new were repoſited. It is indeed ſcarce credible, that he left them ſcattered on the ground; but as he has not told us what he did with them, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he took them up into the mount, and there buried them out of ſight, than that he depoſited them in the ark, where they could be of no uſe, unleſs it were indeed to put them in mind of their abominable idolatry, which had occaſioned the breaking of them.

(X) They tell us, that there were thirteen copies of it, one for each tribe, and one to be preſerved in the ark. There is nothing improbable in all this; but there is one particularity they add, which is not quite ſo clear, namely, that, after the building of

prototype was thus carefully preſerved to prevent the reſt from being corrupted. Laſtly, after the ark was brought back from the *Philiſtines*, they depoſited the little cheſt with the golden mice and emerods, not in it, but by the ſide of it [e].

THE utenſils in the holy place were, 1. The altar of incenſe. 2. The golden candleſtick. And 3. The table of ſhew-bread.

1. THE altar of perfume is ſometimes called the golden altar, becauſe, though it was made all of *Shittim* wood, yet it was ſo well covered over with gold, that it looked like a ſolid piece of it. It is alſo called the inner altar, to diſtinguiſh it from that of burnt-offerings, which ſtood without the tabernacle. Its uſe was twofold, namely, to burn incenſe morning and night, as we hinted elſewhere, and to be ſprinkled with the blood of the ſacrifices, which were offered for ſins of ignorance committed either by particular prieſts, or by all the people in general [f]. It was one cubit ſquare, and two cubits high, ſo that the ſmoke had ſtill eight cubits to aſcend. Two bars of the ſame wood covered with gold, and put through four gold rings, ſerved to carry it about, like the ark; only theſe might be taken off. There was a golden crown or ornament like an ogee round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners (Y), likewiſe covered with gold. The main difficulty of the temple, this laſt was taken out of the ſanctuary, and depoſited in the treaſury of the temple; and that it was this volume which was found there by the high-prieſt *Hilkiah*, in the reign of *Joſiah* (16). But if the latter be true, it is more likely, that it was taken out of the ſanctuary, and repoſited in ſome ſuch private place, to prevent its undergoing the ſame fate that all other copies had done, during the wicked reigns of *Ammon* and *Manaſſes*, than that it was removed thence in *Solomon*'s time, without any neceſſity, or command from God.

(Y) It is ſcarce worth the while to enquire into the various notions which interpreters are run into about the ſhape of theſe horns; ſome making them to be round, and others ſquare knobs (17), others little plain, and others like twiſted, pyramids (18). What is worth obſerving to our *Engliſh* readers, is that the word קרן *keren*, ſignifies either *a horn*, or *a ray of light*, from which per-

[e] 1 Sam. vi. & alib.

[f] Vide Levit. iv. 3, & 7, 13, & 18.

(16) 2 King. xxii. 8, & *ſeq.* 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, & *ſeq.* *Vide* Kimch. *in loc.* & Baſnag. *ubi ſup. c.* 8. (17) N. de Lyra, *poſt Rabbin. aliq.* (18) Villalpand, Arr. Montan. & *al.*

haps,

culty is how to understand what is meant by the top or roof of it [g], and how it could be ordered so as to bear the heat of the burning coals, without burning the wood through the gold that overlaid it. This has induced St. *Jerom* and others to translate it *a grate*, through which the small coals and ashes fell to the bottom [h], but the construction of the altar is incompatible with it. *Josephus* calls it a golden fire-hearth, which is equally liable to the same inconvenience, unless we suppose it to have been of more than common thickness. The difficulty is still greater with respect to the altar of burnt-offerings, which though made of the same wood, and only covered with copper, did yet bear a much more intense heat, by reason of the great number of victims, which were burnt constantly upon it. *Le Clerc* hath offered two ways of solving this difficulty, either by supposing the metal that covered it to be very thick, or that the *Shittim* was the same with the *Larix* of *Vitruvius*, which was an incombustible wood [i]; and, because he found the first solution to be insufficient, he published a short dissertation to prove the probability of the latter [k]: but the misfortune is, that we have no sufficient testimony, that any such wood did grow in the neighbourhood of *Sinai*, or indeed in *Arabia*. We shall speak of the latter altar by and by; as for this of incense, *Cunæus* seems to have found out the best expedient out of the *Jewish* rabbies, by supposing, that the burning coals were not set upon the altar itself, but upon a censer like a chasing-dish; which conjecture he backs by a text or two where such censers are commanded to be filled with coals, and set upon the altar [l]. However, if the readers should scruple to admit

Altar of perfume.

[g] Exod. xxx. 3. [h] Chald. Paraphr. FAGIUS in loc. [i] Comm. in Exod. in loc. [k] Bibliot. Choisie, tom. xii. p. 57. & seq.. [l] Comp. Levit. x. 1. xvi. 12. Num. xvi. 6, 7.

haps, as *Cunæus* observes, those rays which shone about *Moses*'s face may easily have been transformed into horns, so that these on the corners of the altar might, for ought appears to the contrary, be nothing else but ornaments resembling in some measure the rays of the sun. However, those who think them to have been in shape like the horns of an ox or ram, may as probably guess right, since any of these forms might answer the purpose for which they seem intended, namely, for the greater ease and steadiness in moving and carrying the altar about, and the tying of the victims to them, according to the allusion of the psalmist (19).

(19) Ps. cxviii. 27.

of

of theſe, it is but ſuppoſing, that this golden top or roof, with its crown or frame, was ſo fixed, as to be at ſome ſmall diſtance above the altar itſelf, and the wood will be out of danger of being burnt, though it had not been overlaid with gold, becauſe the heat naturally aſcends. The ſituation of it is not clear in the text, which ſays, that it was to ſtand before the vail [m]. *Joſephus*, who is univerſally followed, places it between the candleſtick and the table of ſhew-bread [n]. We cannot contradict it, and yet we think, that if the candleſtick were placed in the midſt, which is the propereſt place for it, and the other two, which were near of the ſame form, height, and bigneſs, put on each ſide, and at a little diſtance between it and the ſides of the tabernacle, it would be more agreeable to the rules of ſymmetry. The author of the ſecond book of *Maccabees* tells us that *Jeremiah*, ſeeing the captivity approaching, took this altar and the ark of God to mount *Nebo*, and hid them in a cave there, and ſtopt the door ſo cloſe, that it could not afterwards be found [o]. The *Talmudiſts* gave a different account of it, namely, that *Joſiah*, having been admoniſhed by ſome prophets, that all the precious veſſels of the ſanctuary would be carried away to *Babylon*, depoſited the holy fire, the ark, the pot of manna, *Aaron*'s rod, and the breaſt-plate of *Urim*, and this altar of incenſe, in a ſubterraneous place, which *Solomon*, from the ſame forecaſt, had cauſed to be built with ſuch extreme care and privacy, that, at the return from the captivity, they could never be found, nor ever will be, if we believe the *Jews*, till the coming of the *Meſſiah*. One thing indeed ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that if they had been carried into *Babylon*, with the reſt of the ſacred utenſils of the temple, they would have been alſo reſtored to them; but we find on the contrary, that they were forced to make them new ones at their return, whatever became of the old [p].

2. THE candleſtick was by far the richeſt piece in the whole ſanctuary, ſeeing it weighed a talent, not the common, but that of the ſanctuary; and was made from top to bottom of pure beaten gold, all of a piece, without joint or ſolder [q]. Its baſe or foot, or, as the original words it, its thigh, becauſe it probably reſembled an inverted one, had a trunk over it, out of which proceeded ſix branches, three on each ſide, and this laſt made the ſeventh in the middle. Theſe *Candleſtick*

[m] Exod. xxx. 6. [n] Ant. lib. iii c. 6. ad fin. [o] Ch. ii. 1, & ſeq. [p] Vide BUXTORF de Arc. c. 21, 22. R. JACKSON. PRID. CONN. part 1. lib. iii. CUNÆ. BASNAG. & al. [q] Exod. xxv. 3, & ſeq.

branches

branches were adorned with cups, knops, and flowers, alternate and equidiſtant, and on the top of each was fixed a lamp, ſhaped like an almond, which might be taken on or off, as occaſion ſerved [r], and in them were put the oil and the wick or cotton. Theſe had their tongs or ſnuffers to draw the cotton in or out, and ſnuff-diſhes to receive the ſparks and filth that fell from the lamps. All theſe were of pure gold alſo. It was the prieſt's buſineſs in waiting every evening, at the time of incenſe, to go in and light them, and about the ſame time in the morning to put them out, to clean, and repleniſh them [s] (Z). As to the height of it *Moſes* has not mentioned any thing about it; ſo that whilſt ſome have lowered it to the level of the altar of incenſe, which would have caſt but an imperfect light, eſpecially on the table of ſhew-bread, where the loaves ſtood one upon another, others have carried it up to the height of five cubits, which is a worſe extreme, ſince it muſt not only have required a ladder or ſteps to have reached it, but it being the half of the height of the place, the ſmoke of it would ſoon have ſullied and ſpoiled the rich curtains over head: It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it of ſuch a height that a

[r] Compare Exod. xxv. 37, with Num. iv. 9. [s] Comp. ver. 16, with Exod. xxx. 8. Levit. xxiv. 2. 1 Sam. iii. 3.

(Z) Notwithſtanding thoſe texts we have quoted above, to prove that the lamps burned only in the night, ſome have ſtuck ſo cloſe to the letter, where it is ſaid elſewhere, that *they ſhall burn continually* (20), that they have affirmed them to burn all the day alſo. *Joſephus*, as if he had been minded to ſplit the difference, tells us, that three of them burned all day, and the other four were lighted againſt night *. But if we muſt ſuppoſe, without any occaſion, that any burned in the day, it were more reaſonable to think, it was the middle one, which being more capacious than the reſt, may be concluded to have burned ſo much the longer accordingly. However, ſeeing that the ſanctuary opened to the ſun-riſing, we can ſee no occaſion for ſuch a ſuppoſition, againſt ſo many plain texts. But *Joſephus* has added ſome other particulars, which it would be hard to gueſs where he had them, ſuch as that the knops, cups, flowers, &c. in the candleſtick amounted to ſeventy in all (21). Whereas thoſe who will be at the pains to tell them after *Moſes* will find but about fifty eight; that is, eighteen cups, eighteen flowers, and eighteen knops, to the ſix ſide branches, and four to the middle one. Of the ſame kind is what he tells us there, that the ſeven branches anſwered to the ſeven planets; that the candleſtick ſtood ſtooping, and ſuch like, not worth a further enquiry.

(20) *Exod xxvii* 20, *& alib.* * *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 8. (21) *Ibid. c. 7, ad fin.*

man

man might eaſily reach the top of it, that is, about ſix foot high. We are likewiſe left to gueſs at its ſhape, breadth, ſituation, and ſeveral other particulars, in which every commentator thinks he has hit better than any other of his brethren [t]; for which reaſon we ſhall follow them no farther in the dark (A); but only add, that after the building of the temple, *Solomon*, inſtead of one, placed ten candleſticks in the holy place, all of the ſame metal, with their other appurtenances [u]; but whether that of *Moſes* was one of the number, or made the eleventh, is not certain; the latter ſeems the more probable of the two, becauſe the holy place here being conſiderably larger than that of the tabernacle; and all the veſſels being made ſo accordingly; it is likely, that the candleſticks did bear the ſame proportion; in which caſe the old one would not have been uniform with the reſt. But whether it was new-caſt, or repoſited in the treaſury of the temple, or what became of it, is uncertain.

3. THE table of ſhew-bread. We have ſpoken of the bread elſewhere; as for the table on which it was ſet, it was made of the ſame wood, and covered with gold, like the ark: it was two cubits long, one cubit broad, and one and half high: it had a golden border or crown, which may be ſuppoſed to be a kind of rim round it, like that of our tea-tables [w]. It was alſo of pure gold, and might have an ogee or ſome ſuch ornament about it. It ſtood upon four feet, which *Joſephus* ſaid re-

Table of ſhew-bread

[t] Vide inter al. JOSEPH. ubi ſup. HIERON. ARR. MONT. VILLALP. CUN. BASNAG. VILLET. & al. [u] 1 Kings vii. 49. 2 Chron. iv. 7. [w] Exod. xxv. 23, & ſeq.

(A) It may not, however, be amiſs here to ſay ſomething of the oil that entertained theſe lamps; and this, the text tells us, was to be the pureſt virgin oil of olives, with which the land of *Canaan* abounded very much, as we have ſeen heretofore †; and indeed, none but ſuch would have been fit to burn in that place, where the furniture was ſo exquiſitely rich. We may remember, that when *Moſes* exacted a free-will-offering from the people, of all their coſtly ſpoils; oil was one of the things of that number; ſince then there was always a certain quantity required with their other ſacrifices, beſides tithes and the free-offerings of the devouter ſort, there could not be wanting a conſtant ſupply of it for this purpoſe. The *Babyloniſh Talmud* aſſures us, that, after the extruction of *Solomon*'s temple, there was a place, by the women's apartment, appropriated for the keeping of it (22).

† *See Vol. II. p. 446. note* (N). (22) *Tract. Middoth.*

ſembled in part thoſe that were uſed in the *Dorians* beds [x]; but what he meant by it is not worth our enquiry. *Moſes* ſeems to intimate in another verſe [y] ſomething like a ſecond crown or rim, though ſome take it to be the ſame with the former, but it is more likely, that it was a lower one, which went round the four feet near the bottom, and kept them ſteady. To the upper rim were faſtened four gold rings, two on each ſide, through which the bars were put that ſerved for its carriage. On the top there were, beſides the two rows of ſhew-loaves, ſome pans, or chafing-diſhes of gold, in which the incenſe uſed to be burnt, with ſeveral other ſmaller utenſils, which ſerved for inferior uſes in this holy place [z], which we ſhall not dwell longer upon, becauſe there are almoſt as many different opinions about the ſignifications of their names, their forms, and uſes, as there are interpreters. This table was afterwards changed for another by *Solomon* [a]. *Joſephus* tells us [b], that it was larger than the old one, probably to anſwer the largeneſs of the place. The author of the book of *Chronicles* adds, that he made ten more, five on the north, and five on the ſouth ſide of the holy place, which ſerved to ſet all the other utenſils upon [c]; and *Joſephus* ſays, that there were as many more of different makes and ſizes, as ſerved to hold twenty thouſand cups, and other veſſels of gold, and twice that number of ſilver ones [d].

Court of the tabernacle.

4. THE court of the tabernacle, with its utenſils, is the laſt thing we have to ſpeak of. The court was an oblong ſquare, an hundred cubits long, and fifty broad (B), incloſed on all but the eaſt ſide, which had an opening of twenty cubits,

[x] Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. [y] Exod. xxv. 26. [z] Ibid. ver. 29, & alib. paſſ. [a] 1 Kings vii. 48, & ſeq. [b] Ant. lib. viii. c. 2. [c] 2 Chron. iv. 8. [d] Ubi ſupr.

(B) This חָצֵר, *Chatzer*, or *court*, being mentioned in ſome places, eſpecially by the pſalmiſt (23), in the plural number, has induced ſome interpreters to ſuppoſe, without any reaſon, that there were two of them (24), one for the *Levites*, and the other for the people: but as *Moſes* doth hint nothing like it, and we have obſerved already, that the plural is often uſed to denote the excellency of a thing, we ſee no ground for ſuch a ſuppoſition, nor indeed for looking upon theſe expreſſions as prophetical of the three courts which *Solomon* made to the temple; *viz.* one for the *Levites*, one for the *Iſraelites*, and the laſt for the *Gentiles*, as ſome authors have done (25).

(23) *Vide Pſ. lxv.* 4, & *lxxxiv.* 2, & 4, & *alib.* (24) *Vide* Calvin. *in loc.* (25) *Vide* Cun. & Baſnag. *ubi ſup. tom. ii. lib. i. c.* 6.

bits,

bits, for the prieſts and *Levites*, and people to go in and out with their offerings. This incloſure was not deſigned to conceal what was done in the court, ſince the curtains, that ſurrounded it, were made of a kind of net or point-work, through which even the heathens might have a view of it. Theſe curtains, which *Moſes* therefore calls by a particular name (C), to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the tabernacle, whoſe uſe was of a different nature, were ſupported by four ſlights of pillars, probably of ſhittim wood (D), with braſs pedeſtals or ſockets; and adorned with ſilver fillets, or rather chapiters, for ſuch they were [e]. As for their height, as *Moſes* has ſaid nothing

[e] Vide Exod. xxxviii. 28.

(C) The word here uſed is קלע, *Kelah*, which ſignifies either *a ſling*, or *a net*, or *open work* (26), probably becauſe thoſe ſlings, with which they ſlung their ſtones, had the bottom made of ſome ſuch kind of open work. For this reaſon the *Chaldee* paraphraſt tranſlates it *grate* or *crib-work*, in which he is followed by the generality of *Chriſtian* interpreters (27). Some indeed pretend it was a flouriſhing of all ſorts of leaf and flower-work (28), but they all agree, that the ground was open and tranſparent, ſo that theſe hangings might in ſome meaſure reſemble a piece of point or lace.

The *Jews* tell us, however, that after the tabernacle was fixed in *Shiloh*, they ſurrounded it with a good ſtrong wall of the ſame dimenſion: but whether this had any apertures or not, doth not appear. Sure it is, that theſe courts were in uſe, and eſteemed as a piece of grandeur, in the earlieſt times, both among the *Egyptians* and other nations, and that not only their temples, but their palaces, were ſurrounded with one or more of them, either to obſtruct the ſight, or the approach of the people.

(D) As *Moſes* makes no mention of any wood, but only of ſilver and braſs, *Joſephus* (29) and the old latin verſion have ſuppoſed thoſe pillars to have been made of this laſt metal. But beſides that there is no likelihood that they ſhould have added ſuch a monſtrous weight, as fifty ſix ſuch columns muſt have been, to all their other carriage, it is plain, *Moſes* mentions nothing like it, where he ſpeaks of all the other utenſils made of braſs (30), which he would hardly have omitted. However, leſt this ſhould not prove ſufficient to confute that notion, a late author has been at the pains of computing all the braſs that was uſed in the tabernacle, to prove, that there would not have been a ſufficient quantity for other utenſils, had theſe pillars been made of it (31). There is, however, ſome diffi-

(26) *Vide* Buxtorf. *Theſ.* & Arr. Montan. *ſub voc.* קלע. (27) *R.* Sal. Jark. *Vide* Munſt. Jun. Oleaſt. & *al.* (28) Kimch. *in Rad.* & *al.* (29) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 6. *Vide* & Raſcius *in loc.* (30) *Exod. xxxviii.* 29, & *ſeq.* (31) *Vide* Baſnag. *ubi ſup.*

nothing of it, authors have conjectured it variouſly, from ten to five cubits; but as the deſign of them was only to ſupport the curtains, and to hinder the approach, and not the view, of the tabernacle; the laſt ſeems the moſt rational, it being the height that *Joſephus* aſſigns them, as well as that of the curtains; only we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the ſilver chapiters did riſe above the curtain. We are likewiſe left to gueſs at their figure, only a ſquare one may be reaſonably ſuppoſed fitter, both for carriage and for holding the hangings tight, than a round one. They were fifty ſix in number, twenty on each ſide, ten at the weſt, and ſix at the eaſt end, beſides thoſe which ſupported the blue curtain which covered the entrance of the court, which was of a fine ſky-blue flouriſhed, and was made to draw on either ſide, or to lift up; the text doth not ſay which, but the *Jews* believe the latter [f].

THUS the whole court had a circuit of three hundred cubits. Thoſe therefore who ſuppoſe, that the curtain that ſurrounded it, was one entire piece, ſeem not to conſider, what a laborious task it would have been to the *Gerſhonites* to have folded or rolled it up; beſides that, the text ſpeaking all along of them in the plural number, ſhews that there were more than one or two [g]. However, though this court bore the ſame proportion with the tabernacle, and the four ſides ran parallel to it, yet is not the tabernacle to be ſuppoſed to have ſtood in the centre of it. There was no neceſſity for the *Area* on the weſt end to be of the ſame extent with that on the eaſt, becauſe we do not read of any conſiderable utenſils placed in that; whereas this latter had the altar of burnt-offering, the layer, and ſeveral other things, of which we are going now to ſpeak; ſo that though *Moſes* has not left us the dimenſions of either, this laſt is ſuppoſed to have been of equal length with its breadth, that is, fifty foot ſquare; and indeed leſs than that ſpace could hardly ſuffice for all the work that was done there, and the multitude of utenſils that were uſed in it, ſince it was the only place in which all the victims were ſlain, and both they, and all other kind of offerings, were brought and offered up. For this reaſon it is diſputed, both among

[f] Ibid. xxvii. 9, ad fin. [g] Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 12, &ſeq.

culty in adjuſting the equidiſtance of theſe pillars, ſo as to bring the whole to the length and breadth aſſigned by *Moſes*; and which cannot be otherwiſe removed, than by ſuppoſing, that thoſe that were at the end of the four ſides did come almoſt cloſe to one another at each angle (32).

(32) Baſnag. *ibid.* *Vide* Munſt. Jun. Calm. & *al. in loc.*

the

the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, whether the people, who came thither with the victims, were ſuffered to enter into it, in order to lay their hands on their heads, and to ſtay the whole time of the ceremony, as the letter of the law ſeems to require; or whether they were not met by the prieſts or *Levites*, at the entrance into the court, and having performed the part of the impoſition of hands and confeſſion there, did go to behold the remainder of it from the openings of the incloſure. If the former be admitted, it muſt be owned, that they muſt have been very much crowded at ſome particular times, or been forced to admit no more at one time than the place would conveniently hold. We need not to add, that the braſs ſtakes and cordages which were ranged all around, within as well as without, in order to ſecure both the court and tabernacle from ſtorms and winds, did ſtill ſtreighten the place conſiderably. There have been alſo various conjectures concerning the reaſon of its ſituation and facing of the weſt, which we ſhall not dwell upon: the beſt we meet with from the *Jews* is, that it was done in oppoſition to the *Heathen*, who worſhipped towards the riſing ſun. As for the myſtical interpretations of ſome *Chriſtian* divines, they are out of our province.

THE altar of burnt-offering was placed, as we have obſerved before, at the eaſt end of the court, and one may ſuppoſe it to have ſtood at ſuch a convenient diſtance from the tabernacle, that neither the ſmoke of its conſtant fire, nor that of the victims which were burned upon it, might fall upon, or damage, its outward vail. This altar is alſo called the outward, to diſtinguiſh it from that of incenſe, which was within the ſanctuary. We have already taken notice, that it was made of ſhittim wood, and covered over with braſs. It was five cubits ſquare and three cubits high, and becauſe it was portable like the other, it had four braſs rings, through which the two bars were put, by which it was carried upon the prieſts ſhoulders. It had four horns at the four corners of the ſame wood, and covered with the ſame metal, but whoſe ſhape is equally uncertain with that of the other altar. In the cavity of it, which probably went through, and may be ſuppoſed as capacious as the bigneſs of the altar will admit, was hung by four braſs rings a croſs-bar grate, which reached down to the middle of the cavity, and through which the aſhes fell. This was to be placed under that part which is generally rendered the compaſs (E) of the altar [h], but is variouſly underſtood,

Altar of burnt-offering.

[h] Exod. xxvii. 1, & ſeq.

(E) The word כרכוב. *Carcob*, is one of thoſe that occur but once in the ſcriptures, and whoſe meaning muſt remain uncertain for

underſtood, or rather fancied, in order to ſave the wood from being conſumed within the copper work. We ſhall content ourſelves with giving our readers the moſt probable and approved conjecture, which is that of the author of the *Diſſertations upon the Pentateuch* [i]. He ſuppoſes the cavity of the altar to have been about ſeven feet and half wide, from ſide to ſide, and the ſhittim wood to have been covered with braſs, within as well as without. The croſs-bar grate he ſuppoſes to have been a veſſel, made in the moſt convenient form to receive and keep up the fire, which was conſtantly ſupplied with freſh wood; and to have been hung about a foot deep within the cavity. As for the *Carcob*, which we render *the compaſs* or *circuit*, he thinks that it was another copper veſſel, whoſe form he leaves to the diſcretion of the reader, capacious enough to contain the fleſh of the victims, which were to be conſumed upon, or in it. This veſſel being likewiſe ſuſpended by four braſs rings over the grate, at a convenient diſtance, was conſequently ſurrounded by the continual flames from below, and might conſume all that was in it in a very little time, without endangering the wood of which the altar was made; and both the *Carcob* and the grate being thus ſuſpended, might be eaſily taken on and off, whenever the altar was to be cleared or tranſported. Thus far our author: the reader may ſee his reaſons for theſe ſuppoſitions in the original. The only thing that can be objected againſt this ſuppoſition is, that there are ſome expreſs texts, which enjoin the *victims, with the head and the fat, to be laid*, not over, but *upon the*

[i] SAURIN Diſcours ſur le Pentat. Diſc. liv.

for want of parallels to fix it. The *Jews*, inſtead of helping us in ſuch doubtful caſes, do rather embroil them the more. R. *Salomon*, and after him, the learned *De Lyra* believed it to have been only a kind of ornament, that ſurrounded the altar; and other rabbies, who affirm, contrary to the text, that the altar was ten cubits high, and large in proportion, tell us, that it was a kind of gallery, upon which the prieſts were forced to mount, in order to lay the wood and victims in due order, and that the three cubits which *Moſes* aſſigns to the height of the altar, muſt be reckoned from that gallery and upwards. But what quite confutes this wild notion is, that *Moſes* ſays, this *Carcob* was to reach to the middle of the altar. If therefore the altar was ten cubits high, there muſt have been five cubits above, as well as five below this imaginary gallery, as *Cunæus* juſtly obſerves. Our commentators have therefore juſtly rejected them, and endeavoured to remove the main difficulty, without departing from the original, or giving into fabulous traditions.

wood,

wood, or upon the fire, which is upan, not within, *the altar* [k]. This ſeems alſo to have been the practice of the antient patriarchs before the *Moſaic* inſtitution. So that this *Carcob* ſeems rather to have contained the fire, if it was really a diſtinct thing from the grate. As for what is ſaid of this latter hanging in the middle, it may more reaſonably be underſtood of the middle with reſpect to its ſides, than its height. Since therefore invention muſt ſupply the obſcurity of the text, as our author obſerves, may we not as well ſuppoſe this *Carcob* to have been a kind of cincture to the grate, capacious enough to contain both the wood and the victims, and to have been ſuſpended ſo near the level of the altar, and at ſo convenient a diſtance from the inſides of it, as not to heat the braſs of it to a degree ſufficient to burn the wood incloſed in it; whilſt the crib might be a kind of bottom to it, ſerving to give it air from beneath, and to let out the aſhes and other ſmall rubbiſh, which might otherwiſe clog the fire? We may even venture to add, that the whole might be ſo artificially contrived, the fleſh being thus embraced on all ſides by a fierce and conſtant fire, and this by the circumambient air, as might concenter the heat to ſuch a degree as to conſume every particle, and yet be entirely free from that offenſive ſmell, which ſuch quantities of fleſh and fat muſt have neceſſarily cauſed (F). But this we ſubmit to our readers. The truth is, that a man

[k] Levit. i. 8.

(F) As a confirmation of what we have advanced, we beg leave to aſſure our readers, that we have ſeen in *France* a kind of portable hearth, not unlike a chafing-diſh, ſo artfully contrived, that the fire within it, tho' nót very fierce to outward appearance, did conſume feathers, brimſtone, and other like fetid materials, without caſting the leaſt ſmell, or indeed any heat, beyond the narrow boundaries of its focus. As this curious piece was expoſed to public view by the owner, for a ſmall piece of money, at *Paris* and ſeveral other parts of *France*, we doubt not, but it has been ſeen by many of our curious countrymen, who may confirm the truth of what we ſay. However, if the reader think much of admitting the parallel, we beg leave to add, with reſpect to theſe two altars, that as that of incenſe was over laid with gold, in order to anſwer the reſt of the rich utenſils of the ſanctuary, ſo this of burnt-offering was covered with braſs, becauſe all the other materials of the court were made of that metal; rather than barely to preſerve the wood under it from the fire. The ſhittim therefore might be deſigned only as the mould or model of the altars, and to avoid either the exceſſive coſt, or

a man ought to have ſeen and examined the whole ſtructure of the tabernacle and its apparatus, to be able to remove every difficulty, that may be raiſed by the curious. But do we not find the ſame with reſpect to *Greek* and *Roman* antiquities, though we are better acquainted with thoſe languages, and have ſuch multitudes of antient authors to conſult, in compariſon of thoſe few that relate to the *Jewiſh*? It was on this altar, that the ſacred fire, which deſcended from heaven at the conſecration of the tabernacle, was to be continually kept. If it be aſked, how this could be done in their marches, when this and all other utenſils were wrapped up in ſeveral coverings, the uppermoſt of which was of badger-ſkins, without either burning thoſe coverings, or extinguiſhing the fire; we need not to have recourſe to miracles, as the rabbies do here and every where elſe (G). We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the

or weight of maſſive ones: ſo that whether we ſuppoſe it to have been incombuſtible or not, the end was ſtill anſwered, ſince even upon the latter ſuppoſition, that of gold was out of danger, becauſe the fire was ſet upon it in a ſeparate golden veſſel or cenſer, and this of copper might either be ſo contrived as to ſave the wood, or if that ſhould be burnt to a coal, the metal may be ſuppoſed ſtrong enough to ſtand without it.

(G) It is by the ſame miraculous power that they pretend it was preſerved againſt violent winds and rains, to which the altar was expoſed, by ſtanding in ſuch an open place; but we may more reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they took proper means to ſhelter it from both, ſuch as *Moſes* might leave to their diſcretion. As for the wood that entertained this fire, they tell us, that it was not to be ſuch as had ſerved to any other purpoſe; that it was not to be canker or worm-eaten, and the like; and that after the *Nethinims* had made it ready for uſe, it was the buſineſs of thoſe prieſts, who were diſabled from officiating at the altar, to examine it after them, and to throw aſide all that they found any ſuch defects in. As for this ſacred fire, we need not to tell our readers how early it was in uſe among the *Chaldeans* and *Perſians*, from whom it paſſed to the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other nations. It was called in the old *Perſic*, *Oriſmada*, which ſome critics pretend to be derived from the *Hubrew* words, *urim eſh yah*, *light and fire of God*, or from *or eſh men yah*, *light and fire from God*; and from thence infer, that they had this cuſtom from the *Jews* †, but that is what we dare not venture to warrant. As for the *Jewiſh* one, we read in the *Maccabees* (33), that, at the approach

† Baſnag. *R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c.* 14. (33) 2 *Macc. i.* 19. *& ſeq. ii.* 1, *& ſeq.*

of

the *Carcob*, or veſſel which held the fire, and was to be taken off when they removed, was carried in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve fire enough to kindle a greater one, when occaſion required, as on the morning and evening ſacrifice. The reader, however, muſt be reminded here, not to confound this *Moſaic* altar, with that ſpacious one which was afterwards reared by *Solomon*, of which this is not a proper place to ſpeak. One common caution however belonged to theſe and all other altars (H), that the aſcent to them was to be gradual, and not by ſteps, to prevent all indecency in God's worſhip [1].

THE

[1] Exod. xx. ult.

of *Nebuchadnezzar* towards *Jeruſalem*, the prophet *Jeremiah*, with ſome other prieſts, took it from the altar, and went and hid it in the bottom of a dry well, and that at the return from the captivity *Nehemiah* ſent ſome of their grand children to the well, who brought him ſome dirty water inſtead of fire, but, upon his pouring it upon the altar, it immediately blazed into a clear flame, which was kept afterwards till the deſtruction of the ſecond temple. This ſtory is likewiſe apocryphal, but the *Jews* believe it, only they compare this ſecond fire to a dog, whereas the firſt, they ſay, was like a lion (34).

(H) As we are upon the ſubject of the divine laws, by whoſe directions all theſe things were made, we muſt by no means forget that altar which God enjoined to be made to him, either of earth or of rough ſtones, in all places where he ſhould record his name (35). Whoever compares theſe words with the command of building the brazen altar, might be apt to think, that the *Iſraelites* were left at their liberty to offer up their ſacrifices either upon the one or the other, as they liked beſt; and yet we find a ſevere prohibition againſt ſacrificing any where but at this latter, and in the court of the tabernacle (36). To reconcile this ſeeming contravention, ſome have conjectured, that this brazen altar was filled with earth and rough ſtones, but what we have ſaid above doth ſufficiently confute ſuch a ſuppoſition. We paſs by ſeveral others equally crude to come at the moſt rational. There ſeems indeed a manifeſt difference between the laws relating to thoſe two altars; that of the one, *viz.* the brazen one, confined it to the ceremonial part, in which the prieſts alone were allowed to officiate; whereas the other related properly to extraordinary caſes, when ſome holy perſons were commanded by God to offer ſome kind of ſacrifices, without any regard to the tribes they were of; upon all which occaſions they were obliged to rear ſuch a plain altar, as is above deſcribed.

(34) *R. Zaccuth, ubi ſup.* (35) Exod. xx. 24. (36) Levit. xvii. 3, 4. *Vide* Balmag. *ubi ſup.* c. 14.

The great laver.

THE brazen laver is the laſt conſiderable utenſil that was in the court of the tabernacle. It was conveniently ſituate between the eaſt end of it and the altar of burnt-offerings. Its ſhape and capaciouſneſs, not being mentioned by *Moſes*, we can affirm nothing certain about them. Its uſe was twofold. Firſt, it ſerved for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet, who were expreſly forbid, under ſevere penalties, to preſume upon any part of their function till they had performed that ceremony [m]. *Secondly, to waſh the entrails* and legs of the victims [n]. Some *Jews* fancy, that there was another reſervoir of water for this laſt uſe [o], which is not improbable, not only as it was more decent, but becauſe we find it ſo ordered in *Solomon*'s temple, where the brazen ſea was for the ſole waſhing of the prieſts, whilſt there were ten other lavers beſides for the waſhing of the victims [p]. If this was not the caſe here, we muſt ſuppoſe, that they only took the water out of the laver into ſome other veſſel to waſh thoſe entrails in,

[m] Exod. xxx. 20. [n] Vide Levit. xix. [o] Vide KIMCH. in loc. [p] 2 Chron. iv. 6.

The only thing that can be objected againſt this ſolution is, that the words, *thou ſhalt build me an altar of earth——in every place where I record my name*, &c. ſeem rather to imply a fixed, than ſuch an occaſional, altar. But the *Chaldee* paraphraſt has given us a truer ſenſe of theſe words, as all who underſtand the original will eaſily own; which is this. *In every place where I cauſe, or command my name to be recorded or celebrated*, &c. The meaning of which is plainly this, by comparing both places together: *it ſhall not be lawful for you to offer your ſacrifices whereſoever your fancy leads you, but only at the court of my tabernacle: nevertheleſs, whenever I cauſe my name to be celebrated upon any particular occaſion, in what place ſoever I command my ſervants to ſacrifice unto me, there ſhall they rear me an altar of earth*, &c. *and there I will meet and bleſs them; but this ſhall not be done without an expreſs command from me.* This natural interpretation was not only verified by the ſequel, as appears from all the inſtances we have of theſe extraordinary ſacrifices, but doth likewiſe account for the reaſon of God's chooſing a plain and artleſs altar upon all ſuch occaſions; about which both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* have racked their brains to little purpoſe. For had they been more elaborate and laſting, the *Iſraelites*, too prone to ſuperſtition, would have been in all probability induced to fancy a more than ordinary ſanctity in them, and ſo have gone a whoring after them, contrary to God's expreſs prohibition; whereas their being reared up juſt to ſerve the preſent exigence, and then being immediately pulled, or falling down in courſe, could not adminiſter any ſuch temptation.

for

for it was not even lawful for a prieſt to waſh his hands and feet in the ſame water. For this reaſon they ſuppoſe, that this laver had a quantity of cocks, at which the water was ſet to run upon their feet firſt, and then upon their hands, and was received into a baſon underneath [q], This fountain was to be kept continually repleniſhed with water, and this office belonged to the *Levites* [r], unleſs they made perhaps the *Nethinims* bring it to them to the entrance of the court. *Moſes* tells us in another chapter, that this braſs laver and its foot was made of the looking-glaſſes of the women, that came in crowds to the door of the tabernacle [s], which has given ground for various ſpeculations; and ſome interpreters have even ventured to turn the braſs there mentioned into ſteel [t]: as if thoſe antient mirrours had been made of no other metal. For our part, we take it for granted, that they were made of other metals alſo, ſuch as braſs, tin, ſilver, and the like, and ſome with braſs mixed with tin or ſilver; the laſt of which, *Pliny* tells us [u], were the moſt eſteemed; but we are apt to think, that there is an error crept into the text, or an exchange of one letter for another like it, and that it ſhould be rendered, he made the laver and its foot of a braſs, like unto the looking-glaſſes of the women that crowd about the door of the tabernacle, by which is meant, that he made them either of the ſame metal, or that he gave them the ſame degree of brightneſs and ſmoothneſs (I). And if what an antient father tells

[q] Miſhn. ap. ARR. MONTAN. in loc. [r] Vide N. DE LYRA in loc. [s] Exod. xxxviii. 8. [t] Vide TREMEL. in loc. [u] Lib. xxxiii. c. 9.

(I) Thoſe who underſtand the original know, that it is far from improbable, that ב *beth* may have ſlipt in here inſtead of the כ *caph*, by reaſon of their likeneſs; eſpecially if they remember, that the former is never uſed, that we can recollect, to expreſs the metal or ſtuff of which a thing is made; ſo that this letter is here altogether irregular; whereas the כ, which ſignifies *as, like unto, according to*, gives a good ſenſe to the phraſe. However, the rabbies, taking it in the other ſenſe, have made it a great piece of merit in thoſe devout women, who, according to them, were filled with ſuch a zeal for the ſervice of God, that they came in ſholes to the tabernacle, to ſacrifice the moſt precious ornament of their toilet to holy uſes, reſolved for the future to neglect all outward adorning, that they might take more care of the inward. Thoſe interpreters who have fancied them to be real glaſſes framed in braſs, and to have been fixed round the laver that the prieſts might ſee themſelves in them, ſeem ſtill more out of the way, ſince they came thither to waſh only their hands and feet, which they could do without the help of a glaſs.

us be true of the *Egyptian* women [w], that they used to go to the temple with a looking-glass in one hand, and a timbrel in the other, it will still give us a greater light into the meaning of the *Hebrew* women wearing such an ornament when they came to the tabernacle. As for what is said of their repairing thither in crowds, it was no more than what they usually did, as appears from other places of scripture [x].

To these we might add a multitude of other furniture *subservient to other uses, such as kettles*, pans, frying-pans, ovens, shovels, tongs, pick-axes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, dishes, and many more; all of which were either made of brass, or of wood covered with it; but it is sufficient to have named the most considerable of them. We shall only add, that the charge of all these was committed, the most sacred ones to the priests, and the rest to the *Levites*, whose business it was to pack and cover them up with proper cloths and skins, made for that purpose, whenever they removed. It is observable, however, that in all this account we find no mention made of any pavement or flooring, so much as for the tabernacle, and yet it is hardly credible, as was observed before, that its rich and sacred utensils should stand on the bare ground. We may therefore suppose, that *Moses* has barely mentioned all that was done before the setting up of the tabernacle. And if we consider their vast number and variety, the richness and curious workmanship of a great part of them, and the little time the whole was finished in, not much above five months [y], we shall have cause to wonder at their dispatch, unless we suppose a vast number of hands to have been employed in it; but this need not hinder us from supposing, that *Moses* might add many others, as he saw needful in process of time, among which this flooring might be one.

THESE are the principal laws relating to the worship of God, or, as they are commonly called, of the first table; but before we pass on to those of the second, it will be necessary to say something of those which related to their proselytes (K). There was an express command of

[w] CYRIL. ALEXAND. de Adorat. in spirit. lib. ii. ap. CALM. sub voc. Miroir. [x] Vide 1 Sam. ii 22, & alib. [y] Ita Judæi. Vide Sedar Olam. MUNST. CUN. USSER. Ann. p. 16, & al.

(K) The text distinguishes them only by the words גר, *ger*, a *traveller*, or *sojourner*, and נכר, *Necher*, a *stranger* or *alien*. However, we may make a threefold distinction of them, namely, of such as continued still in their idolatry and religion of their fathers; such as

of God, that if any ſtranger was deſirous to be admitted to eat of the paſſover, he was firſt to be circumciſed, after which he was to be admitted, not only to that grand ſolemnity, but to all the other religious privileges, in common with the *Iſraelites* [z]. Of this number was a great part of the mixt multitude which came with them out of *Egypt*, and of the conquered inhabitants of *Canaan*. And indeed the condition of thoſe who became circumciſed was ſo preferable to that of thoſe who continued in their old religion, that the number of them increaſed very much; and this is ſuppoſed to have put the ſelfiſh *Jews* upon the diſtinction between *proſelytes of the gate*, and *proſelytes of righteouſneſs*; the former of which, continuing uncircumciſed, and being bound to obſerve only the precepts of *Noah*, were kept in a ſtate not many degrees better than ſlavery. We find no leſs than an hundred and fifty three thouſand and upwards, of this kind in *Solomon*'s time, who were all employed in the moſt ſervile and laborious works [a]. But becauſe this would have proved a moſt effectual way to have made them embrace the *Jewiſh* religion, in hopes of bettering their condition, the *Jews* tell us, that they admitted few, if any, into it, eſpecially in the happy reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, leſt they ſhould be induced to it only from worldly ends [b] (L).

Moſes

[z] Exod. xii. 48. Num. ix. 14. [a] 2 Chron. ii. 17. 18.
[b] MAIMON. Vide SELD. de Synedr. BUXT. Synagog. & alib.

as had renounced it to worſhip the only true God, but remained ſtill uncircumciſed, or bound themſelves, as the *Jews* pretend, only to the obſervation of the *Noachid* law; and laſtly, thoſe who by circumciſion were bound to obſerve the law of *Moſes*, and were thereby intitled to the ſame privileges with all the *Iſraelites*. It is true, they were not to ſuffer any of the firſt ſort to live among them, but it is plain by the ſequel, that they became extremely remiſs and negligent in this reſpect, and were often reproved for it by the prophets. The ſecond ſort were called גרי השער, *Gere haſhabar*, *ſtrangers of the gate*, from the expreſſion often uſed in the pentateuch, *the ſtranger that is within thy gates*. But when any of either ſort became circumciſed, they were then diſtinguiſhed by the name of גרי־הברית, *Gere-haberith*, *ſtrangers*, or *proſelytes of the covenant*, and גרי־צדק *Gere-zedek*, *proſelytes of righteouſneſs*.

(L) The *Talmud* compares thoſe proſelytes to the ruſt in iron, or ulcers in the body; and adds, that too much caution could not be taken in the admiſſion of them (37). For this reaſon they add,

(37) *Vide* Seld. *de Synedr. lib. ii. c. 2. art.* 5.

that

Moſes commanded the *Iſraelites* to give the beaſts which died of themſelves to theſe ſtrangers [c], which is inconſiſtent with what the *Jews* ſay of their being bound to keep the precepts of *Noah*, one of which, and indeed the only one recorded by *Moſes*, was againſt eating fleſh with the blood thereof [d]: we therefore think it more probable, that they were only obliged to renounce their idolatry, and to acknowledge the one true God.

The caſe was different with reſpect to the *proſelytes of righteouſneſs*; theſe becoming incorporated into the family of *Iſrael*, and bound to obſerve the *Moſaic* law, were to undergo a long and ſerious examination, wherein they ſet before them the difficulties of keeping *Moſes's* laws, the danger of breaking them, the contempt, and hatred, and ſometimes grievous perſecutions they expoſed themſelves to, by becoming the ſervants of the God of *Iſrael*, and the like. If they continued ſtedfaſt in their purpoſes, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, they were then to be circumciſed, and as ſoon as the wound permitted it, they were to be baptized. And becauſe this laſt ceremony was looked upon as judiciary, it was to be performed before three judges at leaſt, and recorded; ſo that it was never to be repeated afterwards, even in caſes of apoſtacy; neither were their children, that were born after their father's baptiſm, to be baptized, but only circumciſed, as thoſe of the *Iſraelites*. If the proſelytes had been of a nation which uſed circumciſion, ſuch as the *Iſhmaelites*, *Edomites*, and others were, they contented themſelves with opening the ſear of circumciſion with a launcet, and drawing out ſome drops of blood, after which they were admitted by baptiſm; and as for their women, they were only to be baptized, without any other ceremony. *Moſes* made likewiſe ſome difference between nation and nation, with reſpect to their admiſſion into what he terms *the congregation of the Lord* [e]. The *Edomites* were received after the ſecond generation, becauſe they were brethren, and ſo that they were refuſed three times, but if they perſiſted in their deſire of being admitted, they were then to be circumciſed, before two or three ſufficient witneſſes, to be baptized, in order to waſh away the filth of heatheniſm, and laſtly, to offer up the uſual ſacrifices for ſin, *&c* after which they were received as ſervants of the God of *Iſrael* (38).

[c] Deut. xiv. 21. [d] Gen. ix. 4. [e] Deut. xxiii. 1, & ſeq.

(38) *Vide* Baſnag. *R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c.* 1.

were

were the *Egyptians*, becauſe *Iſrael* had been a ſtranger in *Egypt*. The *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, on the contrary, were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, as ſome underſtand the text; or, according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation, becauſe, inſtead of receiving the *Iſraelites* with a brotherly hoſpitality, they hired *Balaam* to curſe them (M). Baſtards, and all illegitimate iſſue, were under the ſame excluſion with them (N). The

(M) The *Jews* obſerve that *Moſes* expreſſes himſelf only in the maſculine, *Ammoni* and *Moabi*, *a man Ammonite* or *Moabite*, to intimate, that he did not mean to exclude a woman from being admitted upon ſome extraordinary account. Thus *Ruth*, tho' a *Moabiteſs*, was, for her extraordinary piety, married to *Boaz*, the great grandfather of *David* (39). But we ſhall ſee in the next note, that this is not the only inſtance of their admitting perſons expreſly excluded by that law-giver.

(N) The original word is ממזר, *Mamzer*, by which the *Jews* generally underſtand, not only all kinds of inceſtuous and adulterous iſſue, but likewiſe children begot in fornication, or even in wedlock, when either of the parents were *Canaanites*, or of any idolatrous nation, and unconverted (40). The *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and the *Canoniſts* take it to ſignify only *the ſon of a proſtitute*. The truth is, the right meaning of it cannot be fixed, becauſe it is uſed only in this place and in *Zechariah* (41), but in neither is explained in the context. What has induced the *Jews* to underſtand it of inceſtuous and other unlawful iſſue, is, that the *Mamzer* is mentioned juſt before, and put upon the ſame foot with the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who were born by inceſt (42); but if that were the caſe, how came the two ſons of *Judah*, *Pharez* and *Zarah*, whom he had by his daughter-in-law *Tamar* (43) not to be reputed ſpurious? If it be ſaid he knew her not, yet 'tis plain ſhe knew him; and the *Jews*, againſt whom we object this, pretend, that either in inceſt or adultery, tho' neither party be conſcious, as when a woman, believing her huſband long ſince dead, marries another, or *vice verſa*, yet the iſſue of ſuch a marriage is *Mamzer*, or *ſpurious*; ſo that according to this canon of theirs, thoſe two and their poſterity ought to have been excluded.

Again, as to the children of whoredom, it is plain, they have not always been rejected, ſince *Jephthah*, who was both judge and general in *Iſrael*, was the ſon of a concubine (44). We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, either that theſe were particular caſes excepted, or, which is moſt probable, that *Mamzer* ſignified ſomething different from either of theſe, perhaps the children begot by an *He-*

(39) *Vide* Munſt. *in Deut. xxiii.* 1, & *ſeq.* (40) *Idem ibid.* (41) *Ch. ix.* 6. (42) *Gen. xix.* 31, & *ſeq.* *See Vol. II. p.* 79. (43) *Gen. xxxviii.* 13, & *ſeq.* (44) *Judg. xi.* 1.

brew

The *Amalekites*, as well as eunuchs of all kinds (O), were totally excluded; the former, becauſe they were under the divine *Anathema* [f]; and the latter, becauſe their condition was accounted a legal defect [g]. What is meant by not *entering into the congregation of the Lord*, is not agreed; ſome underſtanding by it, their being denied admittance into the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth by circumciſion; and others, their being only excluded from places of authority. This laſt is the moſt probable and moſt received among *Chriſtian* interpreters. The *Jews*, however, underſtand it of contracting affinities and intermarriages with the *Iſraelitiſh* women, for it was a received maxim among them, *that the children did follow the quality of the mother*. Every proſelyte of righteouſneſs was obliged to circumciſe all the males, and baptize all the females in his family under the age of thirteen; but thoſe that were above that age might chooſe whether they would ſubmit to it, or remain in their old religion. On the other hand, thoſe under thirteen could not be admitted to proſelytiſm, without the conſent either of their parents, or, in caſe of their refuſal, that of two or three judges. In this caſe their admiſſion was looked upon as a new birth, and their parents were no longer eſteemed as ſuch; inſomuch, that they believed this kind of new converts to receive a new

[f] Exod. xvii. 14, & ſeq. [g] Vide Levit. xxi. 20.

brew upon a *Canaanitiſh* or an idolatrous woman, in order to deter them from ſuch unlawful mixtures, by the conſideration, that the iſſue of them muſt be excluded from all the privileges of the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth, both civil and religious; but whatever it meant at firſt, the *Jewiſh* canoniſts, according to their uſual rigidneſs, have extended it not only to all illegitimate iſſue, but even to that whoſe legitimacy is any ways doubtful (45).

(O) The original implies a man who has any defect, either in his teſticles, or in his penis, by fracture, compreſſion, or by any other way. We ſhall obſerve here with the *Jews*, however, that there is no proper name either for thoſe parts in either ſex, or for ſeveral other things which modeſty forbids to utter, in all the ſacred books. This they bring as an argument of the holineſs and chaſtneſs of the *Hebrew* tongue; but whether it be not ſaid with more zeal than truth, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in another place.

(45) *Vide* Seld. *ubi ſup. & de Jur. Nat. & Gent. lib. v. c.* 16. *& lib. de ſucceſſ. bon. l. iii. & alib. paſſ.* Munſt. *ubi ſup. & al. it. præc. neg.* 117.

ſoul

ſoul after baptiſm [h]. Well might therefore our Saviour wonder, that *Nicodemus, who was a maſter of* Iſrael, ſhould heſitate at his diſcourſe concerning a new birth [i]. We find ſeveral other regulations concerning the prerogatives of theſe proſelytes, in the *Talmud* and other *Jewiſh* writings, which we ſhall not dwell upon, becauſe they do not appear to us to be of divine appointment. Such was the law which made the children born after the baptiſm of their father to inherit, in prejudice of thoſe that were born before it; and another which aſſigned the eſtate of a proſelyte, who had no children after his baptiſm, not to thoſe he had before, nor to the king, or to the public, but to the firſt perſon that ſeized upon it. But theſe, and many more ſuch, the reader may ſee in the authors above quoted.

Laws of the ſecond table: or concerning the Jewiſh *government, with the cuſtoms relating to it.*

Laws of the ſecond table.

THESE we ſhall mention in the ſame order as they are in the decalogue, and begin with thoſe which relate to parents, whether in a political or natural ſenſe. The patriarchal government being become impracticable, by reaſon of its being branched out into ſo many families, whom God nevertheleſs deſigned to live as one, under one head, one religion, and one body of civil laws; and the precepts of *Noah*, or rather the laws of nature, being perhaps partly forgot, and partly corrupted, during their *Egyptian* thraldom; God was pleaſed to prevent all murmurings and oppoſition, which ſuch a change might cauſe in ſo untractable a people, by declaring, that himſelf would be their king, and appoint them his vicegerents from time to time, under whom the heads of families ſhould govern and adminiſter juſtice to thoſe under them, in exact conformity to his laws. *Moſes* was declared the firſt vicegerent, and accordingly it is ſaid, that he *gave a law*, or rather *a body of laws, and an inheritance unto the congregation of* Jacob, *and was king in*, or *over Jeſhurun*, that is, *over* Iſrael (P), *when*

[h] Vide SELD. ubi ſup. & de J. N. & G. & JAC. ALTINH Diſput. de Proſelyt. R. MOS. KOTZ. R. Mos. Ægypt. Iſſur biath perek, SERRAR. Trihœres. lib. ii. c. 2. DRUS. de trib. ſect. FAG. in Exod. xxii. 21, & al. in Deut. xxiii. 1. vide & præc. neg 113, & ſeq. LEO DE MODEN. pt. v. ch. 3. CALM. ſub. voc. Proſelyte, & al. [i] John iii. 1, & ſeq.

(P) The word ישורון *Jeſhurun* is derived from ישר *Jaſhar*, to be righteous; which name is given them, not ſo much for

when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel *were gathered together* [k]; that is, as we understand the original, when the divided power of the heads of tribes and families became concentred under one head. To him succeeded *Joshua* and the judges, but still by God's appointment; and nothing evinces more the reasonableness, or rather necessity, of this change of government, than their constant backslidings into all manner of idolatry and wickedness at every interregnum, when their inferior rulers became so remiss, that as often as we read, that *there was no judge among them*, so often we find, that *every one did that which was right in his own eyes*, or that *they did evil in the sight of the Lord* [l]: but as every defection brought its punishment with it, they at length grew weary of their frequent captivities. But instead of having recourse to God by repentance, they bethought themselves of that expedient of having a king, who should be always ready at hand to defend them, and God, having condescended to their desire, appointed *Saul* to be their monarch; and the *Jewish* commonwealth took then the name of a kingdom. This may be the reason, why God, whom their ingratitude could not provoke to forsake them, though he resented this their imprudent desire of being governed by a king like other nations (Q), gave them so

[k] Deut. xxxiii. 4, 5. [l] Vide Judg. ii. & seq.

their righteousness, as for that of their progenitors, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; or more likely, perhaps, on account of those righteous laws which God himself had dictated unto them.

(Q) *Maimon* tells us, out of the last part of the *Mishnah*, that *Moses* gave the *Israelites* three express commands, namely, 1, To choose them a king. 2. To destroy *Amalek*, and 3. to build a temple, after they were possessed of the land of *Canaan*. The same we find likewise enjoined in the 114, 115, and 116 affirmative precepts of their oral law, according to which that rabbi observes, that they chose *Saul* for their king before they declared war against the *Amalekites*. But if this had been the case, there could have been no room for God's relenting, and *Samuel*'s reproving them so severely for it. *Maimon* doth indeed endeavour to wave this objection, by pretending, that what displeased God, was their coming, in a tumultuous and disrespectful manner, to *Samuel*, and asking a king, not in obedience to the divine command, but out of an itch to be like their neighbours; but this is neither agreeable to the text (46), nor to *Josephus*, who imputes

(46) *Vide* 1 Sam. viii. *toss.*

this

ſo few laws to inforce their obedience to him, whilſt he made ſome coercive ones to reſtrain him from oppreſſing them. The univerſal paſſiveneſs of thoſe nations whom they wanted to imitate, as well as their own whenever they were kept with a rigid hand, made the former unneceſſary; and, on the other hand, the exceſſive power, which was then lodged in the regal dignity, made it extremely dangerous, unleſs limited by wholſome reſtrictions. We need not a more lively inſtance of this early deſpotic power of kings, and of the people's baſe ſubmiſſion to it, than the horrid ſlaughter which *Saul*, their firſt king, made of eighty five guiltleſs prieſts, and of all the innocent inhabitants of *Nob*, even to their very ſucking children and all their cattle †: and if this had not been likewiſe the caſe of other nations, *Samuel* could not have given ſo pathetic a liſt of the hardſhips they were to expect under an abſolute monarchy. But whether this, or any other, were the reaſon, ſure it is, that we find nothing in the whole body of the *Moſaic* laws to enforce an obedience to princes, except the command, *honour thy father and thy mother* [m]; which alluded moſt likely to the patriarchal government; and an expreſs prohibition againſt curſing the rulers of the people [n]; whereas there are ſeveral very expreſs ones to reſtrain them from abuſing their power and oppreſſing their ſubjects. Of this nature are thoſe which exclude all ſtrangers from being raiſed to that dignity [o], that forbid a king of *Iſrael* to multiply horſes, wives (R), riches, and the like [p]; that oblige him to write a copy of God's law, to read and meditate upon, and to govern himſelf by it, without deviating from it to the right or

Concerning kings.

† 1 Sam. xxii. 18, 19. [m] Exod. xx. 12, & alib. [n] Ibid. xxii. 28. [o] Deut. xvii. 14, 15. [p] Ibid. ver. 16, 17.

this deſire of a kingly government to the intolerable corruption which had crept into all the courts of juſtice, through the baſeneſs and avarice of *Samuel*'s two ſons, whom he appointed to officiate for him in his old age (47).

(R) What the *Jews* underſtand by multiplying wives, is having above eighteen at a time, that is, two more than *David* had, who they ſay, is recorded to have had but ſixteen; and by multiplying horſes, they underſtand having more than ſerved him and his retinue (48); but we ſhall ſhew, that if there was any ſuch oral law *Solomon* made very light of it in either caſe, even from the firſt year of his reign.

(47) *Ant. lib.* v. *c.* 6. (48) *Vide prac. pag.* 222, & *ſeq.*

left [q]; that enjoin him to make choice of perſons of wiſdom and integrity to be judges over the people, and ſuch like [r].

HOWEVER, as they were accountable only to God for the breach of theſe laws, ſo none were reſtrained by them, but ſuch as feared him; as for the reſt, it is plain from their hiſtory, that they made no ſcruple of tranſgreſſing them in inſtances of the higheſt nature; and that their power was ſo great that none did dare to control them, or even reprove them, except ſuch prophets as were commiſſioned by God for ſo doing. Their being anointed, at leaſt in the beginning (S), by ſome celebrated prophets, and appointed

[q] Ver. 18, & ſeq. vide & præc. negat. 221, & ſeq. [r] Deut. xvi. 18, & ſeq. vide & præc. affirm. 96, & ſeq.

(S) The *Talmudiſts* tell us, that the immediate heir of a king, who had been anointed, was himſelf proclaimed king without unction, eſpecially in the family of *David*; and that the ceremony was only uſed when a younger ſon was preferred to the eldeſt, as in the caſe of *Solomon* (49). *Maimon* tells us, that the confection of this oil, or royal ointment, was alſo preſcribed by God, and gives us the receipt of it; he adds, that it was hid with that of the prieſts, with the ark, &c. juſt before the captivity, and that it could never be found; but where he had all theſe particulars is hardly worth enquiring (50) The *Jews* obſerve further, that *Saul* and *Jehu* were anointed בפך השמן, *Bepach haſhemen, with a vial of oil*, to denote the ſhortneſs of their reign; but that *David* and his poſterity were anointed בקרן, *Bekeren, with a horn of oil*, to ſignify the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of it (51); but there ſeems to be more ſubtilty than truth in that remark. One thing is certain, that the cuſtom of conſecrating any thing to God by this profuſion of oil is very antient, as appears from the inſtance of *Jacob*'s anointing the pillar of *Bethel* (52). How much earlier it began, and how introduced, is impoſſible to gueſs; but it is plain, that it became in uſe during the whole *Moſaic* diſpenſation, in the dedication both of men and things to the immediate ſervice of God. Of the firſt kind were the kings, prieſts, and prophets, and of the ſecond, all the ſacred utenſils of the tabernacle. But how far this ceremony was typical of *Chriſt*, who is emphatically called the Meſſiah, or *anointed*, or of the ſpiritual unction under the goſpel, is out of our province.

(49) 1 King. i. *paſſ.* (50) Maim *Halak Kele Hammikdaſh.* c. 1, & *alib.* (51) Kimch. *Comm. in* 1 Sam. x. 1. *Vide* Hotting. *in* Goodwin's *Moſ. & Aar. lib.* 1. *c.* 4. § 2, & 3. Baſnag. *in* Cun. *lib. i. c.* 14. (52) Gen. xxviii. 18, & *ſeq.*

ſovereigns

ſovereigns of a nation, which the ſcripture calls a royal prieſthood [f], gave them a full power, not only in matters purely civil and military, but in eccleſiaſtical alſo. This is indeed denied by very many divines, who think, that they never exerciſed any authority in the latter as kings of *Iſrael*, but as prophets and inſpired perſons, ſuch as were *David* and *Solomon*. But the contrary doth plainly appear from the reformations and regulations which *Hezekiah*, *Jehoſhaphat*, *Joſiah*, and others made, who were neither prophets nor inſpired perſons. We have already taken notice, that they had power to conſult the oracle of *Urim*, and indeed they were commanded ſo to do upon all emergencies, as well as the grand council or ſanhedrin over which they preſided, whenever they pleaſed to aſſiſt at it [t]. Thus we find, that *David*, after he had been anointed king, even in *Saul*'s time, did conſult the divine oracle concerning the ſucceſs of his undertaking [*]. They had likewiſe an abſolute power of life and death; and tho' according to the law of *Moſes*, no man was to be capitally puniſhed before he had been convicted before proper judges, and upon the evidence of at leaſt two or three witneſſes, yet we meet with frequent inſtances of perſons being put to death by the ſole will of the prince. The ſame may be preſumed to have been with reſpect to property, by the inſtances of *Mephiboſheth* and his ſervant *Ziba* [u], and others of the like nature. From that of *Naboth* [†] we may likewiſe conclude, that, in ſome caſes, the eſtates of perſons condemned devolved to the king: but from the laws lately mentioned againſt oppreſſing the ſubjects, it appears, rather to have been a tyrannical uſurpation, than a command, or even permiſſion from God. What profound reſpect was paid to the regal dignity appears, both from the ſubmiſſive language with which they were addreſſed [x], and the humble manner of approaching them; inſomuch, that even queens and prophets did proſtrate themſelves with their faces to the ground before them, as *Nathan* and *Bathſheba* did to *David* [y], though there is no doubt, but his ſon *Solomon* raiſed the grandeur of the throne to a much greater height. The *Jews* affirm, that even the high-prieſt was obliged to ſtand before the king, whereas the latter only ſtood before the high-prieſt, when he was conſulting God by *Urim* [z]. They add, that he alone was allow-

[f] Exod. xix. 6, & alib. [t] MAIM. Halak Melakim, c. 2. [*] 1 Sam. xxx. 7, & 8. Vide BARNAG. ubi ſup. [u] 2 Sam. xix. 29. [†] 1 King. xxi. paſſ. [x] Vide int. al. 1 Sam. xxv. 23, & ſeq. & ver. 40. 2 Sam. xiv. 33. xxiv. 20, & alib. [y] 1 King. i. 16, 23. [z] MAIM. ubi ſup.

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ed to ſit down in the court of the temple, even in the moſt ſacred part of it, namely, that of the prieſts, provided he was of the lineage of *David*; whereas their ſenators were only allowed to ſit in that which belonged to the people [a]. The magnificence of their dreſs did not a little contribute to raiſe an awe in their ſubjects. It is true, that there is nothing preſcribed concerning it, either in the *Moſaic* law, or any other inſpired writer, and that we have no clear deſcription of it in the ſacred books; but it is plain from *Jehoſhaphat*'s going to fight againſt the *Syrians* in his royal robes, whilſt *Ahab* changed his own for a common dreſs [b], that there was a manifeſt difference between them, if not in ſhape, at leaſt in beauty and coſtlineſs, ſuch as jewels about their crown (T), the purple mantle, and the like. *Joſephus* tells us [c], that *Solomon* did uſually go clad in white, but this was a colour common both to the prieſts and nobles (V); ſo that the difference

[a] Id. Halak. Beth. Habkir. [b] 1 King. xxii. 30. [c] Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.

(T) It is plain, that this ornament was ſo far from being peculiar to crowned heads, that the prieſts and perſons of high rank were allowed to wear them. Nay it ſeems from *Ezekiel*'s being forbid by God to take his own off his head, in token of mourning (53), that every private man did wear ſomething of the ſame nature. This ornament, which the *Hebrew* calls פְּאֵר, *Peer*, is ſuppoſed to have been a kind of ribbon or fillet, which went round the head, and was worn, not only by the *Jews*, but by other eaſtern nations; from which thoſe of princes, though called by other names, are thought to have differed only in the richneſs of the materials, and of the precious ſtones that adorned them (54). Hence *David* calls his own עִטֶּרֶת פַּז, *Hattereth-paz, a crown of the pureſt gold* (55). We read indeed of one which that monarch took from the king of the *Ammonites*, which is ſaid to have weighed a talent of gold (56). But we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, that it means not that it weighed, but that it was worth ſo much, by reaſon of the precious ſtones that were about it.

(V) Hence came perſons of high birth and rank to be called חוֹרִים, *Churim, albati, præclari*, in oppoſition to thoſe of obſcure birth, who were called חַשּׁוּכִים, *Chaſhukim, tenebroſi, obſcuri*. To this diſtinction the apoſtle St *James* ſeems to alude (57), when he ſays: *if a man come into your aſſemblies——in goodly ap-*

(53) *Conf.* Ezek. xxiv. 17. & 23. (54) *Vide* Calm. *Comm. in* Exod. xxiv. 17. & *auct. ab eo citat.* (55) Pſal. xxi. 3. (56) 2 Sam. xii. 30. 1 Chron. xx. 2. (57) James ii. 2.

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ference muſt be in the richneſs, whether of the linen or ſilk of which they were made. However, as they were not tied by the law to any dreſs, we need not to doubt, but they followed the faſhions of other countries, and were more ſumptuouſly clad upon ſome particular occaſions than ordinary [d]. The pſalmiſt has likewiſe given us a beautiful deſcription of the dreſs of queens [e], which was ſtill richer than that of kings; but we ſhall dwell no longer upon it.

Laws and Cuſtoms relating to Judges and Courts of Judicature.

Courts of judicature.

WE need not ſpeak here of thoſe judges, emphatically ſo called, who governed *Iſrael* from *Joſhua* to *Saul*, theſe being appointed from time to time by God himſelf, we find, were entirely governed by his laws, and in doubtful caſes by his ſpirit, with which they were endued; they had the ſupreme authority during their life, and differed in nothing from kings, but in title, pomp, and grandeur, and their dignity not being hereditary; in all other caſes their power was the ſame. They could make peace and war, ſummon the tribes to arms, conſult God by *Urim*, and the like. They are ſaid to have judged *Iſrael*, and that the people repaired to them for judgment, and that they took yearly circuits through the land to adminiſter juſtice [f]; but whether this was done by way of appeal from the judgment

[d] Vide 1 Sam. xxviii. 8. 1 King. xxii. 10, 30. JOSEPH. Ant. lib. vi. c. 10. & alib. RASC. & al. [e] Pſ. xlv. [f] Vide Judg. iv. 5. 1 Sam. iii. 20. iv. 1. vii. 15, & ſeq. & alib.

parel, or, as the original has it, ἐν ἱθῆτι λαμπρᾷ, *in a white or ſplendid robe*——and a poor man, ἐν ἱθῆτι ῥυπαρᾷ, *in a dark or dirty one*. We read indeed in the book of *Eſther* of the royal ſceptre, crown, and princely apparel (58). But beſides that theſe are of a later date, we do not know how far theſe ornaments were imitated by the *Jewiſh* kings. However, it is plain, that even in *Ahaſuerus*'s court, neither the golden crown, nor the purple, or any other colour, were peculiar to the kings, ſince we find *Mordecai* adorned with them, as a reward of his merit 59); and we have elſewhere ſhewn, that the crown was the diſtinguiſhing ornament of perſons of the higheſt rank, in the courts of all the eaſtern princes *.

(58) *Eſth.* iv. 11. vi. 8. (59) *Ibid.* c. viii. 15. * *See Vol. II. p.* 448.

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of inferior courts, as the dernier resort, or by way of consulting them in doubtful cases, is not easy to determine (W).

BUT besides these, *Moses*, and after him those who were at the head of the *Israelitish* commonwealth, were commanded to appoint a number of judges and magistrates in all cities, to administer justice to the people in every tribe. These were to be men of wisdom and probity, well versed in the law of *Moses*, free from covetousness and partiality; such as would protect the innocent, the fatherless and widow, the helpless and stranger, and punish the guilty and wrong-doer [g] (X). We find likewise several denunciations against those who

[g] Exod. xxiii. 8, & seq. Deut. xvi. 18, & seq. xvii. 2, & seq. xix. pass. xxiv. 17, & seq. xxv. 1. & seq. & alib. pass. Ezek. xliv. 24. præc. affirm 97. 10.

(W) The latter however seems most probable, from the command of *Moses*, that *in all doubtful cases, whether criminal or civil, wherein the inferior judges could not easily determine, they should apply themselves to the priests and to the judge or head of the people then in being, to whose judgment they should submit under pain of death* (60). The *Jews* indeed pretend, that this application was to be made to the great council, or sanhedrin ‡, which they pretend to have subsisted ever since the time of *Moses*. But we have elsewhere shewn, that the council which *Moses* appointed, lasted only during the lives of the elders, and that this sanhedrin was a new institution of a much later date †. So that, in all doubtful and disputed cases, no persons could be more proper to be applied to, than these judges, who were endued both with the spirit of God, and with the supreme authority, since even this latter was thought sufficient afterwards in the time of their kings, as appears from very many instances, especially those quoted in the margin (61).

(X) To these excellent requisites in the *Israelitish* judges, the *Talmud* has added a great number of others, some of which are impracticable, and others quite ridiculous. Such are those which oblige them to be masters of seventy two languages, that they may have no occasion for an interpreter, in cases wherein strangers are concerned; that they be well versed in the magic art, not in order to practise it themselves, but to be able to judge rightly in all cases of that nature. In this they seem even more cautious than *Josephus*, who, though otherwise far from imitating them in their rabbinical fooleries, seems nevertheless to have a particular fondness for that pretended science, making *Solomon* to have been the

(60) *Deut. xvii.* 8, *& seq.* ‡ *Præc. affirm.* 3. † *See before p.* 3. *note* (H). (61) 2 *Sam. xiv. pass.* 1 *King. iii.* 16. *& seq.* 2 *King. viii.* 3, *& alib. pass.*

greatest

who ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be bribed to act contrary to the ſtrict laws of juſtice; but as they were appointed by the kings, ſo their virtue did riſe and fall according to the goodneſs or wickedneſs of theſe. We may ſay more: *Samuel* was himſelf a moſt upright judge, and yet his two ſons, who acted under him, proved moſt unrighteous; *David* was likewiſe a pious monarch, and yet had there not crept a great deal of corruption into the courts of judicature, his ſon *Abſalom* could have had no pretence for wiſhing, that he had been a judge, that he might do juſtice to every one that applied to him for it [h].

THESE courts were held at the gates of the cities, as we have elſewhere ſhewn †; and became in time very conſiderable, but how they were kept, or how many judges belonged to each; whether their power was equal, or ſome ſubordinate to others, the ſcripture gives us no light into. We read indeed, that *Moſes*, during their abode in the wilderneſs, appointed rulers over thouſands, over hundreds, fifties, and tens [i], and theſe were in all likelihood ſubordinate to one another, but how far this model was followed, when they came into the land of *Canaan*, doth not appear. However, we may ſuppoſe, that theſe courts conſiſted at firſt but of very few perſons, and that every thing was tranſacted in them with the utmoſt plaineſs and ſimplicity; neither were there then many kinds of offices or dignities, ſince we read but of four ſorts of officers, even in *Joſhua*'s time; namely, the elders, the heads, the judges, and the officers [k]. It is impoſſible to determine what their offices were, only the laſt

[h] 2 Sam. xv. 2. & ſeq.
[i] Exod. xviii. 24, & ſeq.
† See Vol. II. p 378. note (F).
[k] Joſh. xxiv. 1.

greateſt maſter of it, and to have left behind ſeveral noble ſecrets, by which ſome of his own countrymen made themſelves famous even in his days (62). The *Talmudiſts* moreover exclude from the courts of judicature all childiſh and ſuperannuated perſons, ſtrangers, and eunuchs. The former indeed is agreeable to reaſon, and the two latter are expreſly excluded by *Moſes* (63); but we dare not warrant the reaſon which they give againſt the laſt of them, *viz.* that their being eunuchs inclines them to cruelty. In other caſes their directions for the choice of theſe magiſtrates, as well as for their behaviour in that office, are very reaſonable and judicious (64).

(62) *Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.* (63) *Deut xvii.* 15. & *xxiii* 1.
(64) *Vide præc. neg.* 194, & *ſeq.* & *affir.* 95, & *ſeq.*

are ſuppoſed to have been a kind of beadles or executioners. In the flouriſhing reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, they increaſed very much [1], and in proceſs of time became ſo corrupted, that the prophets were obliged from time to time to exclaim againſt them. One of them having been ſent to *Jehoſhaphat*, to denounce God's heavy judgments againſt *Iſrael* for thoſe abuſes, wrought ſo upon that good king, that he immediately ſet about making a thorough reformation, appointing new judges in every walled city, ſome of whom were of the tribe of *Levi*, and charging them, in the moſt preſſing terms, to be more watchful and upright than their predeceſſors. He likewiſe appointed two tribunals for the city of *Jeruſalem*, the one conſiſting chiefly of prieſts and *Levites*, for matters of religion; and the other, which was moſtly made up of the heads of families, for matters of ſtate. In this condition they are ſuppoſed to have continued till the captivity, bating that as the princes became more and more wicked, ſo did the judges under them, till God was provoked to drive them out of the land. This is all we can ſay upon that article, with any tolerable certainty. As for what *Joſephus* and the *Talmudiſts* do add concerning magiſtrates and their courts, as their accounts differ from one another, and as we are not ſure, but even the former doth rather deſcribe them as they were after, than before the captivity, we ſhall chooſe to ſubjoin it in the margin (Y). Thus

[1] Vide 1 Chron. xxiii. & ſeq. paſſ.

(Y) Beſides the grand council of ſeventy mentioned above, to which they pretend all other tribunals throughout the land were ſubordinate; the *Talmudiſts* tell us, there were two other courts, the one conſiſting of three, and the other of three and twenty judges; and theſe, they ſay, were to be in every city and town that had 120 inhabitants, according to ſome; or families, according to others. The firſt of theſe courts was only choſen, *pro re natâ*, one by each party, and the third by the other two. Their cogniſance extended no farther than to ſmall matters, ſuch as ſervants wages, petty larcenies, reſtitution, and the like. Neither could they inflict a heavier puniſhment than whipping. That of twenty three was allowed to judge of all capital caſes, and to condemn criminals to death. And if there aroſe any difference in their judgment, it was carried by the majority, for which reaſon they ſay their number was to be odd. But in caſes of moment, and of a dubious nature, the high-prieſt was to be conſulted. If a man was condemned to death, he was to be immediately led to execution: A cryer was to go before him, and proclaim the crime he was to die

Thus much we know concerning thoſe tribunals; that they took cogniſance of all civil and criminal caſes, even where the

die for; to the end, that if any perſon knew any thing that could clear him of it, he might be brought back to the judges, and have a ſecond, and, if occaſion offered, a third hearing. The ſame indulgence was to be allowed him, if he complained of being unjuſtly condemned, whilſt he went to the place of execution; in which caſe he was to chooſe two wiſe men to plead for him, and, if poſſible, to obtain a reverſion of the ſentence; but if in neither caſe he could prove himſelf innocent, he was then to be forthwith executed by the witneſſes; for, it is here to be obſerved, that if the crime was ſuch as deſerved hanging, the criminal was firſt to be ſtoned to death, and then hanged. But before execution, he was to be exhorted to confeſs his crime, and to pray, that his death might attone both for it and for all his other ſins; which if he did, they gave him then a doſe of wine mixed with myrrh or frankincenſe to ſtupify him, after which he was put to death. If he was to be hanged after it, as in caſes of idolatry, blaſphemy, and ſuch like, they ſtayed till about an hour before ſun-ſet, and then tied his hands behind him, and hoiſted him up till juſt before ſun-ſet, at which time he was taken down, and both the halter and the gallows, or tree, were buried with him (65). They except, however, out of the cogniſance of theſe courts of twenty three, all caſes whether criminal or civil, which related to the high-prieſt, to a whole tribe, and to falſe prophets, which they pretend were only to be tryed by the grand council (66). To this a learned author thinks that expoſtulation of *Chriſt* to allude (67), *O Jeruſalem! — thou that killeſt the prophets* (68). We own indeed this to have been the caſe of the ſanhedrin, in our Saviour's time, and even ſome time before, but not before the captivity; but how, or by what court, or judges, theſe extraordinary caſes were to be tryed, is impoſſible to ſay, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that it was done by a general aſſembly of the whole nation, or at leaſt of the heads of them, as we find it in ſeveral inſtances (69).

There are ſeveral other things mentioned in the *Talmud*, concerning all theſe courts, and the choice of their judges, which we ſhall not dwell upon, ſeeing neither the ſcripture nor *Joſephus* ſpeak of them; the reader may ſee them quoted in the margin (70). As

(65) *Vide præc. aff.* 97, 98, & *ſeq. ad.* 111. (66) *Vide Miſhnah, Tract.* סנהדרין. *c.* 1. (67) Cun. *Rep. Hebr. lib i. c.* 12. (68) *Luk. xiii.* 34. (69) *Vide Joſh xxii.* 11 & *ſeq Judg xx.* 1, & *ſeq. xxi paſſ.* (70) *Vide Lightfoot. ubi ſup.* Mann. *in loc.* & *alib.* Moſ. Kotz, Selden, *de Synedr.* Goodwin's *Moſ.* & *Aar. lib. v. cap.* 3, & *ſeq.* Lamy, Calm. *Diſſert. ſur la police des Hebreux*, & *al.*

the offence was of a religious nature; such as idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, sacrilege, and the like; for which reason the

for *Josephus*, his account is different from them, and all that he says on this matter is, that *Moses* ordered seven judges to be chosen in every city, men of known probity and learning, to which they should add two priests or *Levites*, so that he reckons but nine judges in every court, *viz.* seven laymen and two *Levites*(71); and his testimony is most generally followed, because he lived when the *Jewish* commonwealth was still flourishing, whereas the *Talmudists* did not live till after the destruction of it.

We shall however conclude this note with an account of the form of the court of the twenty three judges, according to the *Jewish* doctors, because it had a near resemblance, not only to that of the sanhedrin, but also to those of other polite nations. They sat in the form of a half moon. In the centre of it was the president, whom they call נשיא, *Nasi*, or *prince*, having the אב בית דין, *Abb beth din*, or *father of the senate* at his right-hand; the rest sat on each side, according to their seniority or merit. At each end was a clerk or secretary, who took the depositions in writing. Some add a third, whose office was to gather the votes of the court. At the feet of the judges sat their disciples, in three rows or forms, whose business was to observe every thing that was said or done; and these were chosen to succeed those on the bench, either at their death, or when they became unqualified by old age or any other impediment. The accused person was placed upon an eminent place in the court, that he might be easily seen by all, and the witnesses stood fronting him. These were to be diligently examined, and their character enquired into, and if any flaw was found in it, they were set aside; but if any was found to have given false evidence, the *Talion* law was his portion (72); that is, he was condemned to the same punishment as his evidence would have brought upon the innocent. The סוטרים, *Soterim*, that is, *the officers* or *executioners*, were also to attend the court constantly, with rods and leathern scourges in their hands, to execute the sentence of the judges. The accused person was likewise allowed a counsellor to plead for him, who was called בעל ריב, *Baal-rib*, *the master of the process*; and he stood on his right hand and pleaded for him. Many expressions there are in the *Psalms*, in the prophets, and other places of the old testament, that seem so plainly to allude to one or other of these judicial forms, as make it more than probable, that they were in use long before the captivity. After a full hearing the votes were gathered and examined, and according to them, the person was either absolved or condemned in words to this purpose. *Thou* Simeon *art innocent: thou* Judah *art guilty*: and if the latter,

(71) *Ant. lib. iv. c. ult.* (72) *Deut. xix.* 18, 19.

and

the prieſts and *Levites* were appointed to aſſiſt, if not to preſide, in them. The next in authority to the magiſtrates were natural parents, and theſe were to be honoured and obeyed in a moſt particular manner [m] (Z). St. *Paul* obſerves, that this is the firſt command with a promiſe [n]; and the puniſhment of diſobedient and wicked children was no leſs ſevere. It was death for any to curſe or ſtrike their parents [o], or even to continue in a ſtubborn diſobedience to their commands. In this laſt caſe they had power to inflict any puniſhment but death upon them: and if that proved ineffectual, they might then bring and accuſe them before the judges, who upon full

[m] Exod. xx. 12. Deut. v. 16, & alib. [n] Eph. vi. 2. [o] Exod. xxi. 15, 17. Levit. xx. 9.

and his crime was capital, he was immediately put into the executioners hands, and led to execution: but if the crime was ſuch as only deſerved whipping, it was forthwith performed before the whole court (73)

(Z) The *Talmudiſts* obſerve, that the law lays a greater ſtreſs upon honouring our parents, than upon honouring God, becauſe we are only enjoined to honour the latter with our ſubſtance (74); whereas we are bound to honour the former, whether we have any ſubſtance or not, and to work in order to be able to maintain them (75). This is a duty to which the *Egyptians* ſeem to have been ſtrangers, if what *Herodotus* ſays of them be true, that the ſons were not bound to maintain their parents, unleſs they were willing, but that the daughters were obliged to it, whether willing or not (76) It likewiſe excelled that of the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other polite people, in that it included both parents, whereas theſe only, or at moſt principally the father. This appears by the *Perſian* law mentioned by *Ariſtotle*, by the *Roman* digeſts, and inſtitutions mentioned by *Epictetus*, *Simplicius*, *Philo de legatione*, and others (77). We ſhall obſerve further, that the words of the promiſe annexed to this command run thus in the original: *that they may prolong thy days*, and ſo on; from which the generality of *Jewiſh* interpreters conclude the word *they* to relate to the father and mother ſo honoured, namely, that they might prolong by their prayers and bleſſings the life of their dutiful children. The words are indeed capable of either ſenſe, but if the *Jews* had taken them in this laſt in our Saviour's time, they wou'd not have met with ſo ſevere a reproof from him for eluding that precept.

(73) *Vide de his Miſhn. Tract. Sanhedr. c.* 5. Maim M Kotz, *& al. ſup. citat. vide & præc. affirm. ſup. citat.* (74) *Prov. iii.* 9. (75) *Rabb.* Simeon. *Vide præc. affirm.* 112, & 113 (76) Herodot. *lib. ii. c.* 35. *Vide* Cudw. *Intellect. Syſt. vol. I. and Civil laws, c.* 6. (77) *Idem ibid.*

proof were obliged to condemn them to death [p], without mercy or delay. And now we are upon the ſubject of puniſhments, it will not be improper to conclude this article with an account of thoſe which were either appointed by the *Moſaic* law, or made uſe of at the prince's will, againſt obnoxious perſons, before the captivity.

Puniſhments.

OF the firſt kind were the ſmaller ſort of puniſhments, which were either 1. Fines by way of compenſation for wrongs, theft, *and the like*: and *in this reſpect the Jews* were ſo ſtrict, that if a man had built a houſe, in which there was but one ſingle piece of timber or a ſtone that was ſtolen, they made no difficulty of pulling down the houſe, if they could not get it out without it, to reſtore it to the owner. 2. Selling for ſlaves thoſe who were not able to pay their debts, or make ſatisfaction for a wrong. 3. The *Talion* law, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, ſtripe for ſtripe*, and ſo on. Laſtly, whipping; and this laſt was not to exceed forty laſhes [q] (A). The capital puniſhments were of four kinds; namely, ſtoning, burning, beheading, and ſtrangling [r]. 1. Stoning was the moſt uſual, and when the law condemned a perſon to death, without naming the kind, this was always underſtood to be meant by it *. Some modern *Jews* rather think, that it was ſtrangling, becauſe it was an eaſier death, and that in caſes where the particular kind is not expreſſed, the moſt favourable is to be choſen [s]; but it is more probable from the caſe of adultery, that ſtoning was the puniſhment underſtood; for it is ſaid in *Ezekiel* [t], *I will judge thee with the judgment of wedlock-breakers*, &c. and two verſes after, *they ſhall ſtone thee with ſtones- - - - - -* and it is plain, that the *Jews* underſtood it in that ſenſe in our Saviour's time, by what they ſaid to him, when they brought the adultreſs before him [u]. The crimes which deſerved this death were all kind of inceſt, ſo-

[p] Deut xxi. 18, & ſeq. [q] Ibid. xxv. 3. [r] Exod. xxi. paſs. Levit. xxiv. 14. & Num. xv. 35. 1 King. xxi. 13. See before p 71. note (F). * Vide Deut. xvii. 7. [s] Vide R. SALOM. in Exod. xxi. 16. [t] Ch. xvi. 38. [u] John viii. 5.

(A) In this laſt caſe the *Talmudiſts* ſay, the criminal was to be ſtripped down as low as his breaſt, or heart, though they were forced to tear his clothes for it. The executioner was to have a laſh made of calves leather, of a convenient breadth, and long enough to go round his middle; and in caſes where the utmoſt ſeverity was to be uſed towards the criminal, he was to give him 39 ſtrokes with all the ſtrength he had (78).

(78) *Vide prael. aſſirm.* 105.

domy,

domy, beſtiality, raviſhing a betrothed virgin, or her conſenting to be defiled by another man ; blaſpheming, ſabbath-breaking, witchcraft, idolatry, enticing others to idolatry, rebellious children, offering one's ſeed to *Moloch*, and ſome others of the like nature. For ſome of theſe laſt, the criminal was likewiſe to be hanged, after he had been ſtoned to death, as we have ſeen in a former note, where we have alſo hinted ſomething concerning the manner of this execution, and to which we have nothing to add, but that it was always done out of the city, as it was out of the camp during their abode in the wilderneſs. Here, after he had confeſſed his fault, the witneſſes came and laid their hands upon his head, and ſaid aloud, *Thy blood be upon thee*, and threw the firſt ſtones, and the reſt of the ſpectators helped to diſpatch him * (B). This, however, muſt be underſtood of regular caſes, for there were others of an irregular nature, wherein it was allowed to ſtone the criminal, ſuch as a blaſphemer, idolater, adulterer, upon the ſpot, without further tryal. But theſe ought rather to be looked upon as zealous mobbings, though encouraged under the ſpecious title of *judgment of zeal*, founded upon the action of *Phinehas*, mentioned in another part of this hiſtory †.

2. BURNING. This puniſhment was uſed before *Moſes*, as appears by *Judah*'s condemning his daughter-in-law to the flames w. Some interpreters indeed think, that he meant no more than to have her burnt in the forehead, or ſtigmatized for her incontinency ; but without any probability. We

* Deut. xvii. 7. † See before p. 26. w Gen. xxxviii. 24.

(B) The *Talmudiſts* mention another kind of ſtoning, by precipitating a man from ſome conſiderable eminence, at leaſt of the height of two men. One of the witneſſes tied his hands behind him, and the other threw him down ; and if he did not die by the fall, they threw ſtones upon him till he was dead. The *Moſaic* law doth not indeed mention this kind of puniſhment, but we find it practiſed in our Saviour's time (78). They add, that when the criminal was within ten cubits of the place of execution, in either way of ſtoning, they exhorted him to confeſs his crime ; when within four cubits, they ſtripped him R. *Jehuda* ſays, that a man's middle was to be covered before, and a woman's behind ; others that the men only were to be ſtripped, and the women to die in their clothes (79).

(78) Luk. iv. 29. Cocceio *Interpret.*

(79) *Miſhn. ubi ſup. c.* 6. § 1, *& ſeq.*

Shall

ſhall not here repeat what we ſaid on that ſubject ‡. The *Moſaic* law condemned the daughters of prieſts to be burnt for incontinency [x]; and *Achan* was condemned to be ſtoned and burnt for ſacrilege [y]. Theſe are the only two places where that puniſhment is mentioned. The *Jews* tell us alſo of ſome other crimes which were puniſhed with it, particularly ſome kinds of inceſt [z]. They add, that it was twofold; namely, burning with fire, and with melted lead poured down the criminal's throat (C).

3. BEHEADING. This, the *Jewiſh* doctors ſay, was a puniſhment appointed only for murderers, and for towns that were fallen into idolatry. But we find indeed nothing like it to have been practiſed before the captivity, in a judicial way. It is true indeed, that *Abimelech*, one of *Gideon's* ſons, cauſed ſeventy of his brethren to be beheaded upon one ſtone at *Ophrah* [a]; that the men of *Samaria* ſent the heads of the ſame number of *Ahab*'s ſons to the new king of *Iſrael* [b]; and that forty two of *Ahaziah*'s brethren were put to death, probably in the ſame way, by the ſame *Jehu*'s orders [c]; but it is plain, that none of theſe were done in a judicial way. We find likewiſe inſtances of perſons being put to death by the ſword. Thus *Samuel* killed the king of *Amalek* [d]; in the ſame manner *David* ordered the meſſenger of *Saul*'s death to

‡ See Vol. II. p. 418. note (R). [x] Levit. xxi. 9. [y] Joſh. vii. 25. See before p. 71. note (F). [z] Vide Mos. KOTZ in tract. Sanhedr. c. 1. GOODWIN's Moſ. & Aar. lib. v. c. 7. § 13. [a] Judg. ix. 5. [b] 2 King. x. 7. [c] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq. [d] 1 Sam. xv. 33.

(C) The firſt they call *burning of the body*, and the other, *burning of the ſoul*. This laſt was the moſt frequent among them, and ſome of the rabbies acknowledge no other way but this to have been uſed, though the places mentioned above imply rather the former. The *Talmudiſts* do indeed condemn it, and think it unlawful to burn the bodies of their brethren to aſhes. They infer it from what is ſaid of the ſons of *Aaron*, who, though killed by a ſupernatural fire, yet remained unconſumed, ſince the text ſays (80). that *they were carried dead out of the camp, in their coats*, but rabbi *Eleazar* is ſaid in the *Talmud* to have diſallowed the concluſion, affirming, that he had ſeen a prieſt's daughter burnt to aſhes; to which he is only anſwered, that her judges were ignorant *Cuthæans*; that is, a mungrel kind of *Samaritans*, who knew nothing of the law (81).

(80) Levit. x. 5. (81) *Miſhn. Tract. Sanhedr. ubi ſup.*.

be ſlain [e]: and *Adonijah*, *Joab*, and *Shimei* were killed by *Solomon*'s order, one of them at the very foot of the altar [f].

STRANGLING. The text makes no explicit mention of this kind of death; but the *Talmudiſts* reckon ſix ſorts of criminals that were condemned to it; namely, 1. Thoſe that ſtruck their parents. 2. Men-ſtealers. 3. The prieſts that refuſed to conform to the determination of the court. 4. Falſe prophets, or thoſe who propheſied in the name of falſe Gods. 5. He that defiled another man's bed, And 6. He that had criminal converſation with a prieſt's daughter. Theſe were executed as follows: they were immerged in dung up to the knees: two executioners tied a napkin about their neck, and twiſted it till they were quite ſuffocated. All kinds of criminals were buried apart by themſelves, and on the ſame day, together with the inſtruments of their death, whatever they were, to blot out as much as poſſible the remembrance of it [g] (D).

BUT the moſt dreadful of all their puniſhments, tho' not a capital one, was excommunication; eſpecially that which they *Excommunication.*

[e] 2 Sam. i. 15. [f] 1 King. ii. 25, 34, & 46. [g] Tract. Sanhedr. ubi ſup.

(D) To theſe we may add ſome foreign puniſhments, which were afterwards adopted by their kings; ſuch were thoſe which *David* cauſed to be inflicted on the *Ammonites* (82), and that to which *Manaſſeh* put the prophet *Iſaiah*, whom he is ſuppoſed, by ſeveral antient fathers (83), to have cauſed to be ſawn in two from the head downward, with a wooden ſaw, from the words of the apoſtle (84), ſome were ſawn aſunder. The difficulty here is about the wooden ſaw, how it could be fit for ſuch a purpoſe. But allowing the thing to be really fact, and a tradition of it to have been preſerved, we need but ſuppoſe the expreſſion to be an *Hebraiſm*, that is, a wooden ſaw, for a ſaw with which wood uſed to be ſawn, which is a common idiom in that tongue. This expreſſion of cutting in two, and cutting aſunder is indeed frequent in the old teſtament, and in the apocryphal book of *Suſanna*. We omit ſome other puniſhments of the like nature, which would only fill our readers with horror. As for that of crucifixion, ſuch as *Chriſt* ſuffered, tho' ſome have fancied it to be implied in the words of *Deuteronomy* (85), *if a man be hanged on a tree, his body ſhall not remain all night on it*, &c. yet it is generally allowed to have been, not a *Jewiſh*, but a *Roman* puniſhment, and ſo foreign to our purpoſe.

(82) 2 Sam. xii. ult. (83) Juſtin Mart. *Dialog. cont. Tryph.* Orig. *ex lib. apocr.* Hieron. *in* Iſai. & *al.* (84) Hebr. xi. 37. (85) Deut. xxi. 22.

called *Shematta* (E), answering to the *Syrian Maran-atha* used by St. *Paul* [h], which signifies in both tongues, *the Lord comes* or *is at hand*. „ *Enoch*, the seventh from *Adam*, is sup-

[h] 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

(E) The *Jews* reckon three kinds, or rather degrees of excommunication. The first they call נדוי, *Niddui*, from נדה, *Nadah*, to *separate*, or *put from one*. So that this word was indifferently used, to express those that were separated for any uncleanness, or for any crime that came within this degree of excommunication; (86). The time of its lasting was limited to 30 days, and yet the delinquent could either shorten it by doing penance, or lengthen it by stubbornness, even to the end of his life, if he persisted in it. In this last case, they refused to circumcise his children, and if he died impenitent, the judge ordered a stone to be thrown into his coffin or bier, to shew, that he deserved to have been stoned.

The second degree they called חרם, *Cherem*, *anathema*, and this they pretend was more severe than the *Niddui*, because it excluded the person from the synagogue, and from all civil commerce, which the other did not. But we have shewn elsewhere, that this word signified quite another thing, and was applicable to men and things vowed to death or destruction (87); and our learned *Selden* has proved, that there were really but two kinds of excommunication, the lesser and the greater, and that the terms, *Niddui*, *Cherem*, and *Shematta*, were used indifferently (88).

The last however, according to them, was this, שמתא, *Shematta*, which they pretend was proclaimed by the sound of 400 trumpets, as, they say, it was done at the cursing of *Meroz* by *Deborah*. A person so excommunicated was never to be received again into the congregation, and some pretend, that it was even lawful to put him to death. For this reason they derive the word from שם, *Sham*, *there*, and מיתה, *Mattah*, *death*. To which the expression of St. *John* is supposed to allude; *there is a sin unto death*; that is, according to them, a sin that deserves to be devoted to death (89). But all this is forced, and that which derives it from שם, *Shem*, *the name*, (which word they commonly use instead of any of the names of God, as we have seen elsewhere) and אתה, *comes*, or *is at hand*; seems to us the most rational, and answers to the *Syriac Maran-atha*, which bears the same sense. As for the crimes to which these excommunications were annexed, and the manner of pronouncing them, or of absolving those that had incurred them, we can affirm nothing certain; and so shall go no farther with this point. The reader may consult *Selden* and *Buxtorf* in the places above quoted, or the learned *F. Jam. Hottinger* (90), and others.

(86) *Vide int. al.* Ezek. xviii. 6. (87) *Vide* Levit. xxvii. 29. Josh vii. 11, *& seq. See before p.* 226. *note* (O). (88) *De Synedr. vet. Hebr. lib. i. c.* 7, & 8. (89) 1 John v. 16. *Vide* Bertram, *de Polit. Jud. cap.* 2. (90) *De Bigam. Diff. illust. Theol. de penitent. p.* 49, *& seq.*

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poſed the author of it, becauſe St. *Jude* quotes that ſaying of his, *behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſands of his Saints to execute judgment*; and ſo on [i], which muſt have been at leaſt owing to ſome tradition among the *Jews*. However, theſe fetch the original of it, both from thoſe frequent expreſſions in the *Moſaic* writings, *that ſoul ſhall be cut off from* Iſrael, and *thou ſhalt put away evil from the midſt of thee*; and more particularly from the words in *Deborah*'s ſong, *Curſe ye* Meroz, *ſaid the angel of the Lord, curſe ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof* [k]. But without enquiring into the validity of theſe ſubtile etymologies, we find a more expreſs form of it in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* [l], who excommunicated all thoſe that refuſed to repudiate their ſtrange wives; and exacted an oath from the people, to avoid all affinity and commerce with them. The ſame account of it we find in *Joſephus*, who adds, that the goods of the excommunicated perſon, were to be confiſcated to the holy treaſury [m]. It is true, this was done after the captivity; but we need not doubt, but they had precedents and laws for it before that time; for it is ſaid, that it was performed in a legal way, and purſuant to the laws of God. As for the form and method of pronouncing it, and in what caſes it was to be done, we cannot be certain. *Buxtorf* hath indeed given us a full account of it from the *Talmudiſts* [n], but, beſides that we dare not vouch for its antiquity, the form of it is ſo full of the moſt dreadful imprecations, that they cannot be read without horror. Some of them ſeem to have been taken from the 109th pſalm, and improved with all the dire curſes both of this world and the next. As excommunication paſſed from the *Jews* to the *Chriſtians*, St. *Paul* makes uſe of ſome other of their expreſſions, beſides that of *Maran-atha*; particularly that of delivering up to ſatan [o]; but it is plain, by what he ſubjoins immediately after, *for the mortifying of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord*, that it was not uſed by the primitive church in that damning ſenſe, in which the *Jews*, and ſome modern churches, underſtand it.

Laws againſt Murder.

Murder.

MOSES tells us, that, from the time of the flood, murder could not be expiated but by the death of the murderer [p], whatever might be the puniſhment of it before that time. Under the law God ſeems to expreſs a

[i] Ver. 14. [k] Judg. v. 23. [l] Ezr. x. 7. & ſeq. Nehem. xiii. 25. [m] Ant. lib. xi. c. 5. [n] Buxt. Lex. Talmud. p. 828. [o] 1 Cor. v. 5. [p] Gen. ix. 6. See Vol. I. p. 252.

much greater abhorrence againſt it; he not only forbad it in the decalogue [q], but appointed avengers to puniſh the guilty perſon wherever they found him [r], and permitted him to be torn from the moſt ſacred places of ſanctuaryſhip to condign puniſhment [s], as was lately hinted; and expreſly forbid both the avenger and the judges to make any compoſition, or to accept of any other recompence for the crime [t]. Theſe laws extended equally to *Iſraelites* and to the ſtrangers that dwelt amongſt them [u]. The only caſes therefore in which one man might lawfully kill another were, 1. When the avenger of blood found a manſlayer out of his place of refuge. 2. In a man's own defence. 3. In defence of a brother *Iſraelite*. And laſtly, an infant might likewiſe be deſtroyed to preſerve the life of the mother, but not *vice verſâ* (F). To theſe the *Jews* add that which they call the *right of zeal*, hinted under the laſt head, by which it was lawful for any number of men to fall upon a perſon, who was caught in any abominable fact, ſuch as blaſpheming, offering his ſeed to *Moloch*, and the like, and to kill him upon the ſpot. Thus the *Levites* went out and killed three thouſand of the worſhippers of the golden calf; and *Phinehas* puniſhed an abominable whoredom with death. We may alſo add another inſtitution, extremely proper to inſpire the people with an uncommon horror againſt wilful murder; namely, that for the expiation of an uncertain murder. It was as follows. As ſoon as the judges, who lived near the place where a man was found murdered, were informed of it, they were to examine what town was neareſt to it, and to ſummon the elders of that city, who were thereupon obliged to bring a heifer that had never been yoked, and to drive her into a rough uncultivated valley and there ſtrike her head off. Theſe and the prieſts were then

Uncertain murder.

[q] Exod. xx. 13. xxi, 12. Deut. v 17. Levit. xxiv. 17. & alib. [r] Num. xxxv. 19. [s] Exod. xxi. 14. [t] Numb. xxxv. 31, 32. [u] Levit. xxiv. 22.

(F) The *Jews* add, that he that ſeeth his brother in danger of hislife, as for inſtance, of drowning, of being killed by another, or by a wild beaſt, or of being unjuſtly put to death, when he could ſave his life, is guilty of wilful murder. This they infer from that prohibition of *Moſes*, *thou ſhalt not ſtand againſt the blood of thy neighbour* (91). The man likewiſe that ſwears falſly againſt another, in order to have him adjudged to death, was alſo to be deemed and puniſhed as a murderer (92).

(91) Levit. xix, 16. *Vide* Munſt. *in loc.* & *præc. neg.* 164 & 165.
(92) *Vide* Deut xix. 19.

to

to wash their hands over her, and to profess, that their hands had not shed this blood, neither their eyes seen it done; after which they were to pray to God not to lay it to their charge [w]. One may see by all this solemn ceremony, and by all the above-mentioned laws, what care was taken to deter them from the guilt of shedding innocent blood. It was for this very reason also, that God gave them several laws, whose only tendency was to divert them from cruelty; such were those that forbad them to seeth a lamb or kid in its mother's milk; to kill the dam and her young, both in one day; to catch the old birds and their brood together; to muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn; to refuse to assist a neighbour's, or even an enemy's beast, that sunk under its burden; and many more of the like nature, all highly proper to inspire them with sentiments of humanity and good nature, which the slaughter they were going to make of so many nations, justly doomed to it for their wickedness, might otherwise have been apt to extinguish in them.

Laws against adultery, and all other unlawful commerce of sexes. The trial of adultery, or water of jealousy; concerning marriage and levirate.

Laws against adultery.

IT will scarcely be thought needful to enquire how far the words, *thou shalt not commit adultery* [x], excluded all other carnal gratifications, which were not confined within the bounds of lawful wedlock (G). It is sufficient to say,

[w] Deut. xxi. 1, & seq. [x] Exod. xx. 14. Deut. v. 18.

(G) This is indeed the received opinion of many *Jews* and *Christians*, who by the word נאף, *Naph*, understood all kind of illicit coition and unnatural lusts (93). Yet we beg leave to take notice, that some of the antients on both sides understood it of the breach of conjugal faith. Accordingly we find by *Philo* and *Tertullian*, that some of the *Greek* copies placed this law against adultery, before that against murder in the decalogue; and these two great orators have taken the pains to prove the former to be the more grievous crime of the two, and to describe the great hurt it doth to human society; the latter concluding it to be the greater crime, because forbidden before murder (94). However, it is certain that *Moses* has no where given such a weighty reason against that, as he doth against this, when he says, *for in the image of God made he man* (95).

(93) *Vide* Abenezr. *in* Exod. xx. & *Comment. ser. om. in loc.* (94) Tertul. *de Pudicit. Vide.* Carlton, *Concord.* c. 7. (95) Gen. ix 6.

that

that inceſt, rape, ſodomy, and beſtiality, are forbid by other expreſs laws, and made capital as well as adultery [y]. As for fornication, though it was not made capital in ſome caſes, yet was it forbid by ſeveral laws [z]. The difference was, that any woman who ventured to marry under the notion of being a virgin, and was proved to be otherwiſe, was to be ſtoned [a]; whereas, if a man deflowered a virgin, he was to pay her father fifty ſhekels of ſilver, and to marry her, without having it in his power to put her away, during her life [b]. Adultery was puniſhable with death in both parties, whether they were both married, or only the woman, but we cannot affirm the puniſhment of a married man to have been the ſame who committed adultery with an unmarried woman; for beſides that the crime was not alike, with reſpect to ſociety, it is plain, that *Moſes*, was forced to indulge them in ſome other particulars, as unjuſtifiable as this, ſuch as polygamy, divorce, and the like, which are juſtly condemned in the goſpel.

HOWEVER, with reſpect to their wives, as there was a neceſſity, that they ſhould be kept under ſtricter ties, to prevent ſtrange mixtures in families, ſo in order to deter them from all unlawful liberties of that kind, as well as perhaps to prevent thoſe that were innocent, from being unjuſtly ſuſpected, and ill treated by their jealous huſbands; *Moſes* was commanded to appoint the water of jealouſy, with the promiſe of a conſtant miracle, by which the guilty ſhould be puniſhed in a very dreadful manner, and the innocent would be cleared with applauſe. The ceremony was to be performed in the following manner [c].

Water of jealouſy.

2. WHENEVER a man had conceived a miſtruſt of his wife's incontinency, he was to bring an offering for her, peculiar to this caſe; namely, a cake made of barley-meal, without oil or incenſe, and to put it into the hands of the prieſt. At the ſame time he brought his wife alſo, and declared what grounds he had for ſuſpecting her. The prieſt then took the accuſed woman before the Lord, either to the tabernacle or temple, uncovered her head (H), and put the offering into her hand, whilſt himſelf took ſome holy water, made

[y] Vide Levit. xviii. paſſ. ibid. xx. 10, & ſeq. Deut. xxii. 25.
[z] Ibid. xxiii. 17, 18. Levit. xxi. 7. [a] Deut. xxii. 20, 21.
[b] Ibid. ver. 28, 29. [c] Num. v. 24, & ſeq.

(H) The *Jews* underſtand by it ſhaving her hair, or at leaſt cutting the curls off. They add, that they tore her cloaths down to her breaſt, and tied them with a pack-thread, others ſay, that her

made bitter with ſome ſuch herb as wormwood, into which he put ſome of the duſt of the floor or pavement, together with the words of the curſe written at full length, to this effect: that if ſhe had been guilty of defiling her marriage-bed, thoſe waters ſhould ſwell and burſt her belly, and rot her thigh; but if ſhe was innocent, they ſhould have no power to hurt her. Theſe words he firſt read to her aloud, and if ſhe perſiſted to go on with the trial (I), ſhe anſwered, *Amen, Amen.* He was then to blot out the words of the curſe in the bitter water, they being according to the *Jews*, written with an ink made without vitriol, which would be eaſily waſhed away; after which he gave her the water to drink, whilſt he took the offering or cake of jealouſly off her hand, and waved it to the Lord, and burned part of it upon the altar. The conſequence was that if ſhe was guilty, the water did burſt her belly, and rot her thigh, and ſhe died ſoon after her drinking of it; but if ſhe was innocent, ſhe not only came off unhurt, but as a token and reward of her continence, ſhe became more healthy and fruitful, and the husband was to take her

her cloaths were exchanged for a black ſuit, in token of mourning, and in this manner ſhe was expoſed to public view. Theſe circumſtances, they tell us, had ſomething ſo dreadful to the *Jewiſh* women, eſpecially the chaſte ones, that they ſtudied nothing more, than to keep themſelves free from any ſuſpicion, which might expoſe them to that, which they eſteemed worſe than death. For this reaſon they did not ſuffer a woman to be brought to this trial upon every ſlight ſuſpicion. The husband was to bring ſome proofs, that he had forewarned her, more than once or twice, againſt being ſeen in ſuch a man's company, as he was jealous of, notwithſtanding which they had been found together in private, or in ſome remote place at leaſt, as long a time as a man might boil an egg and eat it †.

(I) Here they tell us likewiſe, that a great deal of pains was taken to perſuade her to confeſs her fault, if ſhe was guilty, rather than to expoſe herſelf to the dreadful effects of the miraculous water; and that they would even force her to walk ſo long and ſo faſt, till ſhe was quite tired, in order to extort a confeſſion from her, either through wearineſs, or ſhame of being thus expoſed to public view. If ſhe confeſſed the fact, ſhe was not obliged to drink the water, but was immediately divorced from her husband, loſt her dowry, and went and lived ſingle; but if ſhe ſtill inſiſted upon her being innocent, the prieſt was then to conduct her to the eaſt porch of the temple, where he told her aloud, that if ſhe was really ſo, ſhe had nothing to fear; but if guilty, ſhe muſt expect the puniſhment threatened by *Moſes* to fall immediately upon her.

† *Vide* Munſt. *in Num.* v.

home

home and cheriſh her the more, for having given him ſuch an eminent proof of her chaſtity. This is all that we find in the *Moſaic* law. The *Talmudiſts* have added ſeveral other circumſtances relating to this ceremony, which we ſhould be loath to warrant, both becauſe, by their own confeſſion, it had been diſuſed ſeveral centuries, before their time, ſince which adultery became more frequent; and becauſe neither the canonical nor apocryphal books, or indeed any of their writings that we know of, afford us one ſingle inſtance of its ever having been uſed before that time, whereby one might gueſs where they had them; for which reaſon we chooſe to give them in the margin (K). For ought appears therefore, this ceremony might be inſtituted only *in terrorem*, and yet prove very effectual, both to keep the wives within the bounds of conjugal fidelity, and the huſbands from too lightly ſuſpecting them of a breach of it; eſpecially if another circumſtance, which the *Jews* tell us, be true, or was believed to be ſo, that theſe waters could have no effect upon the wife, how guilty ſoever, if the huſband had likewiſe been guilty of tranſgreſſing the laws of wedlock [d]. Whether the *Iſraelites* had ſeen any the like cuſtom in *Egypt*, or in any other nation, which made it expedient to have ſomething among them in

[d] Seld. de Synedr. & Uxor. Hebr. Buxtorf. Munst. in Num. v. Basnag. Rep. Hebr. lib. i. c. 12. Calm. ſub voc. Adult. & al. mult. poſt rabbin.

(K) Accordingly they affirm, that if ſhe was guilty, ſhe had no ſooner drank the water, than ſhe began to look pale and ghaſtly, her eyes ſwelled out of her head, and ſhe loſt the uſe of them: her belly likewiſe ſwelled ſo viſibly, that they made all the haſte imaginable to convey her away, leſt ſhe ſhould defile the place by her death. They add, what is ſtill more remarkable, that the man who had had criminal commerce with her, died at that very inſtant, and much in the ſame manner, how diſtant ſoever from her, and ignorant of what was done. The time of this miraculous ceremony being ſet aſide is not agreed; ſome affirming, that it was diſuſed after the captivity, and others, that it continued till about an hundred years before the deſtruction of the ſecond temple. All own however, that the reaſon of its being ſet aſide was, that adulteries became, not only more frequent, which conſequently would have kept the prieſts and judges continually employed, but were likewiſe more public, ſo that the trial of clandeſtine or doubtful ones became uſeleſs, when men committed them ſo publicly, that all the world was apprized of them (96).

(96) *Vide* Seld. Buxt. Munſt. Lamy, Cun. Baſnag. & *al. ſup. citat.*

imitation of it, we will not affirm; but it is plain, that almoſt every country ſince had a kind of trial or ordeal, not only for caſes of incontinency but almoſt for every crime.

3. MARRIAGE. We find but few laws concerning this inſtitution, beſides thoſe which we have mentioned under the laſt article againſt adultery (L). *Moſes* contented himſelf with reſtraining the *Iſraelites* from marrying within certain degrees of conſanguinity, which had till then been permitted, to prevent their taking wives from among the idolatrous nations with whom they lived. This was the reaſon which *Abraham* gave for chooſing a wife for *Iſaac* from his own kindred [e], and his deſcendants for following his example [f]; but which was now entirely ceaſed, by their being ſo exceedingly multiplied. Theſe are therefore the degrees which that lawgiver forbad as inceſtuous, under pain of death. 1. To marry ones own father or mother. 2. Father or mother-in-law. 3. The brother or ſiſter of ones father or mother. 4. A grand-ſon or grand-daughter. 5. An uncle or aunt. 6. A ſon or daughter-in-law. 7. Two brothers or ſiſters, by which the *Jews* underſtood thoſe only by the mother's ſide, becauſe they looked upon this conſanguinity to be greater than the paternal ones, perhaps from a belief that the mother contributed moſt to the generation of the child †. 8. A brother or ſiſter-in-law. 9. The huſband or wife of an uncle or aunt. 10. The father and ſon, or mother and daughter, either together, or one after the death of the other [g]. As for the other laws relating to matrimony, they ſeem rather to be taken from the practice *Marriage.*

[e] Gen. xxiv. 3, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. xxvi. 34, 35. xxviii. 1. & alib. † Vide PHILO de Spec. Leg. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. ii.
[g] Levit. xviii. 6, & ſeq.

(L) Tho' the *Moſaic* law doth no where oblige men to marry, yet the *Jews* have always looked upon it as an indiſpenſible duty implied in the words, *increaſe and multiply* (97); ſo that a man, who did not marry before he was twenty years of age, was counted acceſſary to any irregularity which the young women might be tempted to, for want of being timely married. They had a proverb in the *Talmud*, *who is he that proſtitutes his daughter, but he who keeps her too long unmarried, or gives her to an old man?* For this reaſon they uſed to marry them as ſoon as they came of age, which with them was at twelve; but if their fathers married them before, they might, when they came to it, be parted from their huſband, if they did not like him.

(97) *Gen.* i. 28. *ix.* 1.

of the patriarchs. Thus he forbids the first-born to be disinherited, out of favour or affection to another wife, as when a man has two wives, and loves one more than the other. In such a case it was not lawful for him to transfer the inheritance to the children of the favourite wife, if that of the other was the first-born [h]. This is in imitation of *Abraham*, who gave portions to all his other children, and the inheritance to *Isaac* [i]. The only difference here is, that *Moses* orders but a double portion to the eldest [k]. Herein is also a second law, tacitly implied at least, for a man to have two wives: to which he adds a third, namely, that upon the marriage of a second wife, a man shall still be bound to continue to the former her food, her raiment, and the duty of marriage [l]. This last is also conformable to what *Laban* exacted of *Jacob*, when he married the second sister after the first [m]. These laws are an imitation of the practice of several of the old patriarchs (M).

Levirate. THE same thing may be said of that law which is called the *Levirate*, which obliged a man, whose brother died without issue, to marry his widow, and to raise up seed to his bro-

[h] Deut. xxi. 15, & seq. [i] Gen. xxv. 5, 6. [k] Deut. xxi. 17. [l] Exod. xxi. 10. [m] Gen. xxix. 27.

(M) The *Jews* did not content themselves with this small allowance of two wives, as we may infer from the examples of *David* and *Solomon*, and many others. But it must be observed, that they made a distinction between the wives of the first rank, and those of the second, the first they called נשים, *Nashim*, and the others פילגשים, *Pilagshim*, which last, tho' most versions render by the word *Concubines*, *Harlots*, and *Prostitutes*, yet in none of those places of scripture where that word occurs (which are about 36 is any such sinister sense implied. However, there is a two-fold difference between these and wives of the first rank †; first, with respect to the manner of taking them, namely, the latter with the usual ceremonies, and the former without; and secondly, with respect to their authority, and the honour paid to them and their children. One thing *Maimon* (98) tells us from the *Talmud*, that a man might have as many wives as he could maintain, even to an hundred, and that it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he had riches and strength sufficient for them all; the rule with respect to this last was, that he should pay them the conjugal debt at least once a week, and not run in arrear above a month with any one. But as to the concubines, they could claim no more than what the man was pleased to allow them.

† *Conf.* 1 *King.* xi. 3. & 2 *Chron.* xi. 21. (98) *Halak. Isboth.* c. 14.

ther;

ther [n]; for this is no more than what we find had been the practice in *Judah*'s time [o]. However, *Moſes* doth here leave it in ſome meaſure to a man's choice, whether he will comply with the law or not; and in caſe of a refuſal, the widow could only ſummon him before the judges of the place, where, if he perſiſted, ſhe untied his ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, and ſaid, *thus ſhall it be done unto the man that refuſes to build up his brother's houſe, or family*; after which he was branded with the appellative of the man whoſe ſhoe was unlooſed (N). To this number we may alſo add another law, which obliged the huſband to pay down a competent dowry for the wife, or as the *Jews* termed it in their contracts, to pay the price or equivalent of her virginity [p]. Thus *Abraham* ſent his ſteward with a conſiderable quantity of riches to preſent his future daughter-in-law and her relations [q]: *Jacob* purchaſed his two wives at the price of fourteen years ſervitude [r]; and when *Hamor* came to ask his daughter for his ſon *Shechem*, he bid him raiſe the price of her dowry as high as he pleaſed [s]. *David* likewiſe modeſtly confeſſing his inability to pay a dowry anſwerable to *Saul*'s daughter, the king acquitted him for an hundred prepuces of the *Philiſtines*, and the prophet *Hoſea*

[n] Deut. xxv. 5, & ſeq. [o] Vide Gen. xxxviii. 6, & ſeq. [p] Vide MAIM. in Iſhoth. c. 3. § 1. [q] Gen xxiv. paſſ. [r] Ibid. xxix. 18, & ſeq. [s] Ibid. xxxiv. 12, & ſeq

(N) From the words here uſed by *Moſes*, *if brethren dwell together* (99), one would be apt to conclude, that this law was only intended for ſuch as dwelt ſtill in their father's houſe, which ſeems to have been the caſe of *Judah*'s three ſons, mentioned above. Accordingly the rabbies have underſtood this law in a very reſtrained ſenſe, both in this and ſome other particulars; ſuch as that the eldeſt only of the ſurvivors was obliged to marry the widow, and not even he, if he was already married, in which caſe, they pretend, that it was left to his option. But if we look into the antient practices, in the times of the judges, we ſhall find, that *Boaz*, who was neither brother, nor neareſt of kin to the deceaſed, did yet think himſelf obliged to marry *Ruth*, upon the neareſt kinſman's refuſing to do it (100); from which one would be apt to conclude, that the law rather extended farther, and that where no brothers were left to marry the widow, that duty became incumbent on the neareſt relation in courſe. However, it is plain from the caſe which the *Sadducees* put to our Saviour, about the ſeven brethren that had had the ſame woman ſucceſſively (1), that this law was not underſtood in that limited ſenſe in which the *Talmudiſts* have ſince taken it.

(99) *Deut. xxv.* 5. (100) *Ruth iv. paſſ.* (1) *Matt xxii.* 24, *& ſeq.*

bought a wife for fifteen pieces of silver and a small quantity of barley **; so that a man might be truly said to have purchased as well as to marry a wife. However, if we may believe the rabbies, they tell us, that the father generally accompanied the husband's presents with some of his own; such as cloaths, and some money, not exceeding the sum of fifty *suzims*, or about five and twenty shillings.

FROM these and such like instances we may likewise conclude, what was their way of courtship, or rather of contracting and celebrating their marriages; the former was transacted by the parents or relations on both sides, and when the matter was agreed, the bridegroom was introduced to his bride: presents were exchanged on all sides, the contract signed before witnesses, and after consummation, the bride tarried still some time with her relations, how long or how short, we cannot exactly say (O); after which she was sent away to her husband's habitation, with singing and dances at the sound of several instruments. This last was generally performed in the night, and the parable of the ten virgins plainly alludes to it [t]. It was likewise customary with them to contract these marriages whilst their children were very young, and this was called espousing; after which, both parties continued with their parents, till they were of age to consummate it. As for the daughters, whether they were espoused or not, they were kept very strict and out of sight by the *Israelites*, tho' this custom seems rather to have been taken up after the misfortune of *Jacob*'s daughter, than borrowed from their neighbours, who made no scruple to send theirs to feed and water their flocks; as we find it was done by *La-*

** 1 Sam. xviii. 25. Hose. iii. 2. [t] Matt. xxv. 1. & seq.

(O) This interval is however supposed to have been a week, from the words of *Laban* to *Jacob*, *fulfil her* (Leah's) *week, and thou shalt have* Rachel *also* (2); but this is at best but a conjecture. The same may be said of what some *Jews* tell us of the space allowed between the betrothing and consummation, which they will have to be about a year. This they gather from what *Rebekah*'s relations said to *Abraham*'s servant, *let her tarry at least ten days*, by which they understand so many months (3), but neither the original, nor *Septuagint*, admit of that exposition; and it is more likely that it was left to the discretion of the parents.

(2) *Gen. xxix.* 27. (3) *Vide* Onkel. & R. Salom. *Vide* Munst. *in Gen. xxiv.* 55. Goodwin's *Mos. & Aar. lib. vi. c.* 4. § 8.

ban's

ban's ſiſter and daughters as well as by thoſe of *Jethro* among the *Midianites* [u]. From this privacy with which the unmarried damſels were kept, they came to be called *Almahs*, which ſignifies *hidden* or *concealed* (P). We have elſewhere taken notice of a law which forbad heireſſes to marry out of their own tribe [w], from which the reſt were exempted: but a man was left to his liberty, to marry not only in any of the

[u] Vide Gen. xxiv. 13. & ſeq. xxix. 9. Exod. ii. 16. [w] Num. xxxvi. paſſ. See before. p. 29.

(P) From the word עלם, *Alam*, or rather *Ghalam*, *to hide*. To this ſeems to allude that ſaying of *Agur* (4), if rightly tranſlated ——— *the way of the man*, בעלמה, *Behalmah*: that is, (not *with*, as our verſion hath it, but) *in the maid* or *virgin*. And here we beg leave to obſerve, that an anonymous *Engliſh* author took upon him, under the name of the famous Monſ. *Le Clerc*, to quarrel with this text, as trifling and obſcene (5); whereas our verſion being the only one we know of that renders it *with a maid*, the objection could flow but from an *Engliſh* pen, and, we may venture to add, one that had but a ſuperficial knowledge of the original, which is not only capabie of, but doth manifeſtly carry a much ſublimer ſenſe; we hope therefore the reader will not think it amiſs if we take this opportunity of doing juſtice to the text, and its divine author, by ſetting it in its full light.

Whoever examines the preface in the four or five firſt verſes of this chapter, will eaſily own, that ſuch lofty expreſſions could only be deſigned to uſher in ſome ſublime myſtery; but who can find any ſuch in theſe words, whether we read them *in* or *with the maid*? that is, whether we underſtand them of *coition* or *generation*? Beſides, where is there, either the analogy or climax implied in the beginning of the verſe, *there are three things* too hard *for me, yea four*, or rather, a fourth, *which I cannot comprehend*; what analogy doth the *way of a man*, whether *in* or *with a maid*, bear to that of an eagle in the air, or a ſhip in the midſt of the ſea, &c. or wherein is the former harder to be underſtood than the latter? But if we underſtand it of the conception of a man in a virgin, as the words ſeem plainly to imply, then both the analogy and climax will be very natural; and the conception of the man, or as the word גבר *Gebber*, imports, the *mighty man* in a virgin, continuing ſtill ſuch, will appear moſt fitly compared to the flight of an eagle in the air, &c. which leaves no trace behind, and at the ſame time be moſt juſtly eſteemed the hardeſt of all the reſt to be accounted for. This text may therefore juſtly be looked upon as parallel to that of *Jeremiah* xxxi. 22. —— *The Lord has, or will, create a new thing, a woman ſhall incompaſs* Gebher, *a man*, or *the mighty man*.

(4) *Prov. xxx.* 19. (5) *Letters concerning inſpiration.*

twelve

twelve tribes, but even out of them, provided it was with such nations as used circumcision[x], such as were the *Midianites*, *Ishmaelites*, *Edomites*, *Moabites*, and *Egyptians* (Q). This law seems also founded upon what the subtile sons of *Jacob* said to the *Shechemites*, *it is not lawful for us to contract affinity with one that is uncircumcised*[y]. However, this must be understood of such only as were admitted into the *Jewish* religion; as for those that were not so, they were not so much as permitted to have any carnal commerce with them, except in the case of an *Hebrew* soldier's having taken a *Gentile* captive, to whom *Moses* indulged the liberty of lying once with her, before the marriage was confirmed: this at least seems to be the sense of the words[z]; because if he did not like her, he might put her away; only he was to give her liberty as a recompence for her virginity. A maid-servant, tho' converted to *Judaism*, was not capable of matrimonial right, whilst her servitude continued; but if her redemption was paid, or she was manumitted, she might become a wife[a]. If a woman was not wholly free, her marriage seems to have been neither in force, nor absolutely void, because in cases of unchastity, she was not to be put to death, as the free women were, but came off with a whipping[b].

THESE are the main laws relating to marriage. As for the manner of its celebration, *Moses* has left no direction about it. Some few ceremonials may be gathered from scripture, and the rest from the rabbies. We do not find, that it was accompanied with any religious ceremony, such as going to the tabernacle or temple, offering of sacrifices, or even that it was performed by or before a priest; only from the

[x] Compar. Deut vii. 3. & xxiii. 7. 8. [y] Gen. xxxiv. 14. [z] Deut. xxi. 10, & seq. [a] SELD. Jus Nat. & Gent. lib. v. c. 17. Vide Jos. lib. 4. c. 8. CARLTON's Concord. pt. i. c. 7. [b] Levit. xix. 20.

(Q) Accordingly we find, that *Moses* married a *Midianite*, *Boaz* a *Moabite* (6); *Maachah*, *Absalom*'s mother, was the daughter of *Talmai*, king of *Geshur* (7); *Amasa* was the son of *Jether*, an *Ishmaelite*, by *Abigail*, *David*'s sister (8); and *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, married *Pharaoh*'s daughter (9). Whenever therefore we find him and other kings blamed for marrying strange women, we must understand it of those nations that were idolatrous and uncircumcised.

(6) *Ruth. iv.* (7) 1 *Chron. iii.* 2. (8) 1 *Chron. ii.* 17, & *seq.* (9) 1 *King. iii.* 1.

examples

examples of *Iſaac* with *Rebekah*, of *Boaz* with *Ruth*, and of *Tobias* with *Sarah*, we may conclude, that the parents and the reſt of the company did pray for the proſperity of the new-married couple. Theſe nuptials were accompanied with feaſting and mirth, which laſted a whole week: thus *Samſon*'s wedding is ſaid to have laſted ſeven days [c]; and *Tobias* was deſired by his father-in-law that his might laſt twice that ſpace [d], probably becauſe they were not likely to ſee one another after that time. What ſplendor did uſually accompany theſe feaſts, where their circumſtances would admit of it, we may conclude from that beautiful compariſon of the pſalmiſt, of the glory of a riſing ſun to a bridegroom coming out of his nuptial chamber [e]. He likewiſe deſcribes in another pſalm the richneſs of the bride's attire, the pomp of her attendance, and the grandeur of the ſolemnity in moſt elegant terms [f]. The paranymph, or friend of the bridegroom (R), and the bride-maids are likewiſe mentioned here and in the *Canticles*. Beſides theſe the bridegroom and bride had a number of companions, that aſſiſted during the whole feaſt. *Samſon* is ſaid to have had thirty at his wedding [g]: however, we muſt not ſuppoſe both ſexes to have aſſiſted promiſcuouſly, the cuſtom of the eaſtern countries did not allow of it; and it is much more likely, that they had ſeparate tables, apartments,

[c] Judg. xiv. 17. [d] Tobit. viii. 19. 20. [e] Pſ. xix. 5.
[f] Pſ. xlv. paſſ. vide & Iſai lxi. 10. [g] Judg. xiv. 11.

(R) His office was to invite, and compliment the gueſts in the name of the new-married, to preſide over the ſolemnity, to ſee that nothing was wanting in the feaſt, to prevent confuſion, and ſuch like; for which reaſon he was called the בעל משתה, *Baal miſhtah*, *ruler* or *maſter of the feaſt*; and is perhaps the ſame with the ἀρχιτρίκλινος, in the goſpel, *John* ii. 9. But the *Jews* have added another part to his office, which was to watch over the wedding linen, that there might be no fraud or injuſtice in the tokens of virginity, ſpoken of by *Moſes* (10); that is, to prevent the huſband's ſuppreſſing them, in order to calumniate his wife, and the bride's ſubſtituting falſe, inſtead of true ones (11); but *Moſes* ſeems rather in this place to aſſign that office to the parents, eſpecially thoſe of the damſel, whom it concerned moſt, that ſhe ſhould not be falſly accuſed, ſince it not only brought a ſcandal on her family; but, as we obſerved before, ſhe herſelf was to be put to death, if thoſe tokens could not be produced.

(10) *Deut* xxii. 13, & *ſeq.* (11) *Vide* Gemar. *Hieroſol. Tract. Ketuboth. c.* 2.

and

and diverſions. Theſe laſt were ſinging, dancing, playing upon muſical inſtruments among the women; and ſome kind of manly exerciſes among the men. To theſe we may add the cuſtom of propounding riddles, and aſſigning ſome ſort of reward to thoſe that expounded them, as we find it was done at *Samſon*'s nuptials [h]; and which the *Talmudiſts* tell us, was uſually practiſed upon ſuch and the like feſtivals [i]. They add, that both the bride and bridegroom uſed to wear a crown during the whole ſolemnity, until the deſtruction of the laſt temple; but that from that time that ornament was ſet aſide in memory of that cataſtrophe [k]. We read indeed of a nuptial crown made for *Solomon*, and preſented to him by his mother [l]; but nothing of any ſuch ornament for the bride. As for the other particular ceremonies relating to marriages, as we have no other authority for them, but that of the *Talmudiſts*, we ſhall chooſe to give them in the margin (S).

THEIR

[h] Ibid ver. 12. [i] Pirke. Aboth. [k] Ibid. Vide SELD. Ux. Hebr. lib. ii. c. 15. BUXTORF. Synag. & al. [l] Cant. 3. ver. ult.

(S) They had three ways of betrothing a woman. 1. By a written contract. 2. By a verbal one, accompanied with a piece of money And, 3. By carnal commerce. The written contract was conceived in words to this effect: *Such a day, month, and year,* A. *the ſon of* B. *has ſaid to* D. *the daughter of* E. *be thou my ſpouſe, according to the law of* Moſes, *and of the* Iſraelites, *and I will give thee, as a dowry for thy virginity, the ſum of* 200 *ſuzims, as it is ordered by our law. And the ſaid* D. *hath promiſed to become his ſpouſe upon the conditions aforeſaid, which the ſaid* A. *doth promiſe to perform on the day of marriage. And to this the ſaid* A. *doth hereby bind himſelf, and all that he hath, to the very cloak upon his ſhoulders, engages himſelf to love, honour, feed, cloath, and protect her, and to perform all that is generally implied in contracts of marriage, in favour of* Iſraelitiſh *wives. Witneſſes* ——— (12).

The verbal contract was made in the preſence of ſufficient witneſſes, the man ſaying to the woman, *take this money as a pledge that I will take thee to be my wife.*

The laſt, by carnal commerce, which the *Talmudiſts* pretend to have been allowed by the *Moſaic* law, from *Deut.* xxiv. 1. they ſay, was afterwards forbid, as liable to many abuſes; ſo that the other two were the only ones which gave the parties the liberty of ſeeing one another, which was not permitted to them before. When

(12) *Vide* Seld. *Ux. Hebr* Bertr. *ex Talm. Babyl.* Buxt. *Gramm. Chald. p.* 383. Goodw. *& al.*

THEIR plurality of wives was far from being either a charge or incumbrance on them, conſidering their ſimple way of

the time agreed upon for the celebrating of the wedding was come, (the day of the week being generally *Friday* for a maid, and *Thurſday* for a widow) the contract of marriage was read and ſigned before at leaſt ten witneſſes, which muſt be free and of age; and the bride, who had taken care to bathe herſelf the night before, appeared in all her ſplendor, (but vailed in imitation of *Rebekah*, who threw a vail over her face as ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of *Iſaac*). She, being attended by her bride-maids, was given away by the parents, in words to this effect, *take her according to the law of* Moſes, and received by her ſpouſe with much the ſame words. Some bleſſings were then pronounced to the new coup'e, both by the parents and the company, and the virgins ſung a kind of epithalamium to them. After the moſt ſumptuous repaſt that their circumſtances could afford, the company began a dance, the men round the bridegroom, and the women round the bride. This dance is pretended to have been of divine inſtitution, and an eſſential part of the nuptial ceremony.

But the main ceremony, which according to the rabbies, did conſummate the marriage, and made the bride a perfect woman, was her being introduced into the nuptial chamber. Without this, all the others left it ſtill imperfect, but this compleated it; tho' ſome *Levitical* impediment (13) ſhould chance to hinder the conſummation of it according to our ſenſe of the word. But before ſhe was introduced thither, there were certain prayers and bleſſings to be ſaid or ſung by ſome proper perſons in favour of the married couple. They were generally couched in very pious terms, ſuch as theſe: *bleſſed art thou, O Lord of heaven and earth, who haſt created man in thine own likeneſs, and haſt appointed the woman to be his partner and companion: bleſſed art thou——who filleſt* Sion *with joy, for the multitude of her children. Bleſſed art thou——who makeſt the barren womb to bear——who ſendeſt gladneſs to the bridegroom and his bride——who haſt ordained for them love, joy, tenderneſs, peace, and mutual affection——be pleaſed to bleſs, not only this couple, but* Judah *and* Jeruſalem *with ſongs of joy and praiſe, for the joy that thou giveſt them by the multitude of their ſons and daughters*, &c. They add, that the nuptial feaſt for a widow was to laſt but three days, and ſeven for a virgin; and that this laſt was ſo obligatory, that if a man married ſeveral wives in one day, or in the ſame week, he was to allow a feaſt of ſeven days to every one of them (14). We purpoſedly omit many other ceremonies and injunctions of their wiſe men, which are ſuperſtitious and ridiculous; ſuch as the ſituation of the nuptial bed; the choice of the proper hour for conſummation; for coition at all other times, in order to beget a ſon or a

(13) *Vid. Levit. xx.* 18.
(14) *De his vide aut. ſup. citat.*

of living. The domeſtic affairs were their province, whilſt that of the huſband was the buſineſs of the fields and vineyards. Dreſſing of victuals, the care of the children, ſpinning, carding, weaving, and the like are often mentioned in the ſacred books, as the womens occupation [m]; whilſt their huſbands choſe the more laborious works. However, at the worſt, *Moſes* had indulged them with a remedy, namely, that of,

Divorce. 4. DIVORCE. This was permitted to the *Jews* for the hardneſs of their heart, as our Saviour juſtly obſerves [n]; neither do we find, that it had ever been practiſed by any of the patriarchs (T), whatever it might have been by other nations. The words of the law, or rather permiſſion, run

[m] Vide int. al. 1 Sam. ii. 19. 2 Sam. viii. 13. Prov. xxxi. 13. & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [n] Matt. xix. 8.

daughter, and many others of the like nature (15), which they either learned from other nations, or forged out of their own aſtrological brains. As to that law of *Moſes*, which interdicts the matrimonial commerce at certain periods, under ſuch ſevere penalties, (16) and which has been ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved by them to this day, it is certain, that decency and cleanneſs were not the only reaſons for it, ſeeing the heat of thoſe climates would have made the breach of it very dangerous in ſeveral other reſpects, which are obvious to almoſt every reader.

(T) The *Jews* pretend that *Abraham* divorced *Hagar*, and *Moſes* either *Zipporah*, or *Tarbis*, the princeſs of *Æthiopia*, and that this was the reaſon of the quarrel which he had with *Aaron* and *Miriam* (17), and from thence conclude, that divorce was not only of earlier date, but that it was lawful upon many other accounts beſides that of adultery. But as to *Hagar*, whom they pretend to have been divorced for her inſolence, it is plain, firſt, that ſhe was no wife, but a bond-woman ſubſtitute to *Sarah*; and ſecondly, that her expulſion was not properly a divorce, becauſe ſhe was received again after the firſt fault, and that at the ſecond, it was her ſon's behaviour, and not her own, that ſent her away (18). And as to the caſe of *Zipporah* and *Tarbis*, they are mere fictions, as we have ſhewn before †; ſo that we do not find one precedent of divorce before the law of *Moſes*; but afterwards they became ſo frequent, that the prophets often upbraided the *Jews* with it (19); and *Solomon* doth as much condemn the divorce of a virtuous woman as he doth the keeping of an adulterous one (20).

(15) *Vide* Munſt *in Gen. ii.* (16) *Levit. ubi ſup.* (17) *Targ.* Onkel. & *Hieroſ.* & *Rabbin. mult. in Num. xii.* 1, & *ſeq.* (18) *Conf. Gen. xvi.* 1, & *ſeq.* & *xxi.* 9, & *ſeq.* † *See Vol. II. p.* 477 *note* (O). & *p.* 498, *note* (Y) (19) *Mic. ii.* 9. *Malach. ii.* 14 & *ſeq.* (20) *Vide Miſhn. c.* 9. § 10. Seld *Ux. Hebr. lib. iii. c.* 18. & 20.

thus

thus o: "When a man hath taken a wife, and married "her, and it come to paſs, that ſhe find no favour in his "eyes, becauſe he hath found in her ſome uncleanneſs (V); "then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it "into her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe. And when "ſhe is departed ------ſhe may go and be another man's "wife; and if her ſecond huſband hate her, and write her "a bill of divorcement ----or if he chance to die ---- her "former huſband ſhall *not take her again to be his wife,* "after ſhe is defiled; for that is an abomination to the "Lord. -----" The queſtion is here, what is meant by the words, *if he find any uncleanneſs, turpitude,* or *nakedneſs in her?* We have ſeen in the laſt note, how the *Jews* are divided in their opinion about it; the *Chriſtians* are no leſs ſo; ſome confining it to adultery, and others to all enormous crimes, ſuch as idolatry, apoſtacy, and the like, which the ſcriptures often call fornication, and is the word made uſe of by our Saviour for adultery. For our part, we cannot believe any of theſe caſes to be meant by the words of *Moſes*, becauſe as theſe were all capital crimes, it would have been ridiculous to have ordained a divorce againſt thoſe that were to be put to death. We rather think therefore, that it meant ſome involuntary uncleanneſs; whether natural or contracted, which rendered her loathſome in his eyes, or unfit for the nuptial conſorts; which *Chriſt* therefore diſcommends in the goſpel, not only becauſe it was become

o Deut. xxiv. 1, & ſeq.

(V) As plain as the import of the text is, yet the famous *Hillel* has found out a way to evade it, in order, to make divorce lawful even upon the ſlighteſt fault, ſuch as ſpoiling his meat in cooking; or according to *Akkiba*, another of the ſame looſe principles, if he finds another that pleaſes him better, or is more handſome in his eyes. To make this out, they divide the text thus: 1. If ſhe do not find favour in his ſight. And 2. if he find in her ערות דבר, *Harvath dabar*, or as the *Septuagint* render it Ἄσχημον χρῆμα, he may then divorce her. But the more virtuous ſchool of his co-rival *Shammai*, juſtly condemns ſuch a perverſe reading, tho' he confines this caſe of turpitude, which *Moſes* aſſigns as the ground of the huſband's diſlike, to the caſe of unchaſtity; whereas that of *Hillel* extends it to all that he may diſlike in her (21). This laſt has been moſt followed by the *Jews*, and ſufficiently condemned by *Chriſt* (22).

(21) *Vide Gloſſ.* Bartenor. הלכה בית חילל. (22) *Matt.* v. 32, & *alib.*

too frequent, and permitted upon every trivial occasion [p]; but also to assure the people, that the marriage knot was not to be dissolved, upon any pretence, except that of infidelity (W).

ONE thing, which shews that the nuptial breach was not thought the ground of a divorcement in *David*'s time, is, that that monarch did not repudiate those concubines or wives of the second rank, whom his son *Absalom* had publicly debauched; but contented himself with shutting them up for life [q]; and that the *Levite* did not divorce his concubine-wife, as the text calls her, after she had played the harlot, and was run away from him; but went to seek and bring her home again [r]. The same may be said of *Samson*, who went and demanded his wife, after she had been given to another man [s]. To this we may add, that we do not find any instances, through the whole Old Testament, of men divorcing their wives, either upon this or any other account, except those who put away the strange women they had brought with them from the captivity [t]. However that be, 'tis plain, the *Jews* have understood it in another and more lax sense. The form of the bill of divorcement was to this effect: *Such a day, month, and year, I such a one, of such a place, upon or near such a river, do of my own free consent and choice repudiate thee, such a one, my late wife, banish thee from me, and restore thee to thy own liberty, and thou mayest henceforth go whither, and marry whom thou wilt; and this is thy bill of divorcement, and writing of expulsion, according to the law of* Moses *and* Israel. *Signed by two witnesses*; and delivered

[p] Vide JOSEPH. Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. & lib. de vit. sua ad fin. & PHIL. de special. legib. præc. 6. & 7. [q] 2 Sam. xx. 3. [r] Judg. xix. 1, & seq. [s] Ibid. xv. 1, & seq. [t] Ezr. x. | pass. Nehem xiii. 23, & seq.

(W) We may add, that the words (being ערות דבר, *Harvath dabar*, and not דבר ערות, *Debar harvate*, which last doth only signify *the case of turpitude*) may be more properly rendered, *for any turpitude, or immodesty of words, discourse, or even behaviour*. So that this indulgence might have been designed to deter the wanton sort of wives from such immodest speeches or behaviour, as might be apt to disgust a sober husband; and to inspire them with such chaste deportment as could alone preserve a true conjugal affection. According to this sense also our Saviour's reflection will be very just; that it was their indocible temper that extorted such an indulgence from *Moses*, which was manifestly contrary to the original design and institution of marriage.

in

in the preſence of as many at leaſt [u]. From this time the wife was as much at her liberty as if ſhe had been a widow; only in both caſes ſhe was obliged to ſtay at leaſt ninety days before ſhe was married to another, leſt ſhe ſhould prove pregnant by the laſt (X).

Laws againſt Theft.

UNDER this head we ſhall include not only thoſe which are againſt taking away another man's property, whether privately or by open force; but alſo againſt every act of fraud and injuſtice, which is contrary to the right and common faith of mankind. 1. As to theft, we have already obſerved, that the *Jews* underſtood the words in the decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal* [w], of men-ſtealing, and thought that the other ſort of theft was implied in the laſt precept, *Thou ſhalt not covet* †. But we ſhall include them under the ſame head. *Theft.*

[u] Vide Mos. KOTZ, fol, 133. & Mos. Ægypt. pt. ii. fol. 59. SELD. BUXT. & GOODW. ubi ſup. [w] Exod. xx. 15. † See Vol. II. p. 554. ſub fin. note (X).

(X) Touching the controverſy, whether women might likewiſe divorce their husbands, upon the ſame grounds that they might be divorced by them, we can only ſay, that we do not find any ſuch indulgence granted to them by *Moſes*, unleſs in the caſe of a virgin betrothed by her parents before ſhe was twelve years of age, who might then refuſe to ratify the contract which her parents had made, without giving any other reaſon, than that ſhe did not like the perſon deſigned for her; but this cannot be called a divorcement, becauſe there is no marriage in the caſe. *Joſephus* therefore thinks, that a divorce was ſo far from being permitted to women, that if the husband forſook his wife, it was not lawful for her to marry another, till ſhe had firſt obtained a divorce from him. He adds, that *Salome*, ſiſter to *Herod the great*, was the firſt who took upon her to repudiate her husband, whoſe example was ſoon followed by others, mentioned by the ſame author (23).

We omit ſeveral very prudent regulations made by the *Talmudiſts*, relating to the drawing up of theſe bills of divorcement, to prevent, as much as poſſible, all abuſes, forgeries, and counterfeits, ſuch as the kind of parchment, letter, and ink, which were to be uſed, how many letters to each line, and the like; beſides a great many other formalities, examinations, and enquiries, deſigned on purpoſe to draw the matter to ſuch a length, that the parties might have time to cool, and, if poſſible, to be reconciled.

(23) *Ant. lib. xv. c.* 11. *xviii.* 7. xx. 15, *& in vit. ſua.*

THE

THE ſtealing of a man was the only capital theft under the law of *Moſes* (Y); and whether the ſtolen perſons had been ſold, or were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the thief, he was to be put to death [x]. All other theft was puniſhed by reſtitution, and the addition of a fine, according to the nature of the theft; only the man that broke into a houſe in the night to rob, might be impunely killed, though not in the day time [y]. He that ſtole an ox was to reſtore five oxen; if a ſheep or a goat, four ſheep or four goats [z]; but if he had neither killed nor ſold them, but they were found alive with him, he was only to pay two for one [a]. In caſe the thief had not wherewith to make ſatisfaction according to the law, it was lawful for the proſecutor, if he was an *Iſraelite*, to ſell him, but not if he was a proſelyte of any kind, neither could the former ſell him to any but to an *Iſraelite*. If he had a wife and children, they might likewiſe be ſold with him, till ſatisfaction was made to the offended; at leaſt it ſeems to have been ſo underſtood and practiſed by the *Jews* in caſes of debt, though *Moſes* mentions none here but the thief. This may be gathered from the words of the prophet *Eliſha* [b] to the widow; and from the parable in the goſpel, where the creditor commands the wife and children, as well as the inſolvent debtor, to be ſold, and payment to be made [c]. As ſoon as a ſufficient equivalent had been made by ſervitude, they were to be reſtored to their freedom again, though by another law [d] (Z): but if the thief was unmarried, and his maſter

[x] Exod. xxi. 16. [y] Ibid, xxii. 2. [z] Ibid. ver. 1. [a] Ibid. ver. 4. [b] 2 King. iv. 1. [c] Matt. xviii. 25. [d] Exod. xxii. 3.

(Y) The *Jews*, however, confine it to the ſtealing of an *Iſraelite*, and not without ſome ground, becauſe *Moſes* in another place (24) expreſſes it, *if a man be found ſtealing any of his brethren of the children of* Iſrael, which exception the *Targum* of *Onkelos* (25) and *Septuagint* have added alſo to the text in *Exodus*. *Abenezra* doth even underſtand it of children that cannot ſpeak. As for the ſtealing of ſtrangers, the offender was not to be put to death according to them, but only to make reſtitution.

(Z) The *Talmudiſts* have made ſeveral exceptions to this law: they ſay for inſtance, that the thief, that was ſold as inſolvent, was not bound to ſerve till he had repayed the four or five-fold, but only the equivalent of his theft. The overplus was remitted till he was in circumſtances to pay it. Neither could he be ſold, accord-

(24) *Deut. xxiv. 7.* (25) *In Exod. xxi. 16.*

ing

maſter gave him a wife during the time of his ſervitude, the children that he had by her were his maſter's property: he could not demand them from him. From this law they hammered another more inhuman, in order to ſhorten a married man's ſervitude, by allowing him to beget a number of ſlaves, for the benefit of his creditor, upon ſome woman whom his maſter gave him; with this pretended proviſo however, that he ſhould not deprive his own wife of the nuptial due, or that ſhe ſhould conſent to forego it, and that only one maid-ſervant ſhould be conjoined to one ſuch man, not two or more. In caſes of petty larcenies the laws ſeem ſtill more indulgent, and the crime was not looked upon as infamous, according to that of *Solomon*, *a thief is not deſpiſed that ſtealeth to ſatify his hunger*; *but if he be found, he ſhall reſtore ſeven-fold, he ſhall give all the ſubſtance of his houſe*[e]; where the word ſeven-fold means only more or leſs, according to the theft, as far as his whole ſubſtance would reach. It is plain however, that the law of *Moſes* was far enough from countenancing ſuch kind of theft; ſince it allowed a

[e] Prov. vi. 30, 31.

ing to them, unleſs the theft was of greater value than the thief. Thus if the latter was judged worth fifty ſhekels, and the theft not above forty, it was not in the plaintiff's power to ſell him. A woman likewiſe that was guilty of theft, they pretend, could not be ſold, but yet they do not tell us what puniſhment was inflicted on her in caſe of inſolvency (26).

There are however ſome texts of ſcripture which ſeem to imply a further puniſhment, than theſe we have mentioned. *Jacob* tells *Laban*, that upon whomſoever his ſtolen gods were found, he ſhould be put to death (27); and *Solomon* ſays, that he who is a partner with a thief hates his own ſoul or life (28). This made *Eſtius* of opinion, that they were whipped at the ſecond, and put to death after the third offence. But as to the firſt text, it being before the law of *Moſes*, it is ſuppoſed by the rabbies, that theft was capital by the laws of *Noah*, and the puniſhment exchanged for a milder by *Moſes*. As to the other, the moſt that can be made of the words is, that he is in danger of being killed if he ſteals with them in the night, or elſe of being tempted to forſwear himſelf, if he ſhould be examined upon oath, in which caſe, if he be found out, he will be put to death. So that from the tenor of *Moſes*'s law it is plain, no theft but that of men was puniſhed with death.

(26) *Ita Rabbin. fer. omn.* (27) *Gen.* xxxi 32. (28) *Prov.* xxix. 24.

man

man in cases of extreme want to sell himself to some master for any term of years, even to that of the *Jubilee* [f]. He was even permitted to sell an unmarried daughter, upon condition, either that the buyer should marry her, or if he did not, that she should be redeemed by the highest bidder that would [g].

WHEN a man was suspected of theft, and the prosecutor had not sufficient proof against him, he might bring him before the judges, and have both him, and those whom he thought his accomplices, examined upon oath. If they swore themselves off, and could be afterwards proved forsworn, they were to be put to death, not for the theft, but for the perjury. The same law reached also to the receiver, or concealer, of stolen goods, knowing them to be such [h]: that is, if he was found out, he was fined as the thief, two, four, or five-fold; and being examined upon suspicion, if he denied his having the goods upon oath, he was put to death likewise: for so they understood the words, *he shall bear his iniquity*. All these kinds of matters were to be tried before the judges of the place where the fact was done, and it was left to them in many cases to appoint the fines and punishments of the offender, according to the nature and circumstances of the fact: only the *Jews* add, that if the thief came and accused himself, and restored the stolen goods, he was not to have any further punishment, because, say they, he was condemned not by the judges, but by himself [i]. *Moses* gave them also many other wholesome laws relating to things committed to another's care, or pledged for a time, such as cattle, houshold goods, garments, and the like, in case they came to be lost or damaged while they remained in that party's custody; how far in such cases he was or was not obliged to make satisfaction [k]; which we shall not dwell upon. Only thus much we may add, that in all cases, where any satisfaction was made, the person wronged, or his next heir, was the only person entitled to it, but if he died without heirs, then the priests might claim it as their due. He likewise forbad not only the use of false weights and measures [l], but also all kind of frauds, circumvention in contracts, whether written or verbal, both in merchandising

Injustice.

[f] Levit. xxv. 39, 40. [g] Exod. xxi. 7, & seq. [h] Levit. v. 1. [i] Vide MAIM. Tract. Genubah. lib. i. ex. Exod. xxii. 9. [k] Exod. xxii. 7. [l] Deut. xxv. 13, & seq.

and

and all other dealings between man and man [m] (A). Even in bargains, the rule was, that if the price was above one ſixth part more or leſs than the true value of the thing ſold, the party wronged might make the other refund the overplus. All kind of uſury, whether of money, grain, or of victual and apparel, was likewiſe forbid by the law of *Moſes*, in more places than one, from one *Iſraelite* to another; in which caſes the uſurer might be compelled by the judges to refund the ill-gotten wealth. They were commanded, on the contrary, whenever a brother was waxen poor, to ſupport and aſſiſt him with ſuch things as he needed, without propoſing to themſelves any other advantage by ſo doing, than the bleſſing of God attending it [n]. But of ſtrangers, that is, of the *Gentiles*, they were permitted to take ſome uſury [o]; yet ſo as not to oppreſs them by too great extortion, or indeed in any other way: for in ſuch caſes the ſtranger is put upon the ſame foot with the fatherleſs and the widow, whoſe protector God every where declares himſelf, with very ſevere threatnings againſt thoſe who were wanting in kindneſs and hoſpitality towards them [p]. Oppreſſing of ſervants and hirelings; defrauding, or even detaining of their wages, tho' but one night [q], denying them neceſſary food and reſpite [r]; private miſchiefs, ſuch as miſleading of the blind, or even another's cattle [s], removing of land-marks [t]; digging of pits, and leaving of them uncovered [u]; and many more of the like nature were likewiſe reckoned enormous crimes; which, if found out, were cogniſable by the judges, who were impow-

Uſury.

All kind of oppreſſion.

[m] Levit. xix. 11. xxv. 14, & alib. [n] Exod. xxii. 25, & ſeq. Lev. xxv. 36, & ſeq. Deut. xxiii. 19. [o] Ibid. ver. 20. [p] Exod. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9. Levit. xix. 33, & ſeq. & alib. [q] Levit. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. [r] Ibid. xxv. 14. v. 4. [s] Levit. xix. 14. [t] Deut. xix. 14. [u] Exod. xxi. 33.

(A) Here the *Jews*, from a particular fondneſs for their own nation, make a great difference between the ſtrict juſtice which was due to an *Iſraelite* and to a *Gentile*, as well as the puniſhment inflicted on either ſide for the breach of it (29). But the more honeſt part of them, founding the interdiction of fraud and injuſtice on the law of nature, affirmed, that a *Gentile* ought not in any caſe to be defrauded or over-reached in negotiations, &c. becauſe, with reſpect to civil ſociety, he was to be accounted a neighbour, though not with reſpect to the privileges peculiar to the *Iſraelites* (30).

(29) *Vide Gemar. Babyl. Tract. Sanhedr.* Maim. גנובה גזילה and ואבידה (30) *Vide* Seld. *ubi ſup. lib. vi. c.* 5. & *al.*

ered to cauſe ſuitable ſatisfaction to be made, if not, there were terrible curſes denounced againſt the tranſgreſſors by God, from whoſe all-ſeeing eye they could not be concealed, and from whoſe juſtice they could not eſcape unpuniſhed. Taking of ſuch things in pledge from the needy, of which they ſtood in conſtant need, ſuch as their garments, their bed-cloaths, the nether or upper milſtone, and the like, was no leſs forbidden. The perſon ſo oppreſſed might appeal to the judge, and he cauſe them to be reſtored; but we do not find that any other puniſhment was ordained againſt the delinquent [w]. We omit ſeveral others of the ſame nature, which the reader may ſee among their negative precepts [x].

Laws againſt falſe Witneſs.

Falſe witneſs. THE foundation of them is in that of the decalogue, *thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour* [y]; wherein we ſhall only obſerve, that the word, which our verſions render *ſpeak*, ſignifies, according to the original, to anſwer to an interrogation, ſuch as the judges exacted from perſons ſummoned to give evidence in any caſes that came before them, either by oath, or bare examination. The judges were bound to abide by the teſtimony of two or three witneſſes, eſpecially in capital caſes, a ſingle one not being ſufficient to condemn any man [z]. To deter men therefore, as much as poſſible, from giving falſe evidence, the law condemned a falſe witneſs to the ſame puniſhment which he would have inflicted on the innocent [a]; and if examined upon oath, and proved forſworn, he was to be put to death as was hinted before, let the caſe in queſtion be what it would. It required beſides of the judges, that they ſhould be very ſtrict in examining the witneſſes [b] (B), their character, and the nature of the evidence, in order to prevent, as far as poſſible, the guilty being acquitted, or the

[w] Deut. xxiv. 6, 10, & ſeq. [x] Vide præc. 150, ad 196, & alib. paſſ. [y] Exod. xx. 16. xxiii. 2 Deut. v. 20. [z] Ibid. xvii. 6. [a] Deut. xix. 15, 16, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. ver. 18.

(B) The *Jews* excepted ſeveral perſons from being witneſſes, from a text in *Exodus*, (31), namely, perſons under age, thoſe who had committed any miſdemeanour which deſerved whipping, thieves, even after they had reſtored the ſtolen pelf, uſurers, extortioners, and ſuch like (32).

(31) Ch. xxiii. 1. (32) *Præc. neg.* 214.

innocent

innocent being condemned. The *Talmudiſts* have collected ſeveral laws relating to the duty of judges, which lie diſperſed in the writings of *Moſes*, and added ſeveral very judicious expoſitions, for which we ſhall refer the reader to the authors themſelves [c].

Laws againſt coveting another's property.

THE tenth precept of the decalogue, *thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe, wife*, and ſo on [d], is juſtly eſteemed by the *Jewiſh* doctors, the prop and foundation of all the other laws of the ſecond table, and he that obſerves this, is in no danger of breaking the reſt. Whether the antient *Jews* underſtood it in that ſtrict and refined ſenſe which the goſpel doth, or only of ſuch overt acts as tended to the procuring of any thing by unlawful means, is not eaſy to determine. The *Talmudiſts* however do condemn by it the very deſire formed and indulged in the heart, tho' it doth not proceed to action [e].

An abridgment of ſome other mixt laws relating to food, raiment, planting, ſowing, decency and cleanneſs, and of ſuch diſeaſes as excluded men from common ſocicty.

1. OF all the food that is forbidden by the *Moſaic* law, blood may be reckoned in the firſt place, becauſe its prohibition was as old as the deluge [f]; when God having, immediately after it, given *Noah* the liberty of eating the fleſh of animals, as is moſt generally ſuppoſed †, forbad the eating not only of the blood itſelf, but the fleſh alſo mixed with it, that is, of any animal, either ſtrangled or killed by any other way, than by drawing the blood thoroughly from it (C), under very ſevere threatnings. *Againſt eating of blood.*

[c] Tract. Sanhedr. MAIM. in eund. præc. neg. 194, ad 218.
[d] Exod. xx. 17. Deut. v. 21. [e] Vide præc. neg. 158. [f] Gen. ix. 4, & ſeq. † See Vol. I. p. 229.

(C) The reaſon given in the text is, that blood is the life of the animal; by which is meant, that no animal can live without it. But it is not improbable, that the end and deſign of this prohibition was, that it might be a kind of acknowledgment, that our privilege for killing, and eating the fleſh of thoſe living creatures, is not derived to us from the law of nature, which ſeems rather to be againſt it, but from an expreſs permiſſion from the author of nature. And this ſeems to be the rea-

threatnings. Accordingly we find it no leſs expreſly forbidden by *Moſes* in ſeveral places not only to the *Iſraelites*, but to the ſtrangers that lived among them [g]; even under pain of death. God ſeems even to put it on the level with ſacrificing one's ſeed to *Moloch*, when he threatens to *ſet his face againſt him that tranſgreſſes* in either caſe, which expreſſion is not uſed in any other prohibition. Only under this typical diſpenſation, God is pleaſed to give a new reaſon for this interdiction, namely, that it is the blood (which is alſo called the life) of the victim that makes atonement for ſin [h] (D); purſuant to which, the tabernacle, with

[g] Levit. xvii. 10, & ſeq. Deut. xii. 23, & ſeq. [h] Levit. ubi ſup. ver. 11.

ſon, why it was not only inforced by the *Moſaic* law, but alſo retained in the goſpel, and enjoined to its proſelytes from *Gentiliſm* (33). This law, we are told by a modern traveller (34), is ſtill ſtrictly obſerved by ſome eaſtern churches, not, as our author ſays, by virtue of the law of *Moſes*, but of the apoſtolic canon, which has been kept ever ſince by the eaſtern, and for ſeveral ages by the weſtern church, and confirmed by ſeveral councils from time to time.

(D) The learned *Maimon*, not thinking theſe reaſons ſufficient, has fetched the origin of this prohibition from his old fountain of oppoſition to the *Sabians*, *Amorites*, and the other idolatrous nations, who, fancying blood to be the favourite food of *Dæmons*, contented themſelves with the fleſh of beaſts, and poured their blood into a veſſel, or a hole made in the ground, then ſitting and feaſting round it, imagined that thoſe *Dæmons* would come and take their ſhare of the feaſt. From this familiar converſation with their gods, they hoped to procure ſtill a nearer intercourſe with them in their dreams, by which they ſhould gain an inſight into futurity: ſo that according to him, and thoſe that have followed him (35), the main end of this prohibition was to prevent the worſhip of thoſe *Dæmons*. We need not to take notice how much more effectual the contrary method, that is, the allowing them to eat blood, would have been to have kept them from it; all that we ſhall obſerve here is, that, ſuppoſing this ſuperſtitious cuſtom and notion to have been as old as *Moſes*, it doth not appear to have been as old as the flood, or that any that came out of the ark were addicted to it, and yet it is to them that this prohibition was firſt made, if *Moſes*

(33) *Vide* Acts xv. 29. (34) Ludolph. *Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. iii. c. 1. num.* 51. (35) *More Nevoch*, p. 3. c. 46. Spenc. *de Leg. Ritual.* Gregor. *in Oper. Poſt. vide* Carlet. *Concord. pt. i. c.* 11.

may

with all its utenſils, was at firſt purified with it, the covenant between God and the people was ratified with it, and without blood there could be no remiſſion of ſin [i]; all which the apoſtle fitly applies to that of *Chriſt* under the goſpel [k].

NEXT to the blood, was forbidden likewiſe the fleſh of a conſiderable number of beaſts, fowls, fiſhes, and reptiles, which were therefore to be deemed unclean. This diſtinction however of clean and unclean can hardly be ſuppoſed to have its origin from the *Moſaic* law, and to have been uſed proleptically, when the divine hiſtorian mentions it even before the flood [l]: but we ſhall not repeat what has been ſaid on that ſubject in another place *; neither ſhall we enter into a nice ſcrutiny about thoſe animals thus forbidden, but refer the curious reader to the learned *Bochart*'s elaborate treatiſe on that ſubject [m], and mention only the general rule which *Moſes* has given to diſtinguiſh the clean from the unclean [n].

Meats.

OF beaſts whatever did both chew the cud and divide the hoof was to be reckoned clean, and whatever did not both theſe, as the ſwine, which dividedth the hoof but doth not chew the cud; or the camel, hare, rabbit, which chew the cud, and do not part the hoof, was forbidden as unclean. Of fowl all carnivorous birds, ſuch as the eagle, vulture, and the like; all that had four feet and yet flew, as the bat. Of fiſhes all that had fins and ſcales were lawful, and all that wanted either were forbidden. Of inſects all that had wings to raiſe itſelf from the earth might be eaten, but whatever did only crawl on the earth was unclean. Laſtly, the fat of the clean beaſts was forbidden, not becauſe it was unclean, much leſs becauſe it is hard of digeſtion, which is the reaſon which ſome authors give for this, and blood, and ſwine's, and other fleſh, being alſo forbid, ſeeing their laborious life and healthy conſtitution made them more capable to digeſt them, than many, among ours and other nations, who lead an indolent life, and yet can eat them all without any inconvenience. But the reaſon

[i] Hebr. ix. 22, & alib. paſſ. [k] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq.
[l] Gen. vii. 2. * See Vol. II. p. 229. [m] Hierozoic. paſſ.
[n] Levit. xi. 1, & ſeq.

may be believed; and who knows how far it might in time contribute to this wild notion of the *Sabians* and *Amorites*, by making them fancy, that there was ſomething ſo ſacred in the blood of animals, that it was fit only for the gods?

is

is given in the text, namely, becauſe, in all ſacrifices, the fat was to be burnt on the altar, as appertaining unto God [o] (E). The fleſh of beaſts torn in pieces, or that died of themſelves, was likewiſe forbidden [p]. All that needs to be further added, with reſpect to unclean animals, is, that though the touch of them, while alive, was not defiling, yet that of their carcaſes was; inſomuch, that even the veſſels and liquors into which it fell, were made unclean by it; the liquors were to be thrown away, the veſſels, whatever they were, muſt be purified, and the perſon who touched them was to waſh himſelf, and be unclean until evening. A well however, a fountain, or any large receptacle of water, were not defiled by it, but only the perſon who took the unclean creature out of them [q].

Raiment. RAIMENT. *Moſes* hath left no poſitive laws relating to dreſs, except that which belonged to the prieſts, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere, and where he orders the people to wear blue fringes to the borders of their garments,

[o] Vide Levit. iii. 14. & ſeq. [p] Exod. xxii. 31. Levit. xvii. 15. [q] Ibid. xi. 32, & ſeq.

(E) *Joſephus* however and the generality of the *Jews* underſtand this, not of the fat of all clean beaſts, but only of oxen, ſheep, and goats, and this is not only conformable to what is ſaid in another place (36); but, as theſe three creatures were the only ones that were ſacrificed to God, the deſign of the prohibition, mentioned above, ſeems naturally to confine it to them only. What ſeems to confirm, that the fat of other clean beaſts was permitted, is what *Moſes* ſays elſewhere, that *the fat of a beaſt that dieth of itſelf, or is torn to death, may be put to any other uſe, but muſt not be eaten in any caſe* (37); which ſeems to imply, that that of thoſe which were duely killed might be lawfully eaten. Neither is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that this prohibition extended to all the fat, for in ſuch a caſe a ſcrupulous *Jew* would ſcarce have found one bit in the whole beaſt that could be ſafely eaten; but only to that which is ſeparated from the fleſh, ſuch as that which covers the kidneys, and the bowels, the caul, *&c.* After all we much doubt, whether even the interdict of this laſt extended farther than to that of victims offered to God. This ſeems at leaſt probable, from what follows after the forbidding to eat the fat of either ox, ſheep, or goat, where *Moſes* adds, *whoſoever eateth the fat of the beaſt, of which men offer a burnt-offering unto the Lord——————ſhall be cut off——————*(38).

(36) Levit vii. 23. (37) *Ibid.* ver. 24. (38) *Ibid.* ver. 25. *Vide præc. reg.* 138.

for

for a remembrance, that they were now no longer to live after their own will, but after the commands of God [r]. As to thoſe of the negative kind, the two moſt conſiderable are, thoſe which forbid the promiſcuous habit of both ſexes [s], and the wearing of two different ſtuffs, ſuch as linen and woollen, in the ſame garment [t]; the firſt is ſuppoſed to have been deſigned to prevent the ſhameful abuſes which might attend ſuch unnatural diſguiſes (F), and the ſecond to prevent confuſion. To the ſame purpoſe are thoſe which relate to ſowing divers ſeeds, or planting divers kinds of trees in the ſame field; or forbid to plow with a mixture of

[r] Num. xv. 38, 39. Deut. xxii. 12. [s] Ibid. ver. 5. [t] Ibid. ver. 11.

(F) Interpreters fall into various other conjectures about the reaſon of this prohibition. Some think that *Moſes* had an eye to ſome *Heathenish* ceremonies, uſed at particular feſtivals, in which the people dreſſed themſelves in the habits of the contrary ſex, ſuch were for inſtance the *Bacchanalia*, and the feaſts of *Mars* and *Venus*. ſuch were alſo thoſe of the moon, and of the *Cyprian* goddeſs, which the men celebrated in womens habits, and the women in thoſe of men (39). Some have thought, that he meant to conceal under that prohibition an unnatural crime, which he was afraid to acquaint the people with, by calling it by its name, becauſe he adds, that *ſuch diſguiſes are an abomination to God* (40); but yet it is plain that he forbad ſodomy and beſtiality in as plain terms, as thoſe crimes could be couched in, and what other more abominable than theſe could be implyed by it we cannot gueſs. Laſtly, a far more conſiderable number after *Joſephus* underſtand it, not of an exchange of dreſs, but of occupations; that is, that the women ſhould not play the *Amazon*, or handle the ſword and ſpear which do properly belong to men; and that theſe, on the contrary, ſhould not buſy themſelves with ſuch occupations as were fitter for women (41). The terms of the original, upon which they build this notion, run literally thus: *The* כְּלֵי *Kele*, by which they underſtand, *weapons of a man, ſhall not be upon a woman, and a man ſhall not put on the habit of a woman.* But tho' *Kele* doth ſometimes ſignify weapons, and, in its primitive ſenſe, any kind of veſſels and inſtruments uſed in any buſineſs whatſoever, yet ſince it doth ſometimes ſignify dreſs and the ornaments of it, who doth not ſee, that the latter is an explication of the former, and conſequently, that it is levelled againſt the promiſcuous dreſs of ſexes?

(39) Lucian, Maimon. Jul. Firmic. Servius, & *al.* (40) Alberic. Gent. *apud* Calm. *ſub voc. Habit.* (41) Joſeph. *Ant. lib. iv. c.* 8. *Chald. Paraph.* Auguſt. *Quæſt.* 32. N. de Lyra, Vatab. Fag. Munſt. Tremel. & *al.*

cattle,

Cleanneſs. cattle, ſuch as an ox and an aſs [n]. Cleanneſs and decency, though ſo neceſſary in hot climes, that there needs hardly any law to inforce them, are yet enjoined by *Moſes* under ſevere penalties, as well as the neglect of thoſe proper ceremonies, which he had enjoined to thoſe who had laboured under any defilement, in order to their purification. We have already ſpoken of this latter under another head, and ſhall only mention the chief of the former; they were ſuch as forbid all matrimonial commerce for a certain time after child-birth, during the monthly periods, or after any accidental weakneſs of that kind; in men nocturnal pollutions, running ſores, ulcers, gonorrhæas, and ſuch like; whatever was touched by any perſon ſo defiled, whether chair, bed, table, or any other utenſil, was alſo to be deemed unclean, and to defile thoſe that touched them; and all were to be purified according to the law. In both ſexes likewiſe the touching of a dead body, carcaſe, or any unclean thing, had the ſame effect. But of all diſeaſes the leproſy (G) was reckoned

[n] Ibid ver. 10.

(G) *Moſes* diſtinguiſhes three ſorts of leproſy, namely, that of the body, garments, and of houſes. The firſt of theſe is a cuticular diſeaſe, not unlike an inveterate itch or ſcurvy, which cauſes a violent itching, and, whether cauſed by ſome prolific animalcula communicated by the touch, or by corroſive vitrioline ſalts (tho' the former ſeems the moſt probable), will in time corrode the fleſh, even to the bone. We ſhall not diſguſt our readers with repeating the marks which he gives of that diſtemper (42); nor with what phyſicians have writ concerning it; but only obſerve, that it was of a much more corroſive and dangerous nature in hot climates than in cold ones. They obſerve three kinds or rather degrees of it. The firſt of theſe, namely, whilſt it is, as it were, in its infancy, may be eaſily cured: the ſecond, when it has communicated itſelf to the blood, cannot be maſtered without great difficulty, and a long regimen of diet and phyſic: the laſt, which is when it is grown inveterate, and has fixed itſelf, and corroded the ſolid parts, is reckoned incurable. However, Monſieur *Tournefort*, who had ſeen it in the *Levant*, thinks it rather a kind of a venereal diſeaſe, and that, if taken in time, it might be cured by the ſame method. And indeed the ſymptoms of this, of the leproſy, and of an inveterate ſcurvy are ſo alike, that unleſs a phyſician be very expert and cautious, he may eaſily condemn the innocent and abſolve the guilty. But be that as it will, it is certain, that this leproſy muſt have been ſufficiently known by the *Iſraelites* in

(42) *Vide* Levit. xiii. *per tot.*

reckoned the moſt defiling, for which reaſon thoſe who were infected with it were forced to live ſeparate from the reſt, till they had been cured of it; monarchs themſelves were not exempted from this law, as appears from the inſtance of king *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, as he is called in the *Chronicles*, who, being ſmitten with that diſtemper for intruding into the prieſtly office [w], was deprived of his government, and forced to live apart to the day of his death. And indeed one kind of it was of ſo infectious a nature, *Leproſy.*

[w] Comp. 2 King. xv. 5. & 2. Chron. xxvi. 16. & ſeq.

Egypt, ſince *Moſes* ſpeaks both of the diſeaſe and its marks, as of things which were plain and obvious.

The leproſy of the garments is ſuppoſed to have been owing to ſome defect in the management of the wool, ſkins, and ſtuffs, of which they were made; thoſe manufactures being then very imperfect, to what they have been ſince. The heat of the climate, and perhaps many other things, might contribute ſtill more towards it. *Moſes* has likewiſe deſcribed the marks of this kind of leproſy; they were ſpots either of a reddiſh or greeniſh hue, which appeared upon the garments, whether of linen, woollen, or of ſkins. In theſe caſes they were to be brought to the prieſts, and according as they appeared to them, they were either to be burnt, or to be waſhed and cleaned, or the ſpots to be cut out, and the reſt declared clean and wholeſome. This garment-leproſy is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be a kind of worm which breeds in thoſe ſtuffs, occaſioned by the oils, greaſe, and other ingredients uſed in the dreſſing of them.

The ſame may be ſaid of the leproſy of houſes, in the mortar and ſtones of which another ſort of vermin was bred, which had four jaws continually working, and eating holes in them. This was one of the tokens of its being infected, there were ſome others beſides, which were a kind of rult or ſcurf, that ſpread itſelf along the walls. In all theſe caſes, the prieſts were directed to ſhut the houſe up for a week, and it is probable, they made ſome kind of fumigation, during that time, though no mention is made of it, elſe we cannot ſee how the bare ſhutting it up could contribute to the cure. If upon the opening it again, they found the marks gone, they pronounced it clean, if not, they cauſed them to be ſcraped off every where, and the houſe to be ſhut up another ſeven days, and if that did not work the cure, they ordered it to be demoliſhed, and ſuch materials of it only to be preſerved, as were free from the infection, in order to build it up in ſome other place (43).

(43) *Ibid. ver.* 47. *& ſeq. & xiv. Vide Journal de Scavants, ann.* 1668. Calmet, *Diſſert. præfix. at the head of his Comment on* Levit.

that too much caution could not be uſed to prevent its ſpreading; inſomuch, that even thoſe that died of it were buried ſeparately from the reſt [x] (H); as for the other, namely, the dry one, it was rather an eye-ſore than an infectious diſeaſe. The prieſts were the proper judges both of the diſeaſe and of the cure; concerning which *Moſes* gave them ſeveral plain directions, tho' we find not, that he preſcribed any remedy againſt it, becauſe, as the *Jews* think, it was an immediate judgment from God [y]. The ſame they affirm alſo of the leproſy of houſes and garments; which they pretend was peculiar to the *Iſraelites* and to the land of *Judæa* [z], becauſe God had promiſed to them, that whilſt they continued obedient to his laws, their bodies, houſes, and garments, ſhould be preſerved from that diſeaſe; but when they proved ſtubborn and rebellious, he would ſend it as a puniſhment upon them [a].

WHEN the prieſt had pronounced a man infected with leproſy, he was not only ſecluded from the ſociety of clean perſons, but he was obliged to go bare-headed, with his cloaths rent, and his upper lip covered with a kind of muffler, to prevent, in all likelihood, his infecting others by his breath. But one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they had places in which they lived together, and made a kind of community among themſelves. Accordingly we read of four of them that went together out of ſome quarter of *Samaria* into the *Aſſyrian* camp, when the famine raged in the city [b]; and of ten in the goſpel, who applied themſelves in a body to *Chriſt* to be healed by him [c]. Perſons, garments, and houſes, being cured of this diſtemper, were to be further purified by the prieſt. We have already ſpoken of the ſacrifices, which were to be offered upon this occaſion, in its proper place. As for the other ceremonies which were enjoined by *Moſes*, we ſhall refer our reader to

[x] Ibid. ver. ult. Quæſt. 18. in Levit. SEPHARAD. & al.
[b] 2 King. vii. 3, 8.
[y] Ita Rabbin. ſer. omn. & THEODOR.
[z] MOS. GERUND. RACANAT. ABR.
[a] Vide MUNST. in Levit. xiii. note (i).
[c] Luke xvii. 12.

(H) At leaſt this ſeems to have been the meaning of the text, though the words in the original are not ſo clear and expreſs. It would otherwiſe have been needleſs to have added that reaſon, *becauſe he was a leper*: ſo that one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, with the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, that they buried him in ſome corner of the ground where his anceſtors were depoſited, though apart from the reſt.

the

the two afore-quoted chapters of *Leviticus*, where if he pleaſes, he may ſee a full account of them.

BUT here we ſhall beg leave to mention a ſtory, which *Manetho*, and ſeveral other *Heathen* writers after him [d], have advanced with great appearance of ſerioufneſs, againſt the *Jews*; and which though every one of them tells in his own way, doth in the main amount to this: that the land of *Egypt* being grievouſly infected with the leproſy, and the king *Bochorus*, having conſulted the oracle, was adviſed to ſend all the lepers out of his dominions into a deſert place, where they might periſh with want. This was accordingly done, and they being come to the deſolate place, *Moſes* obſerved, by tracing the footſteps of a wild aſs, a ſpot where they might dig for water to refreſh their thirſt, and they, being revived with it, choſe him for their guide, and were by him conducted and ſettled in *Canaan* in the ſpace of ſeven days; in memory of which he ordered the ſeventh day to be a day of reſt, and forbad the eating of ſwine's fleſh, becauſe that creature is very ſubject to the leproſy. They add, that in memory of their kind benefactor, the aſs who ſaved their lives, he commanded an aſs's head to be ſet up and worſhipped in their temple. This ſtory, which is falſe in every particular, is likewiſe ridiculous, and as ſuch ſufficiently confuted by *Joſephus*; and the care, which *Moſes* took with reſpect to this diſtemper, ſufficiently ſhews, that at leaſt, the far greater part of the *Iſraelites* were free from it at their coming out of *Egypt*, elſe it would have been impoſſible to have ſegregated them from the reſt, and to have forced theſe laws upon them, which excluded them from the commerce of thoſe who were free from it.

THIS body of laws, out of which we have omitted a conſiderable number of leſs moment, beſides ſeveral others, which we have avoided repeating here, becauſe they have been occaſionally mentioned in other places, is not only ſecured by a clauſe which expreſly forbids the adding or diminiſhing any thing from it [e]; but their obedience to them is likewiſe enforced by the moſt cogent promiſes and threatnings, interſperſed through the whole, beſides a ſtrict charge to the *Levites* to inſtruct the people, and parents their children in it; though all too little to keep them to their duty.

[d] MANETH. ap. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. TACIT. JUST. ex TROG. PLUTARCH. & al [e] Deut. iv. 2. xii. 32.

Of the customs, learning, arts, and trade of the Jews.

Ceremonies at circumcision.

THEIR customs, both religious and civil, being chiefly founded upon their laws, and the greatest part of them having been already mentioned under that article, we shall have the less to say here, especially considering the barrenness of the subject, for want of books and authors of a date old enough to be depended upon. We have already mentioned all that could be gathered concerning their customs at weddings and festivals; we shall now say something of those that were used at births and feasts; to which we shall add a short account of some of their abominable practices at their high-places, groves, and other places of idolatrous worship; of their various kinds of divinations, games, and ceremonies used at burials. It may be remembered, that circumcision was not enjoined by the *Mosaic* law, but by virtue of the express command given to *Abraham*. But neither that nor this hath ordained any thing, either with respect to the person by whom, nor with what instrument, nor in what manner, the ceremony was to be performed, but only that the foreskin should be cut off on the eighth day. So that it was left to the option of the parent, either to perform it himself, or to have some other person, whether a priest, surgeon, or any expert friend, to do it for him. And in this last case, it was always looked upon as a high compliment to be chosen to that office. The instrument was generally a knife or razor made of some kind of stone, as being less dangerous than those of steel †; the use of which they might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who opened those bodies with them, which were to be embalmed ‡. They were not obliged to carry the child to the synagogue, much less to the temple, but had him circumcised at home. Here the father, or some friend deputed by him, held the child in his arms, whilst the operator took the prepuce either with one hand, or with pincers made for the purpose, and with the other cut off the foreskin, whilst another held a porringer filled with sand, for him to fling it in, and to receive the blood that dropped. He then applied his mouth to the place, and having sucked the blood, which generally flowed plentifully, twice or thrice, and spit it out into a tumbler of wine, he threw some styptic powder upon the wound, and dressed it till it was well. As for the form of words that were used upon such occasions, as far as probable conjectures will go, we have had occasion to mention it under a former arti-

† See before, p. 64. ‡ HERODOT. lib. ii. c. 86.

cle,

cle *, to which they added, no doubt, ſome prayers and bleſſings. At preſent, the operator, having dreſſed the wound, puts the cup of wine and blood to the infant's lips, pronouncing theſe words of the prophet, *live in thy blood* [g], repeats the 128th pſalm, and wiſhes his parents joy, and that they may thus aſſiſt at his wedding **. But how old theſe cuſtoms are we cannot warrant; all that can be added is, that this ceremony was uſually accompanied with great rejoicing and feaſting; and it was at that time, that the child uſed uſed to be named by the parents, in the preſence of the company [h] (I). Theſe

* See Vol. II. p. 501, note (A).
** De his vide FAG. in Deut. x. Mos. KOTZ, in Tract. de Circumciſ. fol. 115. MAIM. Tract. Circumciſ. c. 1 & 2. BUXTORF. Syn. Jud. c. 4, & alib. QUANDT. de Cultris Circumciſ. Hebr.
[g] Ezek. xvi. 6.
[h] Luke i. 59.

(I) The *Jews* did afterwards add ſeveral other ſuperſtitious cuſtoms, ſuch as placing three ſtools, one for the circumciſer, the ſecond for the perſon that held the child, and the third for *Elijah*, who, they ſay, aſſiſted inviſibly at the ceremony (44); writing the words *Adam* and *Eve*, *Lillith*, *be gone hence*, upon pieces of parchment, and ſticking them to the four walls of the room, as alſo the names of three friendly angels, to preſerve the child from the power of *Lillith*, who, according to them, was *Adam*'s firſt wife, and being parted from him, uſed to vent her ſpleen againſt women in child birth, and new-born children, eſpecially males (45). They had likewiſe taken it into their heads to circumciſe children after their death, if they had not been ſo before, in order to avoid the curſe pronounced againſt thoſe that neglected it, and which had like to have fallen upon *Moſes* at the inn (46), but they content themſelves now with cutting off the prepuce, and flinging it into the coffin or grave with the body. But theſe the wiſer ſort among them have long ſince diſuſed, as ridiculous and ſuperſtitious. The cuſtom of godfathers, or, as they call them, בעל ברית, *Baal-berith*, maſter of the covenant, has been of antient uſe (47); his office was to hold the child, during the operation. They think that *Uriah* the high-prieſt, and *Zechariah*, the ſon of *Jeberechiah*, ſtood godfathers to *Iſaiah*'s ſon *Maher-ſhalal-haſh-baz* (48). As for the operation, *Maimon* (49) tells us, that all had a right to it, even an uncircumciſed ſervant, or a woman, *&c.* in the abſence of a man, unleſs ſhe be a *Gentile*; though even if ſuch a one ſhould perform the operation, it needs not to be repeated. And *Moſes*

(44) *Vide Chriſt. Caſt. in Malach. iv.* (45) *Vide Leo de Mod. pt. iv. c.* 8. (46) *Exod. iv.* 24. *See Vol. II. p.* 501, *note* (A). (47) *Vide Elia. Thisbit. in* סנדק. (48) *Vide Jun. & Tremel. in Iſai. viii.* (49) *Tract.* מילה, *p.* 114.

Kotz

Theſe names, how harſh ſoever they may ſound in our ears, were generally ſignificant of ſomething relating to the parents, or the child, or to ſome other circumſtances of time. We have already given ſome inſtances of it in thoſe of the patriarchs. The devouter part uſed to tack the names of God, *Jah* and *El*, to that of the child, thus, *Abijah* ſignifies *God my father*; and *Zechariah*, *the memorial of the Lord*: *Uzziel* and *Daniel*, *the ſtrength* or *judgment of God*. Some had a quite different meaning, as *Iſhboſheth*, *the man of ſhame*; *Mephiboſheth*, *ſhame of the mouth*. Others were taken from living creatures; *Tzipor*, *a bird*; *Rachel*, *a ſheep*; *Chamor*, *an Aſs*; *Nachaſh*, *a ſerpent*; *Tamar*, *a palm tree*, and the like; and *Eli*'s daughter-in-law called her ſon *Ichabod*, *where is the glory*, when ſhe heard, that the ark was taken by the *Philiſtines* ǂ†ǂ. As for daughters, as they were not circumciſed, ſo there was no other ceremony uſed, that we can find, than giving them a name, unleſs it were, that when the mother was purified, the prieſts did beſtow a bleſſing upon the child, as well as upon the parents, as it is uſed to this day [1].

At their feaſts.

THEIR feaſtings (if we except thoſe that were commanded or permitted by the law, or uſed at births, marriages, and ſuch like occaſions) (K), were neither many nor ſumptuous, becauſe theſe came ſo often about, and laſted ſo long, that they could hardly have time for more. As for the cuſtoms and ceremonies uſed at them, we ſhall only pick out ſuch as bear an analogy with any paſſages in the goſpel. Theſe were the ſaluting of the gueſts, waſhing their feet, anointing

ǂ†ǂ 1 Sam. iv. 21. [1] LEO DE MODEN. Cerem. Jud. pt. iv. c. 8. GOODWIN's Moſ. & Aar. lib. vi. c. 1.

Kotz adds out of the *Talmud*, that in caſe the parents neglected to circumciſe their children, the judges, as ſoon as they were informed of it, were bound to ſee it done; which if they did not, when the perſon came to age, he was to get it performed out of hand, becauſe every day he lived uncircumciſed from that time, he was a tranſgreſſor of the law (50)

(K) Their religious feaſtings were called חג, *Chagg*, from חגג, to *celebrate*; the others, if ſumptuous and ſplendid, were called משתה, *Miſhtah*, from שתה, *Shatah*, to drink or carouſe, and anſwered to the συμπόσιον and συμπόσιον of the *Greeks*, becauſe it was a main part of the banquet (51); but if it was only a moderate one, they called it ארוחה, *Aruchah*, that is, a *viaticum*, or way-bit, from ארח, *Arach*, to journey (52).

(50) *Ibid. fol.* 104. (51) *Vide Gen. xliii.* 34. (52) *Vide Jerem xl.* 5. *Prov. xv.* 17.

with

with oil, the grace or bleſſing of the cup, and breaking of the bread, giving of thanks, and diſmiſſing the company. The firſt ſalutation was performed to ſuperiors, by bowing down to the ground, as *Abraham* and *Lot* did to their heavenly gueſts [k], or by a kiſs or embrace to a familiar (L). In the two former inſtances, we have likewiſe a form of invitation, and the ceremony of waſhing the feet, which *Joſeph* ordered alſo to be performed to his brethren, when they came to dine with him in *Egypt* [l]; and thus *Abigail* in her great modeſty anſwered *David*'s ſervants, who came to propoſe marriage from him, "Let the handmaid of my lord the king "be a ſervant to waſh the feet of the king's ſervants [m];" and to this cuſtom no doubt the pſalmiſt alludes, when he calls *Moab* his waſh-pot [n]. As for the ceremony of anointing the head, though it was common in all the eaſt, yet we find no inſtance of it before the goſpel [o], except in that alluſion of the pſalmiſt [p], *thou haſt prepared a table for me ---- thou haſt anointed my head with oil.* *Waſhing the feet.*

THESE firſt ceremonies being over, the maſter of the houſe began to crave a bleſſing, if there was no ſtranger, nor any perſon of a ſuperior rank [q], for in this caſe he complimented him with that office (M). He then took a cup full of wine, and having bleſſed the creator of the vine, he ſipped a little of it, and gave it to the next perſon, till it had gone round. This was called the ברכת היין, *Birkath hajajin*, *the bleſſing of the wine*. Our ſaviour is obſerved by St. *Luke* *Bleſſing.*

[k] Gen. xviii. 2. xix. 1. [l] Gen. xliii. 24. [m] 1 Sam. xxv. 41. [n] Pſ. cviii. [o] Matt. xxvi. 7. Luke vii. 46. [p] Pſ. xxiii. 5. [q] Vide 1 Sam. ix. 13.

(L) Theſe two ceremonies were alſo uſed upon all other occaſions; thus *Nathan* and *Araunah* bowed to *David*, and *Obadiah* to *Elijah* (53); and thus *Eſau* embraced and kiſſed his brother *Jacob*, and *Moſes* his father-in-law (54). Our Saviour alſo in the goſpel alludes to this and the other two ceremonies of reception, namely, waſhing and anointing, when he reproves the phariſee for having omitted them towards him (55); and himſelf we find waſhed his diſciples feet at his laſt ſupper (56).

(M) This was not to be refuſed upon any pretence, for they believed, that he who refuſed to crave a bleſſing ſhortened his own days. But the maſter of the houſe was allowed by way of civility to ſet even an inferior to perform that office (57).

(53) 2 *Sam. xxiv.* 20. 1 *Kings* i. 23. *xviii.* 7. (54) *Gen. xxxiii.* 4. *Exod. xviii.* 7. (55) *Luke vii.* 44, *& ſeq.* (56) *John xiii.* 4, *& ſeq.* (57) *Joſ. Kara. Shulchan barukh, n.* 201.

to

to have began with it, and diſtributed it among the twelve, at his laſt ſupper [r]. From thence he paſſed to the bleſſing, and breaking of the bread, and diſtributing it to the gueſts. This is what *Chriſt* likewiſe did to the Apoſtles, and it was called the bleſſing of the bread [s]. As ſoon as they had done eating, the ſame perſon, who had craved the bleſſing, was obliged to give thanks, in which all the reſt joined with him. It was concluded with another cup full of wine, and this was called *the bleſſing of plenty.* Our ſaviour is ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the ſacrament in this laſt cup [t] (N). However, it is likely, that ſome of theſe laſt ceremonies were only uſed at ſome of their grand feſtivals, eſpecially that of the paſſover; though the firſt was ſeldom, if ever, omitted. Whether their cuſtom was to ſit at meat, or lie down, is a controverſy of more nicety than moment. However, to us the former ſeems moſt probable, at leaſt before the captivity. We read, that *Joſeph* made his brethren ſit down to eat with him [u], and *David* ſaid to *Jonathan*, *To-morrow - - - - I ſhould ſit*, or as the original has it, *ſitting*, *I ſhould ſit down at meat with the king* [x]; though we own, that in our Saviour's time the cuſtom was altered into that of lying down (O). That of pulling off their

Sitting down.

[r] Luke xxii. 17. [s] Vide DRUS in Nov. Teſt. pt. ult. & GOODW. ubi ſupr. l. 3. c. 2. § 15. [t] Vide FAG. in præc. Hebr. [u] Gen. xliii. 33. [x] 1 Sam. xx. 5.

(N) In this cup of thanksgiving they bleſſed God. 1. For the preſent refreſhment. 2. For their deliverance out of *Egypt*. 3. For the covenant of circumciſion: and 4. For the law given by *Moſes*. After this they prayed, that God would be merciful, 1. To his people *Iſrael*. 2. To his *Jeruſalem*. 3. To his *Sion*, the reſidence of his majeſty. 4. To the kingdom of *David*. 5. That he would ſend the prophet *Elijah*. And 6. That he would make them worthy of the kingdom of the *Meſſiah*. The ceremony ended with a pſalm proper to the occaſion. They have added ſince ſeveral other niceties not worth mentioning (58). It is plain however, that ſome of theſe ceremonies were added ſince the captivity, and we dare not take upon us to ſay, how many of the others were in uſe before that time; but we hope the affinity they bear to ſome of the goſpel inſtitutions will be apology ſufficient for our taking notice of them here.

(O) The verb is ישב, *Jaſhab*, which is always uſed for ſitting at meat, on a throne, and the like, and is, as we think, incapable of the other meaning, which is always expreſſed by that of שכב, *Shacab*. As to their tables, they ſeem to have been of a

(58) *Vid. Seb. Munſt. in Matt. xxvi.*

round

their ſhoes or ſandals ſeems implied in the command of eating the paſſover with them on. We ſhall only add, that upon theſe and all ſuch occaſions, hoſpitality and liberality had been ſo ſtrongly recommended to them by their law-giver, and enforced by the examples of *Abraham*, *Lot*, and other patriarchs, and the many bleſſings attending it, that they became very conſpicuous for it, ſeldom or never failing, at ſuch times eſpecially, to make the *Levites*, the fatherleſs, widows, and ſtrangers, partakers of their joy, by inviting them to the feaſt, or ſending them ſome portions of their good cheer.

THEIR high places were of two ſorts, either thoſe where they only worſhipped the true God, by burning incenſe and offering ſacrifices to him; or ſuch in which they ſerved ſtrange gods, and committed the moſt horrid wickedneſs in their worſhip. Both theſe became ſo common and univerſal, that we read but of few kings who had the courage to pull them down; whilſt many others, tho' otherwiſe commended for their piety and zeal, are yet recorded for having left this evil unreformed. The firſt of theſe, tho' leſs criminal, and ſeemingly countenanced by the examples of *Samuel*, *David*, *Eliſha*, and other inſpired perſons, were nevertheleſs expreſly forbidden by God, unleſs it were done by his own command, as we have ſeen elſewhere †: but as to the laſt, it is certain, nothing could be more expreſly forbid, or more ſeverely threatened, we may ſay puniſhed; notwithſtanding which, *Joſhua* had been ſcarcely dead above twenty years, ere they began to relapſe into it [y]. This defection began about the times of *Othniel* and *Ehud*, and increaſed ſo faſt, and ſpread ſo wide, that it would be endleſs to enumerate their falſe deities, and the places dedicated to their worſhip, as well as the abominable ceremonies which were practiſed in them. But our deſign is not to dwell upon this ſubject, having already ſpoken

High places.

† See before p. 289. note (H). [y] Vide Judg. iii. 5, & ſeq.

round or oval figure, becauſe it is often joined to the verb סבב, *Savaſ*, to ſurround, to ſit or ſtand round. Thus it is ſaid by *Samuel* (59) לא נסב, *we will not ſit down till he come*; and the pſalmiſt ſays, *thy children ſhall be like olive branches round about thy table* (60). We do not pretend indeed, that this Argument is altogether concluſive, ſeeing the word סביב, *Saviſ*, *round about*, is made uſe of by *Moſes*, where he ſpeaks of a ſquare table, as when he commands the prieſts to ſprinkle the blood of the victim round about the altar, tho' it was of a ſquare form (61).

(59) 1 Sam, xvi. 11. (60) Pſ. cxxviii 3. (61) *Conf.* Levit. i. 5. & 11. & Exod. xxvii. 1.

of it in the hiſtories of thoſe nations, from whom they adopted them. It will be ſufficient to obſerve upon the whole, that they adopted the falſe gods of all thoſe nations, in the midſt of whom they lived, and ſet up altars and idols to them upon every hill and *high place*, from which they came to be called by that name; that the ſun, moon and ſtars were of the number of their deities, and that, as the rites of thoſe falſe deities became more and more ſhameful, and unfit for common view, they betook themſelves to ſet up tents and booths, and to plant groves, to conceal the abominable things that were done in them; the very women, who were become uſeleſs in that helliſh commerce, finding out a way of proſtituting themſelves, as it were, at ſecond hand, by furniſhing the infamous votaries with all kind of conveniencies [a]. *Solomon* is juſtly branded in ſcripture for having brought this evil to its height, by the multitude of his ſtrange women, and which was never thoroughly rooted out till *Joſiah*'s reign, that is about 360 years after [a].

Divinations.

BESIDES theſe abominable idolatries, or rather in conſequence of them, they gave themſelves up to all kinds of divinations and witcheries practiſed among the *Heathen*, tho' as expreſly and diſtinctly forbid by the law of *Moſes* as the former. Theſe were of various kinds. *Moſes* expreſſes them in the terms following [b], *There ſhall not be found among you any one that maketh his ſon or his daughter to paſs through the fire, or that uſeth divination, or an obſerver of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a conſulter with familiar ſpirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer* (P). To theſe the

[a] 1 King. iii. 2, & ſeq, xii. 28, & ſeq. xiv. 23, 24, & alib. paſſ. [a] Comp. 1 King. xi. 1 & ſeq. & 2 King. xxiii 4. & ſeq. [b] Deut. xviii. 10, 11.

(P) We need not doubt but there might be many more of the like nature. But the moſt inhuman of all was that of paſſing their children thro' the fire. This rite ſeems to have been peculiar to *Molech*, who is therefore alſo called ענמלך, *Anamelech*, from ענה *Anah*, *to anſwer*, becauſe he gave anſwers to thoſe who conſulted him by this rite, either by his prieſts, or by dreams (62). We ſhall not attempt to deſcribe thoſe various kinds of divination, either from the text, or from commentators, but only obſerve in general, that the chief of them were performed, firſt, by conſulting the ſtars, clouds, ſigns, tokens, and the like. This ſeems the meaning of the word מנחש *Mena-*

(62) *Vide* Maim. & Abarban. *in Leg.* 170.

cheſh,

the prophets have added ſome few others, ſuch as conſulting by *Teraphims*, and by the flight of arrows, by the liver of beaſts [c], by ſtocks, and ſtaves [d], and ſuch like; ſeveral of which were even forbid under pain of death. Bút ſuch was their invincible itch of prying into futurity, that they left

[c] Exek. xxi. 21. [d] Hoſ. iv. 12.

cheſh here, which is nevertheleſs ſometimes uſed in a good ſenſe. Thus *Laban* ſays to *Jacob*, נחשתי, *Nachaſhti, I have obſerved or experienced*, that God has bleſſed me for thy ſake (63); *Joſeph* makes uſe of the ſame verb, ſpeaking of his divining cup (64); but we much doubt, whether this is capable of ſo favourable a ſenſe. However, as the word נחש ſignifies properly *a ſerpent*; *Bochart* has alſo given us an account of ſeveral divinations that were performed by means of thoſe creatures †. 2. Another way was by familiar ſpirits, which the *Hebrew* calls אובות, *Oboth*, ſuch as the witch of *Endor* is ſaid to have had, 3. דורש אל המתים, *interrogating the dead*, which the *Septuagint* render ἐπερώτων τοὺς νεκρούς. This is what the ſame witch did for *Saul*, from which one would be apt to conclude theſe two to be much the ſame. 4. The מכשף *Mekaſheph*, may be properly enough rendered by *Leger-de-main*, *one who deceives the ſight, and impoſes upon the beholders*; ſuch are reaſonably ſuppoſed thoſe whom *Pharaoh* ſet againſt *Moſes* (65), who are there called מכשפים, *Makſhaphim*, and are ſaid to have imitated ſome of his wonders בלהטיהם, *Belahatteihem*, which word ſeems derived from להט, which ſignifies *a flame*, or *the glittering of a ſpear, or lance*, becauſe it dazzles the ſight. The *Septuagint* however have tranſlated it Φάρμακοις, *Apothecaries*, from whence the *Latin*, *Veneſica*, *Poiſoner*. 5. The חובר *Chover* may alſo be properly rendered *a Mutterer*, from חבר, *to gather*, *couple*, or *aſſociate*, becauſe he ſpeaks with his lips joined (66), and is therefore rendered רטין by *Onkelos*. *Bodinus* doth indeed think it rather becauſe ſuch a one aſſociates himſelf with evil ſpirits by compact (67), and he tells us accordingly in another place, that an infant, by pronouncing a certain verſe out of the *Pſalms*, ſhall prevent a woman's churning her butter, and, by repeating the ſame verſe backward, ſhall cauſe it to come immediately (68). The learned *Maimon* (69) tells us of a great many other wonderful pranks that are done by theſe חברים, *Mutterers*, of whom however the pſalmiſt ſays, that they cannot charm the deaf adder, though never ſo ſkilled in their art (70). The other kinds of præſtigiators, being ſtill more obſcure and inconſiderable, we purpoſedly omit.

(63) Gen. xxx. 27. (64) *Ibid.* xliv. 5, 15. † *Hieroxoic. lib.* i. *c.* 3. *pt.* 1. (65) Exod, vii. 11. & *alib. paſſ.* (66) Beker. *Monde enchanté.* (67) *Dæmon. Magic. lib.* i. *c.* 6. (68) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 1. (69) עב רה נרה, *c.* xi. § 10, 11. (70) Pſ. lviii. 5.

none of them untryed, at leaſt the prophets do generally upbraid them with reſorting to thoſe who practiſed them.

Games. GAMES may, for ought appears, be ſaid to have been the only cuſtom, in which they did not imitate their neighbours, at leaſt, which they did not introduce into their common-wealth. They had not ſo much as a name for them, but what doth properly ſignify to laugh [e], play [f], toy [g], and ſuch like innocent amuſements. Even *Solomon* himſelf, who had imitated, or rather out-done, the grandeur of other kingdoms, and had indulged himſelf in all other vanities, or what he calls the delights of the ſons of men [h], ſome of which were near of kin to theſe, as his ſingers and muſicians of both ſexes; doth yet make no mention of any kind of games, either of hazard, or of the theatre; the ſcriptures do no where ſpeak of them (Q). It ſeems rather, that their ſolemn feſtivals ſerved them inſtead of all ſuch kind of ſpectacles and diverſions; and indeed, if we conſider the frequency and magnificence of them, eſpecially after the building of the temple, we ſhall not need to wonder at their preferring them to any others. Add to this, that all that we meet with in the writings of the antient fathers, ſuch as *Tertullian* [i], and St. *Cyprian* both in his ſecond epiſtle to *Donatus*, and in his book *De Spectaculis*, if that piece be really his, which is ſomewhat

[e] Vide Gen. xviii. 19, & alib. paſſ. [f] Exod. xxxii. 6. Judg. xvi. 25, & alib. [g] Gen. xxvi. 8. [h] Eccleſiaſt. ii. 8. [i] Lib. de Spectac. & apolog. c. 38.

(Q) If we may believe the *Talmudiſts* and other *Jewiſh* commentators, all kinds of games, ſpectacles, &c. were not only forbid, but abhorred, by all good *Iſraelites*, by reaſon of the miſchiefs which had befallen thoſe who had ventured to be preſent at thoſe of their neighbouring nations. The *Talmud* uttterly condemns being preſent at any theatrical repreſentations (71); they give ſeveral reaſons which we ſhall omit, becauſe they are not over modeſt; and *R. Simeon Ben-paki* is there affirmed to have rendered the firſt words of the firſt pſalm, *Bleſſed is the man who hath not ſet his foot in a theatre*, &c. The comment on the book of *Ruth* introduces old *Naomi*, diſſuading her daughter-in-law from returning into the land of *Iſrael*, becauſe it was not the cuſtom of the daughters of it to go to the theatres and other ſpectacles of the *Gentiles* (72); and the large comment on the *Lamentations* introduces the *Jewiſh* church expoſtulating with God, that it had never entered into any ſuch profane places (73).

(71) *Tract.* עבודה זרה, *fol.* 18. (72) Middr. *in* Ruth. *c.* 1. (73) איכה רבה, *fol.* 5. *col.* 4.

doubtful

doubtful, by reaſon of the difference of ſtyle; all agree in this, that the *Iſraelites* never admitted any ſuch games among them. It even appears from Mr. *Selden*, that games of hazard, ſuch as dice-tables and the like, were looked upon as a kind of theft, no gain being thought lawful, that reſulted from a contract which depended upon chance. The ſame they likewiſe affirmed of ſuch who made a gain of expoſing beaſts or fowls to fight one with another [k].

Diverſions.

As to their diverſions, they ſeem to have conſiſted chiefly in eating, drinking, dancing, and muſic. At leaſt they are thoſe which good old *Barzillai* ſeems to bewail his incapacity for [l], and for the exceſs of which they were often blamed by the prophets [m]. The ſcriptures do often expreſs the ſimplicity of their happy lives, by ſitting, and eating, and drinking, every one under his vine, and under his fig-tree. But even theſe diverſions could not be very frequent, unleſs it were upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions as we have mentioned before, or at their ſheep-ſhearing, harveſt, and vintage; becauſe they would elſe have had but little time to have minded their country affairs. Whether they uſed hunting, fowling, fiſhing, and ſuch like, by way of diverſion, or rather to furniſh their tables now and then with an uncommon diſh, and to preſerve their fields, orchards, and vineyards, from being ſpoiled by thoſe creatures, we will not pretend to ſay, but we find frequent mention made of nets, gins, traps, fowlers, hunters, and ſuch like.

Diet.

THEIR diet, except on feſtivals ſeems to have been very plain. *Boaz*, a mighty man, complimented *Ruth* with *drinking of the ſame water, eating of the ſame bread, and dipping her marſel in the vinegar with him* [n]. Even the preſent of victuals which were brought to *David* and his men, whilſt he was in a kind of exile, were chiefly ſeveral kinds of pulſe, ſome parched corn, bread, and flour, ſome dried raiſins and figs, honey, butter, cheeſe, oil, and a few fatted beaſts [o]. Their bread was made either of barley or wheat, baked into thin cakes, ſome in ovens, ſome upon the hearth, and others in a frying-pan, ſome with, and ſome without, oil; they often uſed parched corn inſtead of bread. Honey was commended for its deliciouſneſs [p], and the fleece of the flocks and the milk of the goats were thought by the wiſe man ſufficient for food and raiment, both for the maſter and his family [q].

[k] Jus. Nat. & gent. lib. vi. c. 11. [l] 2 Sam. xix. 35. [m] Iſai. v. 11, 12. Amos vi. 5, & ſeq. [n] Ruth ii. 9, 14. [o] 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. xvii. 28, 29. & alib. [p] Vide Pſ. xix. 10, & alib. paſſ. [q] Prov. xxvii. 26, 27.

Titles. HIGH titles were unknown amongſt them, unleſs thoſe which implied ſome office, ſuch as general, treaſurer, recorder and the like. They valued themſelves more upon their genealogies, which is the reaſon why one man's name had five or ſix of his anceſtors, and ſometimes more, tacked to it. Some regard was likewiſe had to the diſtinction of tribes or families; as for inſtance, to thoſe of the prieſts and *Levites*, upon a religious account, to that of *Judah*, by reaſon of the ſceptre being promiſed to it, and to that of *Ephraim*, out of reſpect to *Joſeph*'s memory. The ſame reſpect was likewiſe paid in every tribe to thoſe who were the heads or fathers of it, and to all the elder branches in general. Next to theſe, old men, of what tribe or branch ſoever, were had in great veneration. The name of *oldman*, or *elder*, as our verſion renders it, ſeems all along to imply ſomething of dignity in the *Moſaic* writings, and their experience and gravity ſeems to have intitled them to be the proper perſons to take cogniſance, and to judge of all important matters, in the places where they dwelt, as well as to the reſpect of the younger ſort upon that account. But this reſpect did not conſiſt in giving them, or indeed to any man, how great ſoever, the king excepted, any pompous title; but in a ſubmiſſive approach and behaviour, and in a reſpectful phraſe peculiar to the *Hebrew*; in which, though the ſecond perſon was always uſed even to a prince, yet the ſpeaker always expreſſed himſelf in the third, with the addition of *ſervant* or *handmaid*: *let thy ſervant ſpeak a word*, inſtead of, *let me ſpeak----behold thy ſervant or handmaid, for here am I.* The women, whether becauſe they were more baſhful and timerous, or perhaps greater flatterers, were ſtill more remarkable for the modeſt turn of their expreſſions, and the humbleneſs of their behaviour **.

THEIR laborious and frugal lives, and the healthfulneſs of the country, were effectual means to prevent a vaſt number of thoſe diſeaſes, which have been ſince uſhered into the world by luxury and ſloth. It is for this reaſon, that we read of ſo few, if any, diſeaſes among them, much leſs of phyſicians, except ſuch as are now known by the name of ſurgeons, whom the antient *Grecks*, as well as the *Hebrews*, called *phyſicians* or *healers*. Thus the *Moſaic* law condemned the man who wounded another to pay, amongſt other things, the ſalary of the phyſician. Such were thoſe whom king *Aſa* is blamed for his too great confidence in, when he laboured with a diſtemper

** Vide Ruth ii. 13. 1. Sam. i. 15, 16. xxv. 23, & ſeq. & alib.

in his feet, which the generality of interpreters take to have been a kind of gout; and whoſe skill extended no farther than outward applications; for we read nothing in the ſacred books of purges, ſweats, vomits, diet-drinks, and other ſuch evacuating medicines, though often of plaiſters, ointments, bandages, and ſuch like. This ſeems indeed the reaſon of their living ſo long, as well as of their being ſo healthy and fruitful, even to the end of their lives.

THEIR mourning was either for the death of their near relations, or for any misfortunes, either public or private; and was expreſſed in both caſes much after the ſame manner; not with ſuch formalities as are uſed among us, which hardly reach beyond the outſide; but by ſuch as expreſſed all the tokens of an inward grief, or at leaſt would be apt to cauſe a real one in thoſe, who were obliged to go through ſuch a ſeries of mournful ceremonies. The firſt ſallies of it were followed by rending their cloaths, uncovering their heads, ſmiting their breaſts, tearing their hair and beards, putting aſhes and dirt upon their heads, inſtead of perfumes (which were quite laid aſide all the time of mourning), going barefoot, putting on ſackcloth next the skin, lying upon the bare ground, and the like[r]. The neighbouring nations had ſtill more violent ways of expreſſing their grief, by pricking, cutting, and ſcarifying themſelves; but theſe were expreſly forbid by the law of *Moſes*[s]. As ſoon as theſe firſt fits of grief were ended, they changed their cloaths for others that were ſtreighter, coarſer, dirtier, and more ragged. They covered their faces with their upper garment to hide their tears; they faſted till ſunet, and then contented themſelves with the plaineſt diet; they ſkept a profound ſilence, which they never broke, but to utter ſome groans or complaints, or at moſt ſome doleful lamentation[t]. Some did even chooſe to lie in the aſhes, or on a dunghill, and to avoid the ſight of any light. This mourning laſted longer or ſhorter, according to the occaſion; and when it happened for the death of a conſiderable perſon, even a whole month, as was done for *Moſes* and *Aaron*[u]; but when it was for an ordinary perſon, or near relation, it laſted but about a week (R). In public mournings, the people were wont to *Mourning.*

get

[r] 2 Sam. i. 11, 12. xii. 16. xiii. 31, & ſeq. Ezek. xxiv. 16, 17. [s] Levit. xix. 28. Deut. xiv. 1. Vide FAG. in loc. [t] 2 Sam. i. 17, & ſeq. [u] Num. xx. ult. Deut. xxxiv. 8.

(R) The *Talmudiſts*, however, have abated much of theſe ſeverities, as being too often attended with great inconveniencies (74);

(74) *Tract.* בבא בתרה, Maim. *Tract.* אבל, *c.* 4.

ſer

get up to the tops of their houſes, there to give the greater vent to their grief; at leaſt it ſeems probable, that there was ſome ſuch cuſtom by what the prophet ſays, ſpeaking to *Jeruſalem, what aileth thee now, that thou art gone up wholly to the houſe-tops*, and ſo on [w]: and ſpeaking elſewhere of the *Moabites*, he ſays [x], *on the tops of their houſes, and in their ſtreets, every one ſhall howl, weeping abundantly.*

Funerals. THEIR funeral ceremonies were no leſs mournful. As ſoon as a perſon was dead, all the near relations came to the houſe in their mourning habit, and ſat down upon the ground, with a mournful ſilence, whilſt another part of the houſe echoed with the voices of mourners, and the ſounds of inſtruments ſuitable to the occaſion, and hired for the purpoſe [y] (S). Theſe laſted till the funeral was over, when the neareſt relations re-

[w] Iſai. xxii. 1. [x] Ibid. xv. 3. [y] Jerem. ix. 17.

for which reaſon they allow the mourners their full ſwing of crying and all other expreſſions of the deepeſt ſorrow; but expect, that it ſhould abate every day after, eſpecially if it is to laſt a whole month, which *Joſephus* thinks, is as long as a wiſe man would deſire to mourn for the loſs of the neareſt relation, or of the deareſt friend (75).

And here we cannot but take notice of an obſervation of a celebrated author, that the *Iſraelites*, and other antient nations, were more plain and undiſguiſed than we. Their joy, ſays he, was accompanied with ſongs and dances, and their grief with loud complaints: their fear expreſſed itſelf with cries, and their anger with ill language (76). The remark in fact is certainly juſt, and, with reſpect to the *Iſraelites*, very charitable; and an excellent pattern for thoſe of his church to copy after.

(S) As to the muſical inſtruments, we have no inſtance of their being uſed upon theſe occaſions in the old teſtament; only we find it practiſed in our Saviour's time (77); and the *Talmudiſts* aſſure us, that it was not only an antient cuſtom, but that it was even obligatory, and that the pooreſt huſband could have no leſs than two of them for his wife (78). Theſe inſtruments, according to them, were a kind of mournful flute; hence that proverb of theirs, *flutes ſerve either for a bride or for the dead* (79). As for the hired ſingers, their office was to ſing ſome mournful ditty, proper to fill the company with the deepeſt ſorrow. One of them is elegantly compriſed in few words by one of their rabbies, *Mourn for the mourners, and not for the dead, for he is at reſt, and we in tears* (80).

(75) *Ant. lib. iv. c.* 8. (76) *Fleury Mœurs des Iſraelit. c.* 18. (77) *Matt. ix.* 23. (78) *Miſhn. Tr.* כתובות, *c.* 4. *Gemar. Babyl. in eund. titul.* (79) *Tract.* בבא מציעא, *c.* 6. (80) *Ear. Rabbin. ap.* Hott. *in* Goodw. *lib. vi. c.* 5. *note* 12.

ſumed

ſumed their melancholy poſture, and continued in it all the time of the mourning, eating, ſitting, and lying upon the ground, and never ſpeaking to any, unleſs ſpoken to. Their very food was unclean and defiled by thoſe that eat of it[z]. They neither made their beds, waſhed themſelves, or pared their nails. In a word, they abſtained from every thing that could yield them any delight. They made indeed a kind of banquet for the reſt of the mourners, called by the prophets, *the bread of men*, and *wine*, or *cup of conſolation*[a]; but even then their tables were only covered with wooden, or common earthen platters and trenchers; and for the ſame reaſon they were not allowed to drink above ten glaſſes of wine at it, namely, three before, three at meat, and four after it, leſt any ſhould get drunk, and betray any token of mirth[b].

IN the mean time, there were proper perſons appointed to make ready the corpſe for the burial. It was looked upon as a duty incumbent on the neareſt relation preſent to cloſe the eyes of the deceaſed. This cuſtom is taken from God's promiſe to *Jacob*, that his ſon *Joſeph* ſhould perform that office to him[c]. If the perſon was of a conſiderable rank, they embalmed him, if otherwiſe, they contented themſelves with waſhing him (T). Sometimes they added a mixture of ſweet drugs and ſpices; in which they either wrapped the body, or which they burnt about it. This laſt is what we find was done at the funeral of *Aſa*, king of *Judah*, whoſe corpſe the text ſays, was laid upon a ſtately bed, which he had cauſed to be filled with coſtly perfumes made with great art, and with

[z] Vide Hoſea ix. 4. [a] Ezek. xxiv. 17. Jerem. xvi. 7. [b] In Tract. Abel. c. 4. [c] Gen. xlvi. 4.

(T) This ceremony of waſhing, was at leaſt practiſed in our Saviour's time (81); but how long before, is not eaſy to gueſs. The *Jews* indeed think it both antient and neceſſary, and add, that it was no ſooner performed, but they immediately ſtopped the main emunctories of the body, that no defilement might iſſue forth (82). As to what is added above, about wrapping the body in ſpices, it is inferred from what is ſaid of *Joſeph* that — ויחנטוהו, *Vajicanthubu* (83), the verb חנט, ſignifying according to the *Talmudiſts*, *to anoint with a mixture made up of ſpices and other ſweet drugs*. This we find was done to our Saviour (84), and *Maimon* mentions it as a conſtant practice uſed among the *Jews* (85).

(81) *Act. ix.* 37. (82) Maim. *in Tract.* אבל, *c.* 4. (83) *Gen. l. ver. ult.* (84) *John xix.* 40. (85) *Ubi ſup.*

which they made a very great burning for him [d] (V). Neither was this ceremony peculiar to that prince, but common to the kings of *Judah*, and as such promised by the prophet to *Zedekiah* [e], and refused unto *Jehoram* [f]. How they dressed the corpse, or how they conveyed it to the grave, we dare not affirm, the law having ordained nothing concerning these, or any other circumstances relating to funerals; it is probable that custom and the circumstances of persons made them more or less sumptuous (W). The accompanying of the corpse to the burying place was rather an office of civility than obligation, and yet not only relations, neighbours, and acquaintance assisted at it, but even those who met the procession thought it incumbent upon them to join with the company; only the priests were not to be present at it, unless it were a very near relation, as we have seen elsewhere. The funeral of *Abner*, one of *David*'s generals [g], doth give us an idea of the remainder of the ceremony. The king's servants,

[d] 2 Chron. xvi. ult. [e] Jerem. xxxiv. 5. [f] 2 Chron. xxi. 19. [g] 2 Sam. iii. 31, & seq.

(V) From these places, and another still more obscure in *Amos*, some have taken up a notion, that burning of the dead had been adopted by the *Jews* (86). But neither the texts above quoted, nor any instance we can meet with in their history doth countenance such an opinion, which all the *Jewish* doctors do disown; affirming, that nothing was burned at those funeral obsequies, but those sweet perfumes abovementioned. We may add, that *Josiah*'s burning the bones of the priests of *Baalim* upon their idolatrous altars (87) implies, at least, a kind of abhorrence against such a practice, unless when it was done by way of punishment. Only *R. Salomon* adds, that they burned over those royal bodies טחן וכלי חשמישן, their beds, and other *supellectilia veneris, sive quicquid veneri inservierat* (88).

(W) The gospel doth indeed give us some account of the manner of burying at that time, both by what we read concerning that of *Lazarus*, of the widow's son at *Nain*, and also by the ceremonies which were performed at that of our Saviour; but we cannot thence infer, that they are the same that were used before the captivity. *Maimon* tells us, that the richest persons, even princes, were allowed but one *Zux*, or *winding sheet*, lest it should cast a shame on the poorer sort, who could afford no more. Neither was it allowed to be made of rich, or embroidered stuffs, because such pride did more become infidels, than the people of God He adds, that they also covered the face of the dead, that it might not be discovered, when any died through poverty and want 89).

(86) *Ch. vi.* 10. (87) 2 *Chron. xxxiv* 5. (88) *Vide* Munst. *in Jerem. xxxiv. sub. note* a. (89) *Ubi sup.*

with

with *Joab* at their head, were commanded to march before the corpſe in deep mourning, with their cloaths rent, and girded with ſackcloth, whilſt himſelf followed the bier to *Hebron*, *Abner*'s burying place. As ſoon as they were come to it, the king himſelf made a funeral oration in his praiſe, which was accompanied with the mournful voices of all the company, whilſt they were depoſiting the body into the grave. It appears moreover, that the day could not be far ſpent when they buried that great general, becauſe, when, upon their return home, *David* was entreated by his ſervants to take ſome refreſhment, he anſwered with an oath, that he would neither eat nor drink, till the ſun was down [h] (X).

Sepulchres.

THEY had ſuch an extreme abhorrence againſt having their own, or their friends bodies expoſed after death, that they denied ſepulture to none, but ſuch as were guilty of ſelf-murder, and not even to theſe, but till after ſun-ſet. They had burying places for ſtrangers, and for ſuch who were put to death for capital crimes. The provident care of the patriarchs to make ſure of a ſepulchre for their poſterity, and ſeveral expreſs threatnings in the ſacred writings, made them eſteem it as a ſevere curſe from God, [i] to be deprived of burial, and a bleſſing to be interred among their anceſtors. For this reaſon, thoſe who had inherited a burying place were extremely careful of preſerving it to their poſterity; and thoſe who had not, were no leſs ſolicitous to provide one for themſelves and their families: and as the law had ordained nothing concerning them, ſo they thought it indifferent where they had them, whether in a garden, an orchard, a field, a mountain, or in a rock, ſo they could but ſecure the poſſeſſion of it. We do not read indeed of any epitaphs or monumental inſcriptions being uſed among them, yet we may reaſonably

[h] Ibid. ver. 35. [i] Vide Jerem. viii. 2. xxii. 19. Eccleſ. vi. 3, & alib.

(X) It appears from the examples of *Tobit* and of the *Maccabees*, that they uſed moreover to lay ſome kind of victuals over the ſepulchres of the dead, that the poor might receive the benefit of them, and pray for the ſoul of the deceaſed, for whom they uſed alſo to offer ſacrifices, that they might be abſolved from their ſins, and be at peace (90). But theſe, eſpecially the laſt, ſeem rather to have been works of ſupererogation, being no where commanded or countenanced by any thing we meet with in the canonical books, and in all likelihood, never practiſed till after the captivity.

(90) *Vide Tobit. iv.* 17. *vide & Eccleſ. xxx.* 18. 2 *Maccab. xii.* 43, *& ſeq.*

ſuppoſe, that every family, at leaſt, ſet ſome particular mark upon their burying place: they were even under an obligation to diſtinguiſh them from other places, by ſome peculiar mark; that people might not be defiled by going over them. But there was ſomething ſtill more particular to diſtinguiſh the graves of eminent perſons, as we may infer from the inſtance of the man of God, who had foretold the deſtruction of the altar of *Bethel*, and whoſe grave was known by ſome inſcription or mark above 300 years after, when *Joſiah* was fulfilling his prediction [k]. The ſepulchres of the kings of *Judah* were in that part of *Jeruſalem* where the temple ſtood [l]. *Ezekiel* ſeems to hint, that they were cut in the rock under it, when he ſays, that the Lord's holy hill ſhould be no more defiled by the carcaſes of their kings [m]. All his deſcendants are ſaid to have been buried in the ſame place, except *Manaſſeh*, who was buried in the garden of *Uzza*, adjoining to his own houſe [n]. Whether the ſepulchre of *David* was built, or only begun by him, and finiſhed by *Solomon*, or any of his ſucceſſors, is not certain: but it is ſtill to be ſeen at this day, without the walls of the preſent *Jeruſalem*, though ſome think it more likely, that it ſtood at firſt within the walls of the old. It is a moſt ſtately piece of work, and perhaps the only genuine monument of that antient city. We have given a deſcription of that ſurpriſing fabric in another ſection †, to which we have nothing to add on that head.

A late modern *Jewiſh* traveller [o] has added ſeveral other particulars relating to this royal tomb, but which we dare not inſert, nor give credit to. However, it was in this place, that *Joſephus* tells us [p], *Solomon* did lay up an immenſe treaſure, which was not diſcovered, or at leaſt broke in upon, till thirteen hundred years after, when the city being ſtrictly beſieged by *Antiochus*, *Hircan* the high-prieſt had recourſe to the tomb, and drew three thouſand talents out, and bought off his enemy with a good part of it. He adds, that *Herod* did likewiſe find a way into another hidden cell, out of which he got a prodigious treaſure, but that neither he nor any one elſe could ever diſcover the bones of *David*, his tomb being ſo artfully contrived, and ſo deep in the ground, as to elude the moſt curious ſearch. Something like this Mr. *Jay* has given us in his polyglot, out of an antient *Arabic* manuſcript, but whether either of theſe had the account from any authentic records, or from a bare tradition they do not tell us. The

[k] Comp. 1 King. xiii. 1, & ſeq. & 2 King. xxiii. 17. [l] 1 King. ii. 10. xi. 43, & alib. paſſ. [m] Ch. xliii. 7, 9. [n] 2 King. xxi. 18, 26. † See before, p. 139. [o] BENJ. TUDEL, & al. [p] Ant. lib. vii. c. 12.

burying

burying places of the kings of *Iſrael*, after *Jeroboam's* revolt, were in *Samaria*; but we cannot ſuppoſe them to have equalled thoſe of *Judah*, both becauſe they were inferior to them in riches, and becauſe the crown never ſtayed in one family above three or four generations. Thoſe of private families were in all likelihood more or leſs ſumptuous, according to their quality and opulence; they were however curious to have them, if poſſible, cut into the rock, which was no difficult matter in ſuch a rocky and mountainous country. They were to be, according to the rules laid down in the *Talmud* [q], which probably took them from the form of the antient ſepulchres that were built before the captivity, ſix cubits long, four in breadth, and ſeven in height. Round theſe there were likewiſe to be little nitches or cells for the repoſiting of the dead bodies, to the number of eight according to ſome, or thirteen according to others. The mouth of it was covered with a large ſtone, which they called *Gallal*, from the rolling it upon the cave. This ſtone, if there were no other ornaments over the grave, was to be often whited, that paſſengers might ſee it at a diſtance, and the ſame was done at leaſt to thoſe monuments which were erected for conſiderable perſons. How they beautified them in our Saviour's time, his comparing the hypocritical *Phariſees* to them [r] ſufficiently ſhews; and if thoſe that are ſtill extant under the names of the tombs of *Abraham*, *Rachel*, *Abſalom*, *Eliſha*, and others, be really theirs, which is much to be queſtioned, it muſt have required no ſmall pains and coſt to keep them ſo long in repair (Y).

FROM

[q] Tract. Bava Batra, c. vi. 2. Vide Gloſſ. BARTEN. ad Tract. Mohed. Katon. c. i. [r] Matt. xxiii. 27.

(Y) The *Jews* called theſe burying places *the houſes of the living*. The *Talmudiſts* pretend, that *Jeruſalem* had this peculiar privilege above other cities, that it had but two tombs, namely that of *David*, and that of the propheteſs *Huldah*, which they pretend had been built by the old prophets; and that when a corpſe was to be tranſported from one place to another, it was not lawful to go through the city, tho' it was in their way, leſt it ſhould be defiled by it (91). We find a ſtrange opinion among the *Jews*, how old it is we cannot affirm, that thoſe who die out of the land of *Canaan* ſhall be excluded the reſurrection, unleſs God be pleaſed to afford them a ſubterranean way, by which their ſouls, after a long tumbling, or volving about, may at length happily reach it. This

(91) *Vide* Baſnag. *R. H. lib. i. c. 7.*

notion

FROM theſe houſes of the dead, we gladly paſs to thoſe of the living; and here we obſerve in the firſt place, that they were plain, low, and flat, ſuitable to the climate, with rails round the tops, to keep people from falling. Their furniture was much after the ſame ſtyle; chimnies, ſaſhes, and caſements were needleſs, where they were forced to ſtudy coolneſs and freſhneſs, for the ſame reaſon tapeſtry was of no uſe but upon the floor, to ſit, eat, or ſleep upon; and if they uſed any bedcurtains, they were made of ſome fine gauz, to keep off gnats and other inſects, whence comes the name of *canopy*. Their beds ſeem to have been at ſome conſiderable height from the ground, from their common phraſe of climbing up to them †‡†. The prophet *Amos*, c. vi. 4. doth upbraid the effeminate with lying upon beds of *Ivory*, and upon their ſoft couches; and the harlot in the *Proverbs*, vii: 16. ſpeaks of the fine furniture and perfumes with which ſhe has decked her own; and no doubt, a great deal of luxury had been introduced by *Solomon*'s wives, and was imitated by the ſofter; but it is plain, that lying hard muſt have been more ſuitable to the heat of the country, as well as the ſimplicity of their forefathers, and upon both accounts preferred by the wiſer ſort. If we might gueſs of the reſt of their furniture by that which the *Shunammite* put into the prophet's chamber, we muſt ſuppoſe, that they did not value themſelves upon the

†‡† Pſ. cxxxii. 3. 2 King. i. 16.

notion is partly owing to that extreme ſolicitude, which the old patriarchs, eſpecially *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, ſhewed, to have their bodies buried there, and partly to an exceſſive fondneſs themſelves have for the land, not only upon account of its fancied holineſs and excellence above all others, but more particularly, becauſe they think, that it will prove the ſcene of the reſurrection. This laſt they infer from a miſtaken place in *Ezekiel* (92), which, if rightly underſtood, rather implies, that God would raiſe his people out of their graves, and bring them from the lands in which they died, into their own land, (that of *Canaan*); as one of their own rabbies has plainly ſhewn againſt them (93). However, this is one of the three reaſons which the others give for *Joſeph*'s exacting an oath of his brethren to carry his body into *Canaan*. The ſecond is, that he foreſaw that the duſt of *Egypt* would be turned into lice, which would have been a diſcredit to his aſhes; and the third, leſt the too great veneration of the *Egyptians* for his memory, ſhould inſenſibly have drawn them into the worſhip of his relics (94).

(92) *Ezek.* xxxvii. 11,12. (93) Kimchi *in loc.* (94) *Vide* R Sal. Jarc. *in Gen. l.* 25.

richneſs

richneſs or ſuperfluity of it. And we may here obſerve in general, that there is more frequent mention made in the ſacred books of veſſels of wood and earth, than of thoſe of more coſtly ſtuff.

FROM this prophet's chamber and furniture, we beg leave to make two remarks; the firſt is, that bed chambers were raiſed at ſome diſtance from the ground, becauſe they are called by a name that implies *an aſcent*, and might be as properly rendered *an upper room*. Perhaps the reaſon of their being thus raiſed was, to avoid the dampneſs of the earth, which may be reaſonably ſuppoſed greater and more dangerous, eſpecially to thoſe who did lie upon the ground within, than without doors. The other is, that tho' they did not turn ſo much of the night into day as we do, yet they made uſe of artificial light, which was that of an oil lamp, and this had more or fewer branches, according to the work that was done by it. Thus *Solomon*'s houſe-wife is repreſented in the *Proverbs*, riſing whilſt it is yet dark, and diſtributing her work among her ſervants; where there is alſo a beautiful deſcription of a well regulated family. As to the largeneſs of their houſes, and number of their apartments, we may ſuppoſe them to be anſwerable to the richneſs and numerouſneſs of the family. The women had their ſeparate apartments, both for privacy, in which they were like other eaſtern nations, and for legal infirmities, which ſecluded them from the reſt of the family for a time; during which none muſt make uſe of their beds, chairs, tables, or any other part of their furniture or utenſils. All the females of a houſe were obliged to be exceedingly careful in this particular, from which the pooreſt ſort were not exempted, tho' it could not fail of putting ſuch to great inconvenience. Upon this account, as well as ſome others, they were likewiſe forced to have places for bathing in every houſe. Their laborious life, the heat, and dryneſs of the country made waſhing likewiſe neceſſary, and as it is apt to dry the ſkin too much, they uſed to anoint themſelves, either with oil, or with ſome other ointments, more or leſs coſtly according to their circumſtances, but generally perfumed.

THE arts in which the *Iſraelites* did chiefly diſtinguiſh themſelves were thoſe of war, huſbandry, poetry, and muſic. The firſt of theſe was in a manner natural to them. We ſhall not venture to ſay how much they, eſpecially *Moſes* their leader, had learned of it in *Egypt*; but whoever obſerves the regular order of their encampments, intrenching, fighting, retiring, and ſuch like, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak *Their arts and trades. War.*

ſpeak in another place †, muſt allow him to have been as experienced a general as any of his time; and his people as well trained up in it as any of their neighbours. We need not to remind our reader here, in how ſhort a time, not above ſix years, they conquered the greateſt part of *Canaan*, in ſpight of all the natural and artificial ſtrength of that country, and the united oppoſition of its warlike inhabitants. Neither was it poſſible for them to forget it at any time afterwards, becauſe they were continually engaged in ſome war or other with their neighbours, from the days of *Joſhua* to the reign of *Solomon*; inſomuch, that it is recorded in one place as a kind of wonder, that the land had reſt forty years[r]. A late author [s] has moreover been at the pains to prove the antient *Jews* to have been a warlike nation, not only from the many inſtances of their proweſs mentioned in holy writ, but likewiſe from the great number of warlike terms which he has collected out of thoſe books, which manifeſtly ſhew them to have been very well verſed in the military art. We ſhall refer our readers to the author himſelf for thoſe curious remarks, and only obſerve here, that the writers from whom he took them were neither given to flattery, or partial fondneſs for their own nation, but related theſe facts with the candor and ſimplicity which became inſpired penmen. As to their generals, whether judges or princes, or officers who acted under them, their warlike deeds will be mentioned in their proper place, in the ſequel of this hiſtory; and as to the people, tho' their courage was not always proof, but wanted often to be ſupported by art, yet we may ſay, that their men were all trained up to war, at leaſt till *David*'s reign, for we do not read of any regular troops till that time. Till then, as ſoon as their rulers had reſolved upon a war, whether offenſive or defenſive, the ſummons were ſent to every tribe, upon which, all that were fit to bear arms were obliged to repair to the place of rendezvous, with their arms and proviſion for a month; and there a certain number was drawn out according to the preſent exigence, and the reſt ſent back to their own home, and as ſoon as they had atchieved what they went upon, they returned every one to his own home [u]. This did happen very often on the very day on which they ſet out; the country being ſmall, and their enemies at their elbow, it was a common thing for them to ſally out, engage the enemy, beat or be beaten, and be at home on the ſame, or at

† See before, p. 46. & ſeq. [r] Judg. v. ult. [s] FOLARD, Diſſert. ſur la Tactique des Hebreux. [u] 1 Sam. xi. paſſ. xiii. 2, & alib.

moſt

moſt on the next, night. It was eaſy for their army to be ſubſiſted, when their greateſt marches did not exceed two or three days journey: the whole people of *Iſrael* may therefore be looked upon as a body of militia trained up in war, and in time of peace inured to a laborious life, that of agriculture. Their generals, from *Joſhua* to *Saul*, were either appointed over them by God, as *Othniel*, *Gideon*, *Samſon* [w] and others, or choſen by the people, as *Jephthah* [x], or by treachery and cruelty, as *Abimelech* [y]. Theſe however, eſpecially the two laſt, were not univerſally obeyed, but by thoſe only who had choſen them, which occaſioned ſuch commotions amongſt them, that they found themſelves under a neceſſity of having a *king* to prevent all further diſputes, and to be ready upon all occaſions againſt their enemies.

THEIR arms were, like thoſe of other antient nations, either offenſive or defenſive; the former were ſwords, ſpears, javelins, bows and arrows, and ſlings. Their ſwords were ſhort, crooked, broad, and ſharp, which they girded upon their thigh [z]; we read alſo of two-edged ſwords [a]; as for their javelins, they ſeem rather to have been a kind of ſhort pikes, ſuch as that which *Saul* threw at *David* [b]. They were likewiſe very expert at ſlinging of ſtones, witneſs *David*'s killing of *Goliath*, and the inhabitants of *Gibeath*, who are recorded to have hit within a hair's breadth [c]. The expreſſion often uſed, *gird every man his ſword*, and even by *David* in his fugitive ſtate [d], when he was expoſed to continual dangers, ſhews the cuſtom of wearing ſwords, at any time but that of action, not to have been known, even to the *Jewiſh* warriors. *Saul* is the only perſon who is obſerved to have had his javelin or ſpear always about him [e], and this perhaps not till his ſuſpicion and rage againſt *David* made him think himſelf unſafe without it. Their defenſive arms were, the helmet, ſhield, breaſt-plate, coat of mail, and target: ſome wore even greaves, to ſave their legs. We find a deſcription of a complete armour in that of *Goliath* [f]; but it is probable, that all theſe were more common among their neighbours than among the *Iſraelites*, at leaſt before *David*'s reign; for we find, that in *Deborah*'s time there were found neither ſhield nor ſpear among the forty thouſand that fought againſt *Siſera* [g]; and that when *David* came to be dreſſed *Arms.*

[w] Judg. iii, vi, & xv, paſſ. [x] Ibid. xi. 6, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. ix, paſſ. [z] Vide Exod. xxxii. 27. Pſ. xlv. 3. Jud. iii. 16. [a] Pſ. cxlix. 6. [b] 1 Sam. xviii. 11. [c] Judg. xx. 16. [d] 1 Sam. xxv. 13. [e] Ibid. xix. 9. xxvi. 7. [f] 1 Sam. xvii. 5, & ſeq. [g] Judg. v. 8.

cap-a-pee in *Saul*'s armour, he was so little used to that kind of incumbrance, that he could not stir in it, and was forced to pull it off [h]. This might probably be owing to the policy of their neighbours, by whom they were often conquered, and not only stripped of all their old weapons, but likewise hindered from making new ones; insomuch, that the text tells us, that on the day of battle there was neither sword nor spear found among *Saul*'s army, except those which himself and his son *Jonathan* had [i]. This indeed is very surprising, considering that the preceding chapter mentions one signal victory, which that new monarch had got over the *Ammonites*, in which they might have furnished themselves with the arms of the slain, and of those that ran away; to say nothing of the impossibility of their cutting that army in pieces from morning till noon, unless they had had a considerable quantity of their own: so that unless we suppose, that there is an accidental transposition of the chapters and facts, or that the words must not be understood to mean more, than that there was a greater scarcity of them than the army would require, we shall be at a loss to guess, how the *Philistines* could, in so short a time, strip them of all their arms. But however that be, it is certain, that they became more common, after they had recovered their liberty under *David* and *Solomon*; and in process of time *Uzziah* is said to have provided a sufficient quantity of all these kinds, to furnish his army with, tho' it consisted of upwards of three hundred thousand men [k]. These arms were commonly made of brass, sometimes also of iron, steel, and other materials [l] (Z).

Job

[h] 1 Sam. xvii. 38, & seq.
[i] Vide Ibid. xiii. 19, & seq.
[k] 2 Chron. xxvi. 13, 14.
[l] Vide CALM. Dissert. sur la Milic. des Hebr.

(Z) Some interpreters, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, think that the coat of mail which *Saul* died in, was made of some kind of linen, so woven as to be impenetrable (95). They render the words, which the young *Amalekite* makes *Saul* to say, *I am entangled in this coat of linen* (96) instead of *anguish or terror is come upon me*, as ours and other versions have it. The truth is, the word שבץ, *Shebetz*, here in question, doth properly signify *a sling*, or *a kind of net-work*, such as we shewed the curtains of the court of the tabernacle to have been made of †, and the same word is used by the psalmist, when he speaks of the queen's vesture (97). Our

(95) *Rabb.* Levi, Munst. & *al. in* 2 *Sam. i.* 9. Calm. *sub voc. Arms.* Buxtorf., *sub voc.* שבץ. (96) 2 *Sam. ibid* † *See before p.* 283. (97) *Ps. xlv.* 10.

version

Job ſpeaks of weapons of iron and bows of braſs [m], and this laſt is likewiſe mentioned by the pſalmiſt [n], though our verſion tranſlates it bows of ſteel in both places, the original being capable of both meanings. We read likewiſe of ſhields of gold and of braſs, but theſe can only be ſuppoſed to have been plated over with it, and that they were underneath of ſome light ſort of wood, elſe they muſt have been rather a burden than a help to thoſe that wore them. From the prophet's expreſſion of anointing the ſhield [o], ſome authors have thought, that they had got the art of covering them with leather or raw hides [p], but thoſe that were covered with braſs might want oiling, as much to keep them bright, as thoſe of leather, if any ſuch there were, to preſerve them from cracking. Upon the whole, their fighting being rather a kind of ſkirmiſhing, than cloſe and regular engagements, we find, that they chiefly aimed at excelling in the uſe of thoſe weapons which hurt at a diſtance, ſuch as were the bow, the ſling, and the javelin.

THE heat, narrowneſs, and mountainouſneſs of their country rendered cavalry altogether needleſs and uſeleſs, for which reaſon they never incumbered themſelves with any, that being only neceſſary in cold and ſpacious countries, where marches are long, and the ways leſs difficult. *Abſalom* was the firſt we read of, that made uſe of them in his revolt againſt *David* [q], but his ill ſucceſs and loſs of the bat-

[m] Job. xx. 24. [n] Pſ. xviii. 34. [o] Iſai. xxi. 5. [p] CALM. & FOLARD, ubi ſup. [q] 2 Sam. xv. 1.

verſion renders it barely, *of wrought gold*; but might be more properly rendered *veſte ocellata, a garment full of eyelet-holes*: if there had therefore been any truth in what the *Amalekite* told *David*, the words אחזני שבץ, *Achazani ſhebetz*, would be more properly rendered, *I am intangled*, but it might be ſtill as well underſtood by his enemies, as by his armour. However, there appears nothing like ſuch an impenetrable coat, ſince in fact *Saul*, having in vain deſired his armour-bearer to run him through with his ſword, did put an end to his life by falling upon his own (98).

We may obſerve here alſo, that the original has no leſs than four different names for what ours, and other verſions render a *ſhield*, namely מגן, *Magen*, צנה, *Zinnah*, סוחרה, *Socherah*, and כדון, *Kiddon*, but whether they all ſignified the ſame kind of defenſive weapon, and only diſtinguiſhed their various ſhapes and the materials they were made of, or otherwiſe, we dare not ſay.

(98) 1 *Sam. xxxi.* 4.

tle ſhew, that they were of no other ſervice to him, than to facilitate his flight [r]. *Solomon* did indeed ſend for a conſiderable number of horſes from *Egypt*, with a proportionable number of chariots [s]; but ſome think, that he did it rather for grandeur than uſe; and indeed the expence did ſo far outweigh their ſervice, that his ſucceſſors contented themſelves with hiring them of the *Egyptians*, upon any exigence; inſomuch, that *Rab-ſhakeh* made their want of them a pretence for taunting king *Hezekiah*, that if he ſhould lend him two thouſand horſes, none of his ſubjects were capable of riding them [t]. From all which it appears, that the *Iſraelites* did not much regard either chariots or horſes. And yet, as to the former, it is certain, they had not only ſeen them in *Egypt*, where they were in great plenty; but that the *Canaanites*, againſt whom they were at continual wars, brought an almoſt incredible quantity of them to the field. *Siſera* we read had nine hundred of them in his army [u]; but what is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that thoſe which the *Philiſtines* made uſe of againſt *Saul* are ſaid to have amounted to about thirty thouſand [w]: a prodigious number indeed, if there is not crept ſome error into the text; and ſuch as one would ſcarce think their ſcanty country would have been large enough to turn them in. They were indeed ſmall, being juſt fit to contain one or two men at moſt; ſome of them had four, and others but two wheels, and they were generally drawn by two horſes [x]. The text calls them chariots of iron, becauſe their poles, wheels, and axles, *&c.* were armed with ſharp ſcythes. We are told, that they hindered, at firſt, the tribe of *Judah* from conquering thoſe cities that were in the plains [y]. becauſe they do moſt execution there. Beſides the terror they were apt to inject in the enemy, by being placed along the front of the line of battle, they never failed of breaking the ranks, and ſometimes of putting the adverſary to a total rout; ſo that there was no way of preventing it, but by either ſtopping their career, by killing the horſes before their too near approach, or, if that failed, by opening a paſſage through them. It is likely, the *Iſraelites* were very well ſkilled in both, ſeeing they ſo often engaged them, and ſtill came off with victory, without oppoſing the ſame kind of deſtructive engines.

[r] Ibid. xviii. 6, & ſeq. [s] 1 King. x. 26, & ſeq. 2 Chron. i. 14. [t] 2 Kings xviii. 23. [u] Judg. iv. 3, 13. [w] 1 Sam. xiii. 5. [x] Vide STRWCH. in Veget. de Re Militar. [y] Judg. i. 19.

WE

WE hinted before, that they kept no regular forces before *Saul*'s time; and he is mentioned to have had but few ſtanding troops, ſcarce a handful in compariſon of that prodigious number which *David* did raiſe them up to, namely, to above two hundred and eighty thouſand (A), beſides the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, which were ſtrangers, and kept alſo in pay by him [z]. All theſe were not only continued on foot by his ſon *Solomon*, but an addition was made to thoſe forces, of a prodigious number of horſes and chariots; *inſomuch* that he is recorded to have had forty thouſand ſtalls for his chariot horſes, beſides twelve thouſand horſes for his cavalry, or life-guard [a], and fourteen hundred chariots of war [b]: It is certain alſo, that the hiſtory of his ſucceſſors doth frequently mention ſuch numerous armies as would ſcarce be credited in a prophane author. Such were thoſe of *Abijah*, king of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam*, the new king of *Iſrael*; the former of which conſiſted of four hundred thouſand men, and the latter of double that number, and of which five hundred thouſand were killed on the ſpot by the army of *Judah* [d]. Such was alſo that of his ſon *Aſa*, which conſiſted of almoſt ſix hundred thouſand, with which he diſcomfited that of *Zerah*, king of *Æthiopia*, which conſiſted of a million of men [e]. But the greateſt ſtanding army of any of the *Jewiſh* kings, that we read of, was that of *Jehoſhaphat*, which is ſaid to have amounted to eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand, all men of valour, and prepared for the war, beſides thoſe which he kept in his gariſons throughout the kingdom [f]. To theſe we may add, that *Uzziah* introduced in *Jeruſalem* a new invention of engines, which being ſet upon the walls and towers of it, did caſt arrows, and other offenſive weapons, and great ſtones to a conſiderable diſtance [g]. *Standing army.*

WE find nothing in the ſacred books that can give us an idea of their forming ſuch numerous bodies into order of battle; yet if we may make a judgment from ſome ſcripture phraſes, ſuch as *joining in battle*, *ſetting the battle in array*, *Art of war*

[z] 1 Chron. xviii. ver. ult. xxvii. 1, & ſeq. [a] 1 King. iv. 26. x. 26. [b] Ibid. x. 26. [c] 2 Chron. xiii. 3. [d] Ibid. ver 17. [e] Ibid. xiv. 8, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. xvii. 14, & ſeq. [g] Ibid. xxvi. 15.

(A) The book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that he had 24,000, which came regularly upon duty every month throughout the year, under their reſpective officers (99), which being therefore multiplied by 12, amounts to 288,000.

(99) 1 *Chron. xxvii.* 1, *& ſeq.*

engaging

engaging army against army, and the like; or from their exact and regular division; 1. Into twelve main bodies, according to their tribes; 2. Each of these into thousands, or regiments; 3. Into hundreds, or companies; 4. Into tens, and even into threes, every one having a proper officer set over them; but above all, from their admirable method of marching and incamping, mentioned elsewhere †, we may venture to affirm, that they observed no less regularity in their disposition of the order of battle, in their onsets, fighting, evolutions, retiring, and other military motions. If we may believe the *Jewish* authors, they ranged their army into one single line of a considerable depth, sometimes between twenty and thirty deep. In the front of these, they placed their light-armed men, that is, their most expert archers, spearmen, and slingers, who began the onset with a warlike shout, and with sending thick showers of arrows and stones upon their enemies front, in order to inject terror and confusion, and to stop the rushing in of their chariots upon them, by wounding both the horse and the driver. This is indeed probable enough, seeing that method was common to all the *Asiatic* nations. We read, that *David* entertained a considerable number of these troops, who are said to have been ambidexter, exceeding fierce of aspect, and swift of foot [h]. But what they add seems more peculiar to their nation, namely, that they placed behind the ranks some of the stoutest subalterns, armed with scythes and axes, to cut in pieces those that offered to give ground. We are still to seek how they disposed of their cavalry, after it became in use among them: probably after the manner of the *Egyptians*, from whom they had it; that is in large squadrons of six or eight hundred horse, placed on the two wings [i]. One thing is certain, that, whether they had any of their own or not, they never dreaded it in an enemy; but endeavoured at once to open themselves a swift passage through it, as the surest way to gain the victory: and this is the reason why we find them so seldom discomfited, and so often victorious over their enemies, though superior to them in this and many other respects.

THE method of attacking the enemy in separate bodies was as antient, we find, as *Abraham*, who divided his little army of 318 domestics, and discomfited that of the four confederate kings [k]. It was afterwards followed by *Abimelech* against the *Shechemites* [l], and by *Saul* against the *Ammonites* at *Jabesh Gilead* [m], with good success. We shall pass by

† See before, p. 54, & seq.

[h] 1 Chron. xii. 1, & seq.

[i] Vide FOLARD, ubi sup.

[k] Gen. xiv. 13, & seq.

[l] Judg. ix. 34.

[m] 1 Sam. xi. 11.

some

ſome other warlike cuſtoms which they had in common with other nations, ſuch as the uſe of the trumpets in their marches and engagements, their uſual harangues before they entered into action, and ſome others, which have been hinted at already under ſome former heads.

Wars. THEIR wars were of two kinds, either ſuch as God had obliged them to, as thoſe againſt the *Amalekites*, and the ſeven nations of *Canaan*, or ſuch as they undertook by their chiefs and princes, upon any other occaſion, whether offenſive or defenſive. The *Moſaic* law had left theſe to their diſcretion; ſo that they were at liberty to engage in them upon any juſt grounds. We have already taken notice of their manner of entering upon an offenſive war, by offering certain articles of peace, the refuſal of which was interpreted as a declaration of war [n]. When it was reſolved upon for the recovery of any loſt territories, they generally made a demand of them, and when they were attacked by enemies, they likewiſe ſent to expoſtulate with them [*]. However, this was not always the caſe, and a war was ſometimes reſolved upon, without any viſible ground, and the chartel ſent in theſe few words, *Let us look one another in the face*, and returned in terms equivalent [o]. The challenge of the king of *Aſſyria* to that of *Judah* was ſtill more haughty; *Thy ſilver and thy gold, thy wives and children, and all thou haſt art mine* [p]. The text obſerves in both caſes, that theſe proud meſſages proved fatal to the ſenders. It was the conſtant cuſtom of the *Hebrew* kings to command their armies in perſon, if they were able; and the people were ſo uſed to it, that when *Ahab* was mortally wounded by the *Syrians*, ſome of his ſervants were forced to ſtay him up in his chariot, to prevent his army being routed by the news of his death; and as ſoon as it was diſcovered by the bloodineſs of his chariot, there went immediately a proclamation through his hoſt, to diſmiſs every man to his city and country; though *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, his confederate in that war, did likewiſe command there in perſon [q]. In the beginning of the *Jewiſh* monarchy their kings uſed to fight on foot, as the judges had done before them; at leaſt we do not read of any horſes or chariots uſed by them till a long time after; and it is very probable, that they took their riſe from thoſe al- *Alliances.* liances which the kings both of *Iſrael* and *Judah* were often forced to make with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and other nations, and which put them under a neceſſity of ap-

[n] Deut. xx. 10, & ſeq. See before, p. 17. note (P). [*] Judg. xi. 12. & ſeq. [o] 2 King. xiv. 8. [p] 1 King. xx. 2, & ſeq. [q] 1 King. xxii. 34, & ſeq.

pearing

Offices.

pearing at the head of their army, with a grandeur answerable to that of their allies. The officers of war under them were, 1. The head, or general of the army (B); 2. The princes, or generals of each tribe. 3. The commanders of thousands. 4. Of hundreds. 5. Of fifties. 6. Of tens. 7. Of threes. (C). 8. Their scribes, or muster-masters, who kept exact rolls of all that bore arms under their districts. 9. Lastly, Their *Soterim*, or inspectors, or, as others think, a kind of provosts or ministers to inflict punishments on all delinquents.

Agriculture.

THE *Mosaic* law was certainly the best calculated to make a people happy, by making every man live by his labour, without luxury or ambition, and at once free from the danger of being totally ruined, and from the temptation of becoming excessively rich by those two vices, or from too great desire after change and novelty. Every man cultivated his own vine, field, orchard, and could indifferently handle the plough and flail, or the sword and bow, as occasion required, but preferred still a quiet life under his vine and fig-tree. This is what their law-giver inforced, not only by the example of the old patriarchs, but much more by the blessings which were promised to their obedience; these were to be neither gold, silver, nor precious stones, stately houses, or sumptuous furniture, but the former and latter rain, regular seasons, plenty of corn, wine, and oil, increase of cattle, multitude of children, with a quiet peaceful enjoyment of them, and victory over their enemies; all which, joined to the natural fertility of their soil, proved such powerful encouragements to agriculture, that there is scarce any known people that gave itself more entirely and universally to it than the *Jews*. Accordingly, from the most opulent families of the tribe of *Judah*, to the most indigent of that of *Benjamin*, from the oldest to the youngest, we find them either plowing, or sowing, or reaping, at the threshing-floor, or feeding their numerous herds (D); at least till *Solomon*

(B) This officer was called שר צבא, *Sar tzaba*, or *prince of the host*, such *Abner* was under *Saul* (100), *Joab* under *David* (1), and *Benaiah* under *Solomon* (2).

(C) These are called שלישים, *Shalishim*, and mentioned after the decurions, from which it is concluded, that they were inferior to them; but what their office was, is not easy to guess.

(D) Thus we find *Gideon* threshing when he received his commission, and *Boaz* at his harvest when *Ruth* came thither to glean.

(100) 2 *Sam. ii.* 8. (1) *Ibid. xxiv.* 2. (2) 1 *King. ii.* 35.

Saul

Solomon introduced commerce and luxury, and with it a multitude of manufactures and trades from other nations (E).

THUS then every one was bound to cultivate that portion of land which the lot had aſſigned to his anceſtors at its firſt diſtribution, and to maintain himſelf and family out of the product of it. It was his patrimony which he could not change for another, or alienate without injury to his children and diſgrace to himſelf. The judges, and the very kings, did both practice it themſelves, and encourage it in others; all the difference there was between them and private men, was that they had more lands and more numerous herds. Thus *David*, tho' he heaped up immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, yet in the liſt of his riches, mention is made of his arable and paſture grounds, of his ſtore-houſes for corn, wine, and oil, of his plantations of fig, olive, and other fruit-trees, of his numerous herds of oxen, camels, ſheep, and aſſes [r]. His ſon *Solomon* not only multiplied them in proportion to the great conſumption which the vaſt number of his wives, concubines, and ſervants, required; but tells us, likewiſe, what

[r] 1 Chron. xxvii. 25, & ſeq.

Saul tho' anointed king, was at his plow when he received news of the diſtreſſed *Gileadites*, and *David* returned to feed his flocks after *Samuel* had anointed him king; and when he was come to the height of his grandeur, his ſons uſed to feaſt one another at their ſheep-ſhearing (3). We omit many more examples of the like nature, with which the ſacred hiſtory abounds.

(E) Whoever conſiders, how many curious manufactures, were employed in the fabricature of the tabernacle and all its ſumptuous utenſils, and that thoſe arts were rather ſubſervient to luxury than to the neceſſities of life, ſuch as were the caſting of metals, engraving and cutting of precious ſtones, weaving of tapeſtry, embroidery and many more, will be apt to conclude, that other more uſeful trades and manufactures were already in much greater perfection among the *Iſraelites*, and conſequently, that they could not chooſe but bring and cultivate them in the land of *Canaan*; but whether they, eſpecially their maſter artificers, had learned all thoſe fine arts in *Egypt*, or were miraculouſly endowed with them, as the text doth rather intimate, yet it doth not appear, that any of them were afterwards uſed among them till *Solomon*'s time; and even he was forced to ſend for his artificers from abroad; probably, becauſe the *Philiſtines* in *Saul*'s time had deprived them of their workmen in iron (4), without which few trades could be carried on.

(3) 2 *Sam.* xiii. 23, & *ſeq.* (4) 1 *Sam.* xiii. 29, & *ſeq.*

pains he took to outdo all that had gone before him, in the number and elegancy of them [r]; where it is to be obſerved, that his fine gardens and orchards were chiefly ſtored with, ſuch fruit trees, plants, and herbs, as were more for uſe than ſhew. How he commends the diligence of the huſbandman, and expoſes the ſtupidity of the ſlothful, every chapter almoſt of his proverbs is a witneſs; however he came afterwards to depart from his own maxims, which were built upon the moſt ſolid reaſon and trueſt policy.

FOR whoever conſiders the ſmall extent of *Canaan*, and the numerouſneſs of its inhabitants, will be rather apt to wonder how it could be able to maintain ſuch incredible multitudes, though cultivated with all the care and induſtry they were capable of (F), eſpecially conſidering that it was to reſt every ſeventh year; and yet it is plain, that it had more than ſufficed them, ſeeing they exported great quantities of corn, oil, honey, and other proviſions to the city of *Tyre*, both for the ſervice of the king [t], and for the merchants who came thither for it from other parts [u]. Beſides theſe, they had great quantities of rye, barley, and other grain, variety of herbs and roots, and eſpecially of fruits fit for food; ſuch were their olives, dates, figs, pomegranates, and many more. Their very vines, which were very numerous, and of whoſe extraordinary fertility the ſpies brought ſuch a noble ſpecimen [w], did afford them food as well as drink. For as wine was not drunk in ſuch plenty as it has been ſince, their dried grapes were not only in great plenty, but were juſtly

[r] Eccleſ. ii. 5. & ſeq. [t] 1 Kings v. 11. [u] Ezek. xxvii. 17. [w] Num. xiii. 23, & ſeq.

(F) The reader may eaſily form a judgment of their numerouſneſs, by the computation we made of thoſe that came out of *Egypt*, whom we ſhewed to have amounted to near three millions †; and by that which *David* cauſed to be made a little before his death, the ſum of which was thirteen hundred thouſand fighting men, which being above double the number of thoſe who came out of *Egypt*, we muſt conſequently allow, with the ſame proportion of young and old men, wives, ſervants, and ſlaves, to have been at leaſt ſix millions; a prodigious number ſeemingly to be all fed out of the product of ſo ſmall a country, tho' far enough from impoſſible if we conſider it, not as it is now, laid waſte and depopulate by the *Turk*, but as it was at that time, fertile, populous, cultivated and improved *.

† *See Vol. II. p.* 463. & *p.* 534. *note* (P) * *See before p.* 122.

eſteemed

eſteemed an excellent food. To all theſe we may add the multitude of cattle, which they not only bred themſelves, but which they had from other neighbouring countries. For we have ſeen before, that *Meſha* king of *Moab* payed a tribute to *Ahab* king of *Iſrael* of a hundred thouſand lambs, and as many rams with their wool [x]. *Jehoſhaphat* drew likewiſe a conſtant ſupply of ſmall cattle from the *Arabians* [y]; from which we may conclude, that all thoſe nations, that were tributary to the *Jews*, paid their tribute in ſuch commodities as their country abounded moſt with, whether for food or raiment. It muſt be likewiſe remembered, that the country had no woods, parks, or any waſte grounds. The antient *Canaanites* were already too populous and ſtreightened to leave any part of the land uncultivated. Their houſes were not more ſpacious than their families required, and their gardens and orchards did equally afford them nouriſhment with their fields and vineyards; ſo that tho' the *Jews* had doubtleſs loſt, in a great meaſure, their ſkill in agriculture, as well in *Egypt* (where they were otherwiſe employed, and where the lands were manured in a manner peculiar to itſelf) as during their abode in the wilderneſs; yet coming into a country ſo well and ſo thoroughly cultivated, neceſſity alone would have obliged them to imitate the diligence and induſtry of its old inhabitants (G).

AFTER

[x] 2 Kings, iii. 4. See Vol. II. p. 93. [y] 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

(G) There will be nothing ſurpriſing in all this, if we remember what has been obſerved concerning the populouſneſs of *Egypt*, eſpecially the upper one called *Thebais*, and of its metropolis, which could ſend out 10000 men and 200 chariots at each of its gates at one and the ſame time ‡; and of what *Tacitus* tells us of that province, that it furniſhed 700,000 fighting men (5), tho' the ſoldiery were here ſcarce a fourth part of its men, where there were ſo many trades and manufactures which excluded them by the laws from bearing arms; whereas, in *Judæa*, the ſoldiery made near one half of its male inhabitants. *Livy* tells us, that *Rome*, 188 years after its foundation, had 80,000 citizens fit to bear arms (6); and yet, as a judicious author obſerves (7), they could only ſubſiſt from the territories that were about it, which are now altogether barren and uncultivated, and extended at moſt but about half a degree, or 30 miles. We may add, that when it was at the beſt, it was not half ſo fertile as *Paleſtine*, whoſe extent was five degrees, that is ten times as much every way, as is plain by the geography we have given of it; ſo that even allowing them to be both equally fertile,

‡ *See Vol. I. p.* 386. *& p.* 437. *& alib.* (5) *Annal. lib.* 2
(6) *Lib. i. c.* 44. (7) Fleury *Mœurs des Iſraelit. c.* 7.

Trades and manufactures.

AFTER what has been obſerved here, and in a former note, we muſt not expect to find any trades or manufactures among them before *David* or *Solomon*'s time, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary; and even theſe were carried on in a different way from other great nations: they built their own houſes, their wives and ſervants ſpun, wove, and made their cloaths, baked their bread, dreſſed their meat, and, in a word, ſupplied the buſineſs of cloth-workers, taylors, ſhoemakers, cooks, bakers, confectioners, and many more. The plainneſs of their food, their cloathing and houſhold furniture, ſome few utenſils excepted, rendered thoſe trades unneceſſary, till a more luxurious way of living got footing among them. We have already ſpoken of all the other particulars except their cloathing, and this was plain and artleſs enough, both in its materials and make, to be done within doors. It muſt not, however, be expected here, that we ſhould give an exact deſcription of their dreſs, becauſe we have no paintings or ſtatues of them, as we have of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but from what we find in the ſacred books, it appears that they had a long looſe tunic and drawers made of linen, next to their body, and a looſe garment, ſomewhat like a cloak, of light woollen cloth, which they threw over their bodies when they went abroad (H). The beauty of

populous, and cultivated, the latter muſt produce 100 times as much proviſion as the former, and conſequently be able to maintain 100 times the number of people. Suppoſing then theſe *Roman* citizens to have made up one third part of the inhabitants, which is the moſt that can be ſuppoſed, the whole will amount to 240,000, which being multiplyed by 100, the ſum of thoſe of *Judæa* will be 24,000,000 ſouls, which is above three times as many as we need ſuppoſe to have been in *Iſrael*, from the largeſt account that the holy writ gives us of them. However, leſt this ſhould not ſatisfy every reader, unleſs it can be proved that the land was capable of maintaning ſuch a number, the author above quoted has taken the pains to compute what portion of land will maintain one man, and from the extent of the whole country, to make an eſtimate of the number of people that might conveniently ſubſiſt in it. We ſhall follow our author, or the ſubject, no farther: every reader that underſtands figures, may eaſily convince himſelf, by comparing the number of acres, which a country five degrees ſquare may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to contain, with the largeſt number of its inhabitants, that we find upon record at any time.

(H) The ſcripture at leaſt mentions only theſe two, the one under the name of כתונת *Ketoneth*, or *coat*, and the other under that of מעיל, *Mehil*, or *upper garment*. The former being next to the

of them conſiſted either in the fineneſs of the cloth, or the richneſs of the dye, ſuch as purple, ſcarlet, blue, and yellow; but the plaineſt and moſt commonly worn was the white, be-

the ſkin, is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made of linen, as the propereſt wear for hot countries, and for a people inured to labour. It was long and looſe, but when they went about any buſineſs, they tyed it about them, whence that expreſſion of girding oneſelf is ſynonymous to getting *oneſelf in readineſs*. The latter was only a large piece of cloth cut off the whole piece, without ſhaping or ſeam: as for the breeches, they were indeed ordered to be worn by the prieſts, but are probably enough ſuppoſed to have been worn by the reſt for decency ſake; tho' if we were allowed to gueſs at the reaſon of their wearing of fringes at the bottom of their garments, abſtracted from that given in the text, we ſhould be apt to think, that they were deſigned to keep the garment cloſe to the legs by their weight, to prevent the wind or any violent motion throwing them up. As to the coat of many colours ſpoken of immediately after, we have followed our own and the generality of interpreters, tho' it is much diſputed whether the original word פַּסִּים, *Phaſſim*, doth really ſignify any ſuch thing. Some think it was a robe with a long train; but tho' that might have fitted young princeſſes, yet it is ſcarce credible, that *Jacob* would have ſent his ſon *Joſeph* on ſuch a journey with ſuch a cumberſome garb. Others think the word to ſignify a wide kind of ſleeve, narrow towards the ſhoulder, and widening towards the wriſt, ſuch as the *Arabians* uſed to wear. There is no being certain which of theſe three verſions is right, only ours is confirmed by the *Targums*, the ſeptuagint and vulgate, which may eaſily outweigh all that is urged on the other ſide, were the ſubject of more moment than it is.

What we have advanced of the *Iſraelites* being able to ſupply their own wants without the help of artificers, during ſo many centuries, will not appear a matter of wonder to thoſe, who are acquainted with *Homer*'s writings, and remember, that he makes *Eumeus* make his own ſhoes, and build himſelf ſtately cots for his numerous herds (8), and *Ulyſſes* to build his own fine houſe and ſhip, whilſt his wife's loom ſupplied the houſe with hangings and carpets, and the family with cloaths (9). So that the *Hebrews* were not the only people who affected this ſimple way of living, and thought it an inſtance of great wiſdom to be able to ſupply their own wants without the help of other hands. Neither need we go to *Plato*'s commonwealth for parallels of this patriarchal life, ſince there is ſcarce a polite nation in antiquity which did not live up to it as much as the *Jews*; witneſs the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Phœnicians*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, *Sicilians*, &c. witneſs alſo *Homer*, *Mago*, *Cato*, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, and other authors who have either wrote upon, or in commendation of it.

(8) *Odyſſ. xiv. & xxiii.* (9) *Odyſſ. v.*

cauſe

cauſe it was the natural colour of the linen and wool, and[d] could be more eaſily waſhed; upon which account it is much[h] recommended by *Solomon* [z], it being highly neceſſary in hot countries to ſhift frequently. Accordingly we find it was uſual among them to make preſents of changes of raiment [a]; tho' probably ſome of them might be richer than others, both as to the ſtuff, the dye, and other ornaments; and theſe might be reſerved to be worn on their ſolemn feſtivals and other public occaſions. As to the youth of both ſexes, it is probable, they did wear their ſtuffs ſtriped or flowered with various colours, ſuch as was that of *Joſeph*, ſuch as we find was alſo that of *Tamar*, and of all *David*'s other unmarried daughters [b]. We do not read of any other ornaments to the mens dreſs, except that of the fringes, which were faſtened to a blue ribbon, and ſewed round the border of their garments; and even theſe were ordained only as a memorandum, that their happineſs depended upon their obedience [c]. Some covering they wore upon their head, but the faſhion is not to be gueſſed at; they wore likewiſe ſhoes abroad, and perhaps a kind of ſtockings, but how, and what they were made of, we are equally to ſeek; only their ſhoes, or rather ſandals, ſeem to have been a ſole, either of wood, ſkin, or ſome other material, tyed to the top of the foot, without any other covering; which made the waſhing of the feet ſo frequent among them. All theſe might be eaſily made without artificers.

THE dreſs of the women, eſpecially of the rich ones, was indeed more curious, becauſe they beſtowed more ornament upon it, chiefly of needle-work, which was ſtill within their own province. They wore jewels of gold and ſilver, but a great deal of that finery was brought at firſt from *Egypt*, and more might be eaſily added unto it, as they enlarged their conqueſts, without entertaining any artiſts to ſupply them with it, becauſe their faſhion did not alter as ours do. However, it is not improbable, that they had ſome of theſe, as well as ſeveral other rich ſtuffs and linen from *Tyre*, in exchange for their corn, balm, and other commodities; eſpecially after *Solomon*'s time, when pride and luxury grew to ſuch a height, that *Iſaiah* ſpent almoſt a whole chapter in enumerating the coſtly ornaments with which that ſex uſed to deck itſelf in his time [d]; but concerning which it were impoſſible to frame any tolerable idea, becauſe the terms there uſed are unknown to us. One thing may be obſerved from it, that they were very curious in adorning their heads, arms, and feet, and that they

[a] Eccle. ix. 8. [z] Gen. xlv. 22. [z] Kings v. 5. 23.
[b] 2 Sam. xiii. 18. [c] Num. xv. 37. [d] Ch. iii. 16, & ſeq.

wore

wore ſome kind of tinkling ornament about their legs, which gave a muſical cadence to their ſteps. *Judith*'s ſandals are particularly taken notice of to have raviſhed *Holofernes* [e], and the richneſs and elegancy of her other ornaments might give us a clear notion of a complete *Jewes*'s dreſs, were we ſure, that they had not by that time mixed ſome of the *Babyloniſh* faſhion with it. However, we have a more authentic deſcription of the female garb in the prophet *Ezekiel* [f]. where the *Jewiſh* nation is compared to a poor, naked, and helpleſs woman, whom God, out of pity, and huſbandlike kindneſs, cloathed and girded with ſilk and fine linen, attired her head with a crown, or rather mitre, ſuch as that of *Judith*, and put a jewel upon her forehead, a coſtly chain about her neck, bracelets upon her wriſts, ear-rings in her ears, and ſandals upon her feet. To all theſe we may add the vail, which is often mentioned in ſcripture, and was very neceſſary in thoſe countries, both to preſerve the complexion and the character of women, it being eſteemed highly immodeſt for them to appear without it; but whether they were made of ſome ſuch tranſparent ſtuffs as our gauzes, ſo as that they might ſee their way through them, and at the ſame time give ſome glimpſe both of their beauty and rich ornaments, or otherwiſe, we cannot determine.

It doth not appear, however, that they fell into this exceſs of finery 'till about the latter end of *David*'s life; 'till then a wonderful œconomy ſeems to have reigned in every family, under the wives at home, and the huſbands abroad. The laborious life of the men doth account for that valour, ſtrength, ſwiftneſs and ſurpriſing exploits, for which the ſcripture doth ſo highly extol them, eſpecially *David*'s worthies [g], and excellent troops [h]. But the immenſe treaſures which that monarch had heaped up, having inſpired him with a deſire of conſecrating ſome part of it to God, by building a ſumptuous temple to him, ſoon introduced a number of artificers (I), ſuch as carvers, maſons, carpenters, joiners, gold

[e] Judith xvi. 9. [f] Ch. xvi. 10, & ſeq. [g] 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. ad fin. [h] Ibid. xvii. 8. & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

(I) It is ſaid in two places, that *Solomon* ſent to king *Hiram* for ſome of his beſt artiſts in metals, ſtone, and wood, becauſe he had none ſo ſkilful among his own ſubjects (10), and preſently after, that he raiſed a levy of thirty thouſand men out of all *Iſrael* to carry on the work (11); from which we may reaſonably conclude, that

(10) 2 Chron. *ii.* 3, & *ſeq.* 1 Kings *v.* 6. (11) *ibid. ver.* 13, & *ſeq.*

the

gold and ſilver-ſmiths, founders, and all manner of workmen in metals, wood, and ſtone; and theſe brought on a number of others, without which they could not ſubſiſt. His ſon *Solomon* built himſelf ſome ſtately palaces, as well as the temple, and this probably gave his ſubjects ſuch a reliſh of his more elegant way of building, that the number of workmen multiplied ſtill more. The diviſion of the two kingdoms increaſed the miſchief. *Jeruſalem* and many other places muſt be fortified; chariots and engines of war, and a much greater quantity of arms of all ſorts became neceſſary, which required a ſuitable number of artificers; inſomuch, that we read in the *Chronicles* of a valley belonging to the tribe of *Judah*, called by the name of the valley of *Charaſhim*, or *artificers*, becauſe it was inhabited only by ſuch [i]. In a word, one may gueſs at the increaſe of them by the number which *Nebuchadnezzar* carried away captive out of the bare city of *Jeruſalem* [k], tho' it is plain at the ſame time, that the *Jews* did never neglect the cultivation of their lands for the ſake of theſe. On the contrary, it is only the product of this laſt, that is ſaid to have been exported [l], whereas that of their other manufactures ſeems to have been all conſumed within themſelves. *Solomon* himſelf, who opened ſo wide a door to commerce and luxury, was ſo far from thinking it beneath his care, that he not only cultivated it himſelf, as was hinted before, but did alſo earneſtly recommend it to his people, as the beſt means of growing rich, preſerving health, prolonging their days, and leading a quiet and happy life; inſomuch that there is ſcarce a chapter of his proverbs, wherein he doth not enforce it from one or other of theſe advantages. We may even affirm, that he made trade and navigation, though in all appearance his moſt favourite project, ſubſervient to the promotion of agriculture. But as thoſe did in a manner riſe and ſet with him, we ſhall ſuſpend all further account of them, till we come to ſpeak of his reign; the peacefulneſs of which may alſo, in all probability, be the reaſon, why we read of ſo few *Jewiſh*

[i] 1 Chron. iv. 14. [k] 2 Kings xxiv. 16. [l] Ezek. xxvii. 17.

the former were only deſigned by that politic prince to inſtruct the latter in that great variety of arts, which were neceſſary to execute his noble deſigns, as the moſt curious part was actually done upon the plain of *Jordan* (12).

(12) 2 Chron. iv. 17.

worthies, and brave generals in his days, in compariſon of thoſe, which his warlike father had during his whole life (K).

POETRY is perhaps the only art in which the *Hebrews*, at leaſt ſince *Moſes*'s time, have excelled all other nations, we had almoſt ſaid, that have been even ſince. It has indeed this great advantage above all others, that the authors of it, being divinely inſpired, ſeem to have conſecrated it wholly to the honour of God, and adapted it to the ſervice of the temple. No wonder then if not only their great law-giver, but their monarchs, judges, prieſts and prophets, men and women, have endeavoured to eternize their memories by ſome excel- *Poetry.*

(K) The valiant men of *Judah* are moſt beautifully deſcribed in the 87th *Pſalm*, under the figure of *Sion*, which is commonly uſed to ſignify that tribe* ; but it has happened in this, as in many other *Pſalms* and poetical pieces of the ſacred books, that not only the beauties and energy, but even the ſenſe, has been entirely loſt, and another ſubſtituted which ſcarce will bear that name. We ſhall therefore beg leave to ſubjoin a new and even more literal, or at leaſt idiomatical verſion of this *Pſalm*, that our readers may ſee a ſpecimen both of the beauty and elegance of it, and how far it has been wronged by all the verſions we have hitherto met with. The elegancy which they have overlooked here, is in the oppoſition between the pronoun זֶה *Zeh*, which is commonly uſed to expreſs an inconſiderable perſon ; and the word אִישׁ *Iſh*, which ſignifies a conſiderable one, in oppoſition to אָדָם, which is uſed to expreſs thoſe of inferior rank ; according to which the ſenſe will run thus :

She [*Zion*] or the tribe of *Judah* is founded upon the holy mountains.

The Lord has more love for her gates (or places of reſort) than for all the dwellings of *Jacob*.

Glorious things ſhall be ſpoken of thee, O city of God.

In mentioning, among my acquaintance, either *Rahab* (*Egypt*) or *Babylon*, or here *Philiſtia*, *Tyre*, and *Æthiopia*, (the phraſe is) *Zeh*, this inconſiderable perſon was born there, or it has given birth to ſuch a one.

But of *Sion* it is, or ſhall be ſaid, *Iſh ve iſh*, this or that great perſon owes his birth to it, ſeeing he who is the moſt high, is to eſtabliſh her ; and ſo on.

We ſhall not go about to juſtify this new verſion ; thoſe who are maſters of the *Hebrew* will eaſily ſee that it is not only more natural and agreeable to the original, but alſo freer from thoſe expletives which are forced in to make it ſpeak ſenſe ; and criticiſms of this nature would be needleſs to thoſe who are unacquainted with it. This *Pſalm* we take to be parallel with the 48th, which abounds with ſublime expreſſions in praiſe of *Sion*, but ſuch as can hardly be reached by any tranſlation.

* *Vide int. al.* Pſ. lxxvii. 68. & *ſeq.*

lent performance in this kind: witneſs the two inimitable ſongs of *Moſes* mentioned elſewhere, thoſe of *Deborah* and *Hannah*, the whole book of *Pſalms*, the *Canticles*, the thankſgiving of *Hezekiah*, the book of *Job*, a great part of the prophet *Iſaiah*, and the *Lamentations*; not to mention ſome other prophets, who are likewiſe ſuppoſed, by the loftineſs of their ſtile, to have writ at leaſt part of their prophecies in verſe; concerning which it is univerſally agreed, that nothing can be conceived more majeſtic or more ſurpriſingly ſublime; whether we conſider the variety of action, the greatneſs of the ſentiments, the richneſs of the figures and imagery, or the ſtrength and beauty of the expreſſions. To all theſe we may add, that a ſtrain of the moſt ſeraphic piety, and of the moſt excellent morality, runs through the whole; which conveys into the reader's mind the moſt important truths, the nobleſt precepts and inſtructions, that can poſſibly frame and fit it for all ſtages and conditions of life; whilſt the expreſſions and figures, ſtrong and lofty as they be, are no leſs adapted to the reach and underſtanding of the young and illiterate, than they are to raiſe the deepeſt attention and admiration in thoſe who are the ableſt maſters of it (L). And yet

(L) Such are theſe expreſſions of *Moſes*: *The heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God* (13). *I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as braſs. Ye ſhall be terrified at the ſound of a ſhaken leaf. You ſhall flee when none purſueth* (14). *One ſhall chaſe a thouſand, and two put ten thouſand to flight*, &c. Such are likewiſe theſe of Iſaiah: *To whom will ye liken the Lord, who meaſures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and the heavens with a ſpan; who weighs the mountains in the balance? All the nations of the earth are as a drop of water that ſticks to the bucket, and as the ſmall duſt that remains in the ſcales* (15). Or thoſe of the pſalmiſt: *The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped at the preſence of God. The mountains ſkipped like rams, and the vallies like young ſheep* (16). *Who ſtretcheth out the heavens like a curtain, telleth the number of the ſtars, and calleth them by their names* (17). *He bowed the heavens and came down; darkneſs was under his feet. He rode upon the wings of cherubims* (18). *He maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind* (19). We ſhall go no farther with inſtances which are innumerable, but obſerve here, that ſome of them have ſuch a complicated beauty, that the beſt part of it may be eaſily loſt to any but an attentive reader, who is likewiſe a good judge of

(13) *Deut x.* 14 (14) *Levit. xxvi. paſſ. Deut. xxxii.* 30. (15) *Iſai. xl.* 12, & *ſeq.* (16) *Pſ. lxviii.* 8. *cxiv.* 4. (17) *Pſ. civ.* 2. *cxlvii.* 4. (18) *Pſ. xviii* 9, & *ſeq.* (19) *Pſ. civ.* 3.

poetry,

yet it is certain, that, like all antient works of that kind, it frequently alludes to things, cuſtoms, and ſayings, to which we are utter ſtrangers at this diſtance of time, though they were then perfectly known; and that it abounds with words and idioms, whoſe true meaning we are left to gueſs at, for want of ſuch parallels as might determine it to us. From theſe, and the imperfection of modern tongues, one may eaſily gueſs how ſhort all tranſlations muſt come of the beauty and energy of the original; ſo that we may be really ſaid to gueſs at it, as much from the thickneſs of the medium through which we behold it, as from the amazing luſtre it is ſtill able to caſt through it. This is evident from the character which Mr. *Gildon*, after many others, has given of it: that *there is nothing ſo ſweet, ſo tender, and pathetic, and at the ſame time nothing ſo grand, ſo majeſtic, ſo terrible, and ſo harmonious, as the poetic part of the* Bible; *to which all the heathen verſe is low and flat.* We may add, that nothing can be juſter than this character, though both he, and the far greater

poetry. Of this kind is the laſt expreſſion we inſtanced in, of *walking upon the wings of the wind*; for, as a modern author juſtly obſerves (20), wind is generally uſed to expreſs the velocity of any thing; and here the *wings of the wind* carry with them an idea of the utmoſt fierceneſs of that velocity; ſo that we cannot imagine the ſerene and deliberate walking of the Deity upon a creature of the moſt inconceivable ſwiftneſs, without being filled with the deepeſt wonder and amazement. And yet this inimitable beauty has paſſed unobſerved by many, otherwiſe learned, tranſlators and commentators, who have choſen to render it, *who rideth upon the wings of the wind*; as if riding upon the wind, which is common to feathers, ſtraw, duſt, &c. conveyed a more natural or ſublimer idea of the Godhead, than the literal one of walking upon it.

This is one of the reaſons why the *Pſalms*, the book of *Job*, and ſome other poetic pieces of holy writ, loſe ſo much of their beauty and energy in all verſions (21). However, there is this difference between theſe two books, that the latter cannot bear a literal tranſlation; whereas thoſe of the former, which have followed the original cloſeſt, have ſucceeded beſt; ſuch are in particular the *Latin* ones of *Caſtalio*, *Buchanan*, and *Jonſton*. This laſt is indeed the moſt literal, and wonderfully diſplays the elegancy of the *Hebrew*. It has but one fault, namely, its running all along in hexameters and pentameters, which takes off a great deal of its majeſty; whereas had it been all in hexameters, there would not have been a better, as there is not indeed a more exact one in all other reſpects extant, that we know of.

(20) *Aar. Hill not. in Gideon.* (21) *Vid. Pineda Dieg. de Stunic. & al. in Job; Bugenhag. Bucer, Buchan. & al. in Pſal.*

part of those who have so highly extolled it, have rather judged of it from the versions they had read, than from any great acquaintance they had with the original.

But though there be nothing more universally agreed on, than the excellency of this antient *Hebrew* poetry above all others, in all the above-mentioned respects, yet there is scarce a point more debated, or less possible to be determined, than the nature, metre, cadence, and rules of it. Several modern authors have pretended indeed to very signal discoveries in this intricate province, but they have either had the modesty to conceal them from the world [m], or those who have ventured to publish them, have only provoked some learned antagonists to expose their weakness and vanity [n]. The truth is, that those who have made any attempts in this way have been forced to shift, alter, and overturn the order, the words, and punctuation, and sometimes the very sense, in order to bring the text to their rules. This is what a learned modern has done almost in every verse, in a dissertation writ on purpose to prove that *Hebrew* poetry was writ in rhyme, like that of the *French* and other modern nations [o]. In order to this, he takes the liberty to lengthen or shorten the verses and syllables, as he thinks fit, without observing any other rule or proportion in them than the jingle of the last words; insomuch that there is not, we will not say with *Calmet* [p], any of *Tully*'s orations, but we may venture to affirm, any chapter in the old testament, which may not, by the same method, be reduced into rhyming verse. He had more need have said, that the rhyme in those poetical works was not only altogether accidental, but almost unavoidable, unless the authors had made a resolution against it, and taken more than ordinary pains to alter their words, and cramp their diction, in order to shun it. Those that are ever so little acquainted with the *Hebrew* grammar know, that the terminations of verbs, and even of nouns in the plural, and the junction of the possessive pronouns to both of them, are so alike and uniform, that it would be vastly more difficult to write a poem in blank verse in that tongue, than to have it all in rhyme. And yet it must be owned, that he has displayed a great deal of learning in it, and that several eminent men have embraced his opinion [q], though there is one objection against it which seems almost

[m] F. Vatabl. ap. Mercer in Job iii. Meibon. vid. Journal des Sçavans, 1699. & al. [n] Fr. Goman Lyra David. Th. Herbert. Vid. Cappell. cont. Goman. Bedford cont. Le Clerc. [o] Bibliot. Univers. May, 1688. [p] Comment. in Exod. xv. & alib. [q] Bern. Lami. Carofalo, & al.

insur-

inſurmountable; which is, that there is no rhyme but what is plainly accidental in all the acroſtic or alphabetic pieces we have left, ſuch as ſeveral *Pſalms*[r], the *Lamentations*, and ſome few others, where the length of the verſe is determined by the firſt letter of it, and where conſequently the liberty of tranſpoſing and altering the meaſure is quite taken off. Our author doth indeed tell us, that theſe were not deſigned for rhyme but blank verſe; but this is ſaid gratis: and what is more, ſome of them have a greater number of hemiſtics rhyming to one another, than thoſe which are pretended to be written deſignedly ſo; as the reader may ſee by the ſpecimen in the margin (M).

THE

[r] Pſ. xxv, xxxiv, xxxviii, cxi, cxii, cxiii, cxix, & cxlv.

(M) We ſhall inſtance only in the 34th *Pſalm*, and omit all the blank verſes in it; and here the reader will ſee by the interlineal verſion of them, how accidental, and as it were inevitable, the rhyme is in thoſe that chance to have it.

Ver. 4. I ſought the Lord, and he heard me:
Daraſhti eth Adonai vehanani:
And from all my troubles he delivered me.
Umiccol megurothai itzillani.

5. They looked unto him and were inlightened;
Hibittu elaw venaharu:
And their faces were not confounded.
Uphnehem al jechpharù.

9. Fear ye the Lord, ye ſaints of his:
Iereù eth Adonai kedoſhaw:
For no lack (is) to them that fear him.
Ki aen machſor lireaw.

10. Little lions lack and hunger:
Kephirim raſhù verabevù:
They that ſeek the Lord ſhall not lack
Vedoreſhe Adonai lo jachſeru
any good.
col tof.

12. What man deſireth life:
Mi haiſh hachapheTz chajim:
Loveth days
Ohef yamim
to ſee good.
lireoth tof.

13. Keep

THE truth is, our ignorance of the true pronunciation of that antient tongue, which, for ought appears, has been loſt ever ſince the captivity, makes it morally impoſſible to determine any thing about it with any tolerable probability; becauſe without it, we never can be ſenſible of the length or ſhortneſs of the ſyllables, or of the harmony of words and verſes, in which a great part of the poetic beauty conſiſts. Had we indeed the ſame helps in this, as we have in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, we might perhaps have attained an equal knowledge of its quantity and metre, and of the conſtruction and cadence of its verſe; and tho' it is probable, we might not have found it ſo elaborate and regular as that of the other two, yet ſhould not we have fallen into that ſtrange notion of ſo many learned moderns, that it was written without meaſure, form, or regularity. Surely one would think, that *Scaliger* had never heard of any modern *Hebrew* poetry, how common ſoever it is, when he adds, that neither that tongue, nor the *Syriac*, nor the *Arabic*, were capable of ſuch a conſtraint [r]; for it is plain, even from thoſe ſpecimens which *Buxtorf* has given us [t] out of ſome of the poetical rabbies, that it is as regular as any we have either in *Greek* or *Latin*; and con-

[r] Vide SCALIG. Animadv. in chron. Euſeb. p. 7. EGUBIN. L. CAPPELL. MAR. MARTIN. VASMUTH. PFEIFFER. GROT. in Luc. i. 46. CALM. Diſſert. & al. [t] Theſaur. ling. ſanct. ad fin.

13. Keep thy tongue from evil:
Netzor leſhoneka merah:
And thy lips from ſpeaking guile.
Uſphateka midabber mirmah.

Theſe are in the very order we find them in all *Hebrew* pſalters, without any tranſpoſition or change. But did the alphabetical order permit it, it is plain, that one might reduce every acroſtic pſalm and poem into rhyme by Mr. *Le Clerc*'s method.

We hope there is no neceſſity to acquaint our readers, that an alphabetic pſalm begins with each of the letters of the alphabet ſucceſſively, either in every verſe, as in the 25th, 34th, and 145th; or every other verſe, as in the 37th; or in every hemiſtic or half verſe, as in the 111th, 112th, and 113th. The 119th doth ſtill differ from all theſe, becauſe every verſe of a ſtanza begins with the ſame letter of the alphabet; ſo that it has twenty two ſtanzas, anſwering to the twenty two letters of it. Thoſe who deſire to ſee a more ſuccinct confutation of this notion, may read our learned Mr. *Bedford*'s treatiſe concerning the temple muſic, where he will find a ſhort but full confutation of *Le Clerc*.

ſequently,

ſequently, that the *Hebrew* is as capable of the ſtricteſt poetic rules as they, if we be once agreed in fixing the quantity of the ſyllables. We may add, that they have been ſo far from thinking metre and quantity too great a clog, that they have joined that of rhyme to it; which, whether it be an ornament or not, is nevertheleſs a confinement, tho' not ſo great in the *Hebrew* as it is in other tongues, for the reaſons alledged a little before. *Beſides, it* appears further, that the antient *Hebrew* poetry was confined to ſome certain rules and reſtraints, tho' unknown to us, becauſe, in many of thoſe works, we find ſome letters retrenched, and others ſuperadded, in order to lengthen or ſhorten the verſes or the ſyllables, or to give a ſweeter cadence to them.

ON the other hand, to hear ſome antient authors, both *Jews* and Chriſtians, ſuch as *Joſephus* and *Philo*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, and St. *Jerom*, expatiate on this ſubject, one would be apt to think, that both the genuine pronunciation of the *Hebrew*, and all the rules of that poetry, had been preſerved to their time, they give us ſo ſuccinct an account of every poetical piece of the old teſtament. Thus, according to them, the two ſongs of *Moſes* were written in heroic verſe: the *Pſalms* were of a mixt ſort, trimeters, pentameters, and others hexameters [u]. St. *Jerom* has ventured to be ſtill more particular [w], and to tell us, that the ſongs of *Moſes*, the books of *Iſaiah*, *Job*, and ſome others, were hexameters and pentameters; that the *Pſalms* were ſapphic, iambic, and alcaic, after the manner of *Horace*, and *Pindar*; that the *Lamentations* were of the ſapphic kind; and in his preface to the book of *Job* he ſays, that from the third verſe of the third chapter, the verſe is moſtly hexameter and pentameter, conſiſting of dactyls and ſpondees; tho' he adds, that it is here and there intermixed with ſome other foot or feet; and that ſome verſes, tho' ſtill more irregular, do yet preſerve ſuch a cadence and harmony, as never fails of pleaſing thoſe who are judges of the rules of poetry. However, with reſpect to *Moſes*'s ſong in *Deuteronomy*, he ſeems either to have forgot, or to correct himſelf in another place [x], and ſays, that it was wrote in iambic verſe of four feet. The ſame he ſays alſo of the 119th, and ſome other pſalms; concerning which we

[u] JOSEPH. Ant. l. ii. c. ult. l. iv. c. ult. vii. c. 10. PHIL. in vit. Mos. & lib. de vit. contemplat. ad fin. ORIG. ap. Euſeb. præpar. l. xi. c. 2. [w] Epiſt. ad Paulin. & præf. in chron. Euſeb. vid. & comment. Ezek. c. xxx. [x] Vid. Epiſt. 135. ad Paul. Urbic.

own

own ourſelves wholly in the dark. All therefore that we can ſay of him and of theſe learned antients is, that they give us their bare word for what they ſay, for none of them has ventured ſo far as to give us any proof or example of it; ſo that the reader is at liberty to take it or not. But upon the whole, the greateſt part of them, even thoſe two ſolemn ones of *Moſes*, were certainly of the lyric kind, compoſed and ſet to muſic, ſung in an alternate manner, and accompanied with the ſound of divers inſtruments, and with dances ſuitable to the muſic, as we ſhall ſhew under the next head.

IN the mean time, tho' we willingly excuſe ourſelves from entering into the merit of the cauſe, whether or not the *Hebrews* were the firſt inventers of poetry; becauſe we cannot tell how much they might have brought of it out of *Egypt*; yet we cannot forbear taking notice of the vanity of the *Greeks*, who attribute the lyric kind to *Orpheus*; whereas it is plain, that it was in its perfection among the *Jews* at the time of the *Exod*, from that excellent piece which *Moſes* compoſed immediately after their paſſage through the *Red-ſea*, which was upwards of 200 years before *Orpheus*, ſince he is ſaid to have gone a ſtripling to the *Argonautic* war; that is at ſooneſt about *Gideon*'s time [y]. We ſhall willingly allow them the invention of dramatic poetry; which conſiſting only in imitation, and being calculated to make inſtruction go down, for the ſake of the diverſion that it is interlarded with, ſuited their rough and unpoliſhed genius, ſuch as it was at that time and ſince, much better than that of the *Hebrews*, who, for ought appears to the contrary, never admitted it amongſt them. For though the author of *Job*, and *Solomon* in his *Canticles*, introduce divers ſpeakers, yet it is plain their deſign is rather to expreſs their ſentiments in a more lively and pathetic manner, than to repreſent any action ſuch as uſually comes into a dramatic piece. Whereas the lyric which conſiſts of muſical hymns and odes, and is adapted to promote the glory and worſhip of God, was the moſt proper to inſpire that people with a more than ordinary delight in it, was chiefly calculated for that end by its firſt *Hebrew* authors, and has continued in the greateſt vogue and admiration amongſt them ever ſince, inſomuch that it ſeems to have been in ſome manner peculiar to them. Again, if *Homer* and *Virgil* are ſo juſtly admired for their judicious choice of ſuch words and phraſes, as carried a ſtrong idea

[y] See USHER's Annals, Sir Is. NEWT. BEDFORD's Chronol. & al.

of

of the action in their very ſound, thoſe who have but the leaſt knowledge of the *Hebrew*, and will but make ſome attention to this particular beauty, will eaſily feel it in almoſt every line (N); and yet without that air of affectation

(N) We ſhould be glad to give ſuch of our readers as are unacquainted with the *Hebrew*, ſome faint idea of this; but unleſs they can forget for a moment their leſs maſculine pronunciation, 'tis to be feared our labour will be loſt. However in hopes that it may excite a curioſity in thoſe that do, to examine it more nearly in this view, we ſhall venture to ſubjoin the few inſtances following out of the *Pſalms*.

Let the ſea roar, and the fulneſs of it.
Jirbam haiom umelo-o. Pſ. xcviii. 7.

Let the floods clap their hands.
Nebaroth jimkhau caph. ib. ver. 8.

The Lord alſo thundered from heaven, and the moſt high gave his voice.
Vejarghem baſhamajim elohim, vehelion yiten colo. xviii. 13.

The waters ſaw thee, O God, the waters ſaw thee; they trembled and the depths quaked.
Raùka mayim elohim, rauka mayim; yakhilu, aph yirghezu tehomoth. lxxvii. 16.

Mountains ſkipped like rams, vallies like young ſheep.
Hebarim rakkedu ke-elim, gebaghoth kibne tzon. cxiv. 4.

For God is high, the proud afar off he beholdeth.
Ki rom Elohim, geboagh inimerkhak yeidagh. cxxxviii. 6.

All the horns of the wicked will I break.
Col carne reſhaghim agadeah. lxxv. ult.

And now her carvings, at once, with axes and hammers do they break.
Veghatta pettukhiah jakhad bacaſhill vehalaphoth gabalonun. lxxiv. 6.

Chariot and horſe are caſt into a deep ſleep.
Nirdam varreked vaſſus. lxxvi. 6.

And in my God I will knock down an ox.
Ubelohai adaleg ſhoor. xviii. 29.

The reader will eaſily judge of the reſt by theſe few, the three laſt of which are well worth, at leaſt, that ſo much admired one of *Virgil*, *Protumbit humi bos*; or any other of that poet, or of *Homer*.

But not to dwell longer on this elegancy, it will ſuffice to ſay upon the whole, that whoever makes any tolerable attention to the beautiful choice of words, wherever the ſubject is of the

fectation and ſtudy, which viſibly appears in thoſe two poets, eſpecially in the latter. We may here add, that if the moſt beautiful figures and the ſtrongeſt metaphors and allegories, be a ſign of a poetic tongue, the *Hebrew* exceeds both the *Greek* and all others that we know of, in this particular alſo.

Muſic. WHAT their muſic was, with which they uſed to accompany and enliven their poetic performances, we know little of but from conjecture. We have indeed nothing left of it, ſame nature with the inſtances given above, he will find them fall with a ſuitable force and rapidity, like the cataracts of the *Nile*; and where the ſubject is of a contrary nature, he will diſcover in them the moſt ſurpriſing ſmoothneſs and harmony that can be imagined. But of this laſt it will be ſtill more difficult to give our *Engliſh* readers any tolerable idea; becauſe an unknown language, tho' it were the *Italian*, will always carry a diſtaſtful harſhneſs to the ear, which nothing can overcome but a knowledge of at leaſt the meaning of the words. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with giving them the two or three following inſtances:

Hearken my people to my law; incline your ears to the words of my mouth.
Haazina hami thorati hattu oſnekem leimre phi.

O that my people hearkened to me, that *Iſrael* would walk in my ways!
Lu hami ſhomeagh ly, Iſrael bidrakhai hallaka.

But my people would not hear my voice; *Iſrael* would not acquieſce in me.
Velo ſhamagh hami le coli, Iſrael lo abba li.

How amiable are thy tabernacles, O God of Hoſts!
Mah yeddideth miſhkenotheka, Elohe zebaoth.

My beloved is mine, and I am his; he feedeth among the lillies.
Doddi li vaani lo, harogheh haſhoſanim.

His eyes are like doves by the rivers of water.
Henaw keyonim hal apphike mayim.

Theſe will ſuffice to ſhew the vaſt diſparity of ſounds in thoſe two ſubjects, which is all that we could pretend to. Thoſe who underſtand the original will eaſily feel it in almoſt every line of the ſacred poets; as for thoſe who are unacquainted with it, even the *Canticles* of *Solomon*, the ſofteſt and moſt harmonious piece, for ought we know, extant in any language, would loſe the greateſt part of the laſt beauty we have been ſpeaking of.

that

that can aſſure us that it was equal to their poetry; and yet if we judge of the excellency of the one from that of the other, and if the moſt elegant and harmonious words and phraſes, compoſed upon the ſublimeſt ſubjects, could inſpire a muſical perſon with a ſuitable melody, it will be abſurd to ſuppoſe their muſic to have been otherwiſe than ſweet, elegant, and beautifully varied, tho' attended with a noble gravity anſwerable to the grandeur of the ſubject and occaſion. Muſic and poetry are juſtly obſerved to be twin-ſiſters; they both ſpring from the ſame liberal faculty. To imagine therefore any ſuch inequality between them, would be to ſuppoſe, that it requires greater talents to form a good muſician than a good poet; which is far enough from being the caſe. However, were we to judge of the latter by what ſome learned commentators have conjectured, concerning both it and the muſical inſtruments of the *Jews* [z], one would rather think them antipodes. Indeed nothing can be more oppoſite than the ſuppoſition of their having ſo exquiſite an ear for poetry, and ſo dull a one for muſic. For ſuch we muſt ſuppoſe theirs to have been, if we can perſuade ourſelves that they admitted ſuch dull and inſipid inſtruments into their concerts (O); inſtruments which were only fit to grate the ear, and

[z] See LE CLERC's Eſſ. RHEINFERD, CALMET, & al.

O that my people hearkened to me, that *Iſrael* would walk in my ways!
Lu bami ſhomaagh ly, Iſrael *bidrakai ballaka.*
But my people would not hear my voice; *Iſrael* would not acquieſce in me.
Velogh ſhamagh bami le coli, Iſrael *to abba li.*
How amiable are thy tabernacles, O God of Hoſts!
Mah yedidoth miſhkenotheka, Elohe zebaoth.
My beloved is mine, and I am his; he feedeth among the lilles.
Doddi li vaani lo, haroeh bashoſanim.
His eyes are like doves by the rivers of water.
Henenu keyonim hal appike mayim.

(O) Thus *Le Clerc* has taken ſome pains to prove, that the מצלתים *tzilzele*, which our verſion after the *Septuagint* render *cymbals*, were only a couple of hollow demi-globes of braſs or ſome other tinkling metal, and about ſix inches in diameter; which they uſed to ſhake one againſt another, like a pair of caſtanets †; be-

† *See his Eſſay on* Heb. *poetry in Bibliot. Univerſ. Tom. ix. ad fin. & alib.*

and ſpread the harſheſt diſcord through the beſt compoſitions. It appears, on the contrary, that thoſe inſtruments which were moſt

cauſe we find ſome ſuch inſtruments to have been in uſe among the antients, and becauſe the root *tzalzal* doth often ſignify *to tinkle*. Etymologies are at beſt very uncertain, and very often ridiculous. Might we not juſtly laugh at a foreigner who ſhould pretend to give ſuch an awkward deſcription of a *baſs-viol*, as he found them under thoſe two words in his *lexicon?* We own, that ſuch tinkling inſtruments were uſed among the antients; but the diſtinction which the pſalmiſt makes of *tzilzele ſhamagh* and *tzilzele terughah* (22), and the other inſtruments which he joins with them, do at leaſt imply ſomething more muſical, warlike, and maſculine, if not more melodious, than two ſuch demi-globes.

The ſame may be ſaid of the עוגב *bugab*, which we tranſlate *the organ*, and which is thought by our moderns to have been no more than a row of ſix or eight pipes, of different lengths and notes, and which was played by paſſing them ſucceſſively under the upper lip (23). According to this deſcription it muſt have been incapable of any regular harmony; tho' in its etymon it ſignifies *a lovely inſtrument*, from עגב *hagab*, *to love* or *delight in*, *to doat upon*. But not to inſiſt upon the name, it is plain, this inſtrument was known before the flood (24), and it is ſcarcely credible it ſhould have received ſo ſmall an improvement in all that long interval, and in a nation where poetry and muſic had been ſo highly cultivated.

The שלשים *ſhaliſhim*, one of the inſtruments with which the women came to meet *Saul* (25), and which the *Septuagint* tranſlate *cymbala*, St. *Jerom ſiſtra*, and our verſion, *inſtruments of muſic*, is ſuppoſed to have been of a triangular figure, like the Δ, through which were ſtrung a parcel of rings, ſo that the inſtrument being ſtruck with a ſtick, or ſhaken by the hand, made the rings ſtrike both againſt it and one another, and cauſed a moſt inharmonious jarring. But if it muſt needs be ſuppoſed to have been triangular, becauſe the word שלשים implies the number *three* (though it might as reaſonably be ſuppoſed to mean *an inſtrument of three ſtrings*, and a very muſical one too), we ſee no reaſon why its triangular form might not be deſigned to contain a ſet of ſtrings one longer than another, in order to be played upon, either with ſticks as our old dulcimers, or with the fingers, like the harp. As for the account which the *Jewiſh* writers give of theſe, and ſeveral other muſical inſtruments mentioned in holy writ, it is ſtill more pitiful. But this is not ſo much to be wondered at; their muſical, as well as their poetic, genius has left them long ago: but if thoſe who are judges of either can ſuppoſe ſuch a vaſt diſparity between them to be poſſible, and that the dulleſt and moſt muſical inſtruments were uſed

(22) *Pſal. cl.* 5. (23) *Ib ver.* 4. (24) *Gen. iv.* 21.
(25) 1 *Sam. xviii.* 6.

moſt in vogue amongſt them were really muſical and harmonious. We read of eight and ten-ſtringed inſtruments; of the *nebel* and *kinor*, which we conjecture to be like the lute and harp, and from which the *Greeks* had their *naba* and *cinyra*. They had likewiſe ſeveral kinds of wind inſtruments, ſuch as the trumpet, flute, and what ſeveral antient and modern verſions call the organ, whatever reſemblance it might have to ours. To theſe they joined the drum, and perhaps the kettle-drums (which we take to be the inſtruments ſpoken of in the laſt note), eſpecially when their muſic was accompanied with dances, as it generally was; and theſe, if artfully touched, could not but give a wonderful cadence to them.

BUT if we may judge of the excellence of the *Hebrew* muſic from its wonderful effects, ſuch as we find it had upon *Saul* in his moſt melancholy and diſtracted moods [a], and in calming the ſouls of the prophets, and fitting them for divine inſpiration [b], which is no more than the *Greeks* tell us of their own, and which can hardly be denied without giving the lye to a cloud of antient authors; we ſhall be forced to own, that it was vaſtly more moving than any thing we have now. And indeed what wonder is it that it ſhould have

[a] 1 Sam. xvi. 23. & xix. 9. & ſeq. [b] 2 Kings iii. 15.

to enliven the harmony of the moſt ſublime poetry, we freely own we cannot join with them; and that though it be never ſo impoſſible to come at any notion of the nature and ſymmetry of thoſe inſtruments, yet we cannot forbear thinking, that they muſt have been vaſtly more ſuitable to it, than any of thoſe which our moſt diligent ſearchers have yet been able to diſcover.

It would be loſt labour to go about giving a further account of all the various kinds of muſical inſtruments mentioned in holy writ, which the *Jewiſh* rabbies reckon to the number of 34, by taking the titles of ſeveral pſalms, ſuch as *Miſtan*, *Sigaion*, *Sheminith*, &c. for particular inſtruments on which theſe pſalms were to be played. But ſetting even theſe aſide, there will be ſtill at leaſt twenty different ſorts left, which we ſhall however forbear mentioning, becauſe we know ſo little of them, and have ſo little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conjectures of commentators about them. All that we ſhall ſay further is, that they were of three kinds, namely, 1. Wind inſtruments, ſuch as the ſeveral ſorts of flutes, trumpets, and the organ, 2. ſtringed inſtruments, of this kind were the harp, lute, inſtruments of three, eight, and ten ſtrings; and, 3. ſuch as were beat either by the hand, or with a ſtick, as the tabor, drum, kettle-drums, and ſuch like. To go farther upon the ſubject would be venturing in the dark. The reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee a fuller account of them in *Calmet*'s diſſertation quoted in page 399.

attained

attained to such perfection, if we consider the great distance of time between its first author *Jubal* [c], and *Moses*; and that from the latter's time downwards, it was in constant use, both in their worship, in their religious and civil festivals, in their public and private rejoicings, and even in their mournings; witness that which *David* composed on the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* [d]; and the lamentations of *Jeremy* at the death of king *Josiah*? But what improvement it may have received from *David*'s time may be easily guessed, if we consider the great encouragement which that monarch gave it: he was a good musician, as well as an excellent poet; and how much a prince's inclination contributes to the advancement of any art, is obvious to every one. What progress then may we not suppose was made in it, by those 4000 *Levites*, whom he wholly devoted to that province, under the tuition of 288 excellent masters, with *Asaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun* at their head [e]? The law had already provided for their maintenance another way; and the addition which their merit could procure, joined to the natural desire of excelling, was spur sufficient for men, who had nothing to take them off from it, to bestow their whole time and application upon so delightful and so profitable an art. Besides these, who assisted constantly by turns at the altar of burnt-offering, but in much greater number at all solemn festivals, we read likewise of women, who applied themselves to music, both vocal and instrumental: such were *Heman*'s three daughters [f], and those which are mentioned by the psalmist [g]. Their kings had also their own musicians of both sexes [h]. Some of the *Psalms*, especially the 20th, 21st, and 72d, are supposed to have been composed in order to be sung on the day of their inauguration. The 45th and the *Canticles* are reckoned a kind of epithalamium proper for a wedding-day. We have seen likewise that they had proper psalms and hymns, not only at the temple, for every great festival, and other public occasions, but also at their private feasts, such as weddings, circumcisions, and the like. In a word, no nation seems to have been fonder of music than the *Jews*; insomuch, that though the *Babylonish* captivity had made them hang their harps upon the willows, yet at their return we find they brought back a troop of 200 musicians of both sexes [i].

[c] Gen. iv. 21. [d] 2 Sam. i. 17. & seq. [e] 1 Chron. xxiii. xxv. 7. & seq. [f] Ibid. ver. 5. 6. [g] Ps. lxviii. 25. [h] 1 Chron. xxv. 2. 2 Sam. xix. 35. Eccles. ii. 8. [i] Ezr. ii. 65.

FROM

From all this the reader may eaſily judge, whether it be credible that an art of ſo long ſtanding, ſo much admired, encouraged, ſo univerſally practiſed, and capable to cauſe ſuch wonderful effects, could be ſo rude and plain, as to conſiſt only in the variety of voices and inſtruments, playing all to the ſame notes, without any combination of even baſs and treble, much leſs of the other parts, which make up the ſoul of muſic [k]; and that chance, at leaſt, ſhould not have led them to obſerve the harmony of ſome, as well as the harſhneſs of other compound notes, ſo as to point out this improvement to them, in ſo long a time, and among ſuch variety of voices and inſtruments. For our part, we think it as difficult to imagine, as it is to account for the ſurpriſing effects we read of it, from bare ſimple tunes, how fine and melodious ſoever. One thing ſeems more than probable from the ſtyle of ſeveral of the pſalms, and the frequent tranſition from the firſt to the third perſon; that it was performed alternately, one part of the chorus anſwering to the other at proper ſtanzas and diviſions, not unlike the choirs of our cathedrals [l]. What other improvements they might have made to this art, which we are wholly ignorant of, is not ſo eaſy to gueſs at, as how and when they might be loſt.

IT is indeed generally objected, that the roughneſs of the *Hebrew*, its abounding with conſonants, gutturals, and monoſyllables, makes it ſo unfit for muſic, that it would be even madneſs to attempt it. Were this indeed really fact, it would at once explode all that we have ſaid on the other ſide; but we hope we have already ſufficiently ſhewn the contrary, in thoſe few inſtances we have given in the former note. We may even venture to affirm, that ſome pieces of *Hebrew* which we have ſet to ſuitable muſic, would eaſily convince any impartial judge, that this objection is wholly imaginary, and ſprings partly from the want of due attention to that neglected tongue, and partly from our preſent unaccountable fondneſs for the modern *Italic* taſte, rather than from any inharmonious roughneſs in the *Hebrew* numbers. It is even certain, from the excellent compoſitions which have been made in our own native *Engliſh*, tho' in moſt reſpects (gutturals excepted, which, by the way, are far from unmuſical) the moſt like the *Hebrew* of any modern language, that the perfection of muſic doth not conſiſt in that

[k] See CALMET Diſſert. de Muſic. Heb.

[l] BEDFORD's Diſcourſe on the ſame.

ſmooth

smooth sinking softness we are now so taken with. We are well satisfied, on the contrary, that many of us, who fondly imagine that our age hath raised music to its zenith, would be strangely surprised to find, by comparing its most admired performances with those of two, three, or more centuries past, some of its noblest beauties and excellencies quite lost, not to be recovered again to the world, till it has recovered its genuine taste, that is, perhaps, not till we have a new heaven and a new earth (P).

This is certainly true; at least with respect to divine music, how much soever it may be thought to have been improved by art. And a music-master, in the height of pleasure and good humour may as well pretend to direct my heart and voice how to express my anger and resentment, as to compose, for instance, a *Te Deum* which shall inspire its hearers with the highest sense of gratitude to the divine goodness, unless he be in the same temper as the royal musician, when he said, *My heart is ready, I will sing*——m.

WHAT has been said of the *Hebrew* music may be also supposed of their dances, namely, that those that were of a religious nature, were generally more grave solemn, and suitable both to the music and words, and to the occasion, than their other sorts; but whether confined to any rules as ours are, or rather directed only by custom and imitation; whether circular, as is generally supposed, or of any other form, we can only guess by those of other antient nations. But even this being all conjecture, and the subject not worth a further enquiry, we shall now pass to another, which is somewhat better known to us. As to the *Hebrew*

m Psal. cxlii. 1

(P) This reflection is not designed to affront the present age, but partly to excite some able judges to recover, if possible, vast numbers of inestimable pieces in this kind, and to revive the memory of their worthy authors, who now lie shamefully buried in oblivion; and partly to prevent the dangerous effects of the taste now in vogue; for if it be undeniable, that music is capable either of softening the roughest tempers, or of inspiring the soft and debonnaire with more heroic and noble sentiments, according as it is skilfully managed by a good master; we need not say which of the two this age stands most in need of; and experience shews, that the hardest metals, as well as roughest tempers, may be softened so long, and so much, as to become quite useless.

poetry

poetry, muſic, and dances, the reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the authors quoted in the margin [n].

Of the language, writing, and learning of the Jews.

THEIR tongue was the *Hebrew*, ſuch as we have it in the writings of *Moſes*, and other ſacred authors. We have elſewhere given the moſt probable etymology of that name [†], ſo that we are far from thinking, that it was called ſo from *Heber*, in whoſe family alone it had been preſerved in its purity, as the parent of all the reſt, as ſome authors have imagined [o]. What we have ſaid formerly, both about the confuſion of languages in general, and of the uncertainty of the *Hebrew* being the mother, much leſs the original tongue, doth ſufficiently expoſe the fondneſs of ſuch a notion. We ſhall not therefore repeat what has been ſaid already [*], but confine ourſelves to what was there promiſed; namely, to give ſome further account of the genius, and of thoſe particular excellencies of the *Hebrew* tongue, for which it is ſo generally ſuppoſed to have been the mother of all others. But without engaging ourſelves too far into the merit of the cauſe, we do willingly give up the conceit of ſome antient fathers, [p] who from the words of the pſalmiſt [q], *when he* (Iſrael) *came out of* Egypt, *and heard a language which he knew not*, have imagined, that to the many favours which God ſhewed to that people at their deliverance out of *Egypt*, he added this one, of inſpiring them with an immediate knowledge of the ſacred tongue. As to what is farther urged in favour of it by ſome critics, that we find in it the greateſt number of the apteſt etymologies and roots, both of men and things, the ſame has been alſo urged in favour of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Æthiopic*, *Armenian*, and almoſt of every eaſtern tongue; yea, and we need not wonder much at it, ſince a modern author has even found this mother tongue in the *Flemiſh* (Q). But tho' we do allow the preference to

Hebrew tongue

[n] Vid. MERCER. SKIKARD, MEIBON, GOMAR, LE CLERC, CALMET, & al. [†] See Vol. II. p. 355. not. A. [o] Vid. Auct. ſup. citat. ſub lit. f. g. p. 152. [*] See Vol. I. p. 303, & ſeq. [p] ORIGEN lib. 3. cont. Celſ. GREGOR. NYSSEN. Orat. 12. cont. Eunom. THEODORET quæſt. 61. in Gen. & al. [q] Pſal. lxxxi. 5.

(Q) This is what a *Flemiſh* antiquary has endeavoured to do (26) from a conſiderable number of etymologies of primitive

(26) Gorop. Becan. *Origin. Antwerp. lib.* 5. *paſſ.*

to the *Hebrew* in this respect, yet we have already proved etymolygies to be too uncertain a foundation to build upon; if therefore this last has any advantage over the rest, with respect to its being the mother rather than a daughter to any of them, it must be upon the account of its simplicity, its pureness, energy, fecundity of meanings and expressions, notwithstanding its natural barrenness of words; over and above its great affinity to all these tongues, which it seems to excel in all these particulars. To this may also be added the significancy of the names both of men and brutes, the latter of which are generally allowed to express their nature and properties in this, more than in any other known tongue; not to insist on the antiquity and venerableness of its writings above all others; all which seem to speak much more in its favour than of any other. From all this we may reasonably conclude, that if we could know it as well and as fully as it was in *Moses*'s time, we might find still greater arguments on its side (R).

But as far as we understand, and are able to judge of it at this great distance, and from those few books we have left of it, this will be hardly contested, that its genius is pure, primitive, natural, and exactly conformable to the native simplicity of the *Hebrew* patriarchs; its words are concise yet expressive, derived from a small number of roots, yet without the studied composition of the *Greek* and

names, as of *Adam* from *Haas-dam*, *Eve* from *Ev-vat*, *Abel* from *Haas-belg*, *Cain* from *Quaat-ende*, and many others, which are so forced and unapposite, that one would have rather taken it as a burlesque upon etymologists than for a serious piece, had he not taken such pains to tell his readers that he was in very good earnest.

(R) It must be owned, however, that several learned critics have observed several defects in it, as we have it now in the sacred books, which plainly shew that if it was the original tongue and the parent of the rest, it must have suffered many changes, such as the losing of a great number of its primitive roots and idioms, and adopting those of strange nations (27). Of this number are generally allowed all roots that have above three letters, besides very many scriptural words, whose roots are entirely lost. However this is plain from the books we have still extant, that from *Moses*'s time to the *Babylonish* captivity it has continued the same, without any visible improvement, or indeed without any change, either for the better or for the worse.

(27) *Vid.* Grot. *de verit. Rel. Chr. not.* 16, & *seq.* & *Comm. in* Gen. ix. Huet. *demonst. Evang.* Genebr. Cluver. Horn. Cappel. & *al. mult.*

Roman.

Roman. It has the happieſt and richeſt fecundity in its verbs of any tongue, either antient or modern, which ariſes from the variety and ſignificancy of its conjugations, ſome of which do even imply a whole phraſe, and cannot be well expreſſed in any other without paraphraſing. Thus, for inſtance, to love, to be loved, to love vehemently, to be loved vehemently, to be made to love, or to be loved, and to love oneſelf, are expreſſed by the ſame verb with a ſmall variation, in ſome only of the points, and in others of one or at moſt two letters. Thus again, the change of conjugation doth make a verb expreſs a contrary ſenſe or action, as to bleſs and curſe, honour and diſhonour, to root in, or cauſe to take root, and to root out utterly (S). Pronouns and prepoſitions are only ſingle letters, but the former at the end, and the latter at the beginning of a word. The grammar is ſimple, eaſy, and natural. There is no difference in their nouns, but what is abſolutely neceſſary to expreſs gender and number, and their caſes are diſtinguiſhed

(S) This excellency, ſo peculiar to this tongue above all others, is further diſplayed by *Bellarmine* in his *Hebrew* grammar, to the following effect: Every verb (ſays he) doth imply either an action, or paſſion, or neither, or both; the active verbs ſignify the action of a man either upon himſelf or upon another, and if the latter, it is cauſed either by himſelf, or by the means of a third. Here then the action of a man upon himſelf is found in the conjugation *Hithpael*, which therefore admits of no paſſive to anſwer it; becauſe in this caſe, the ſame perſon is agent and patient. *Pihel* expreſſes the action of one thing upon another, to which anſwers the paſſive *Pubal*; if the action be cauſed by means of a third, you will find it in the conjugation *Hiphil*, to which anſwers the paſſive *Hopbal*. The neuter verbs are to be found in the conjugation *Kal*, which containing alſo ſometimes verbs of active ſignification, that of *Niphal* anſwers to them in a paſſive ſenſe. Laſtly, the common verbs are to be found in the conjugation *Pohel*.

Thus by theſe eight conjugations, or flexions of one and the ſame root, performed by the addition or change of a few points, or of a letter or two, is expreſſed all the variety of ſignifications, into which it is poſſible for a verb to be branched out, and which can hardly be done even in any of its derivatives, much leſs in the *Greek*, *Roman*, &c. without circumlocution. To this we might add the ſimplicity of its primitive roots, conſiſting at moſt of three letters; of its compoſition, whether with reſpect to the pronouns joined with them, with their adverbs, prepoſitions, &c. and many other particulars; but all theſe are ſo well known to he learned, and ſo hard to be underſtood by the reſt, that we ſhall beſtow no more time about them.

by articles, which are only ſingle letters at the beginning of the word. The ſame ſimplicity runs through all the moods and tenſes of their verbs, and indeed throughout their ſyntax and concordance. Their words follow one another in an eaſy and natural order, without intricacy or tranſpoſition, without ſuſpending or clogging the ſenſe by long-winded periods, ſo that their ſtyle could not but be extremely free and clear whilſt it continued a living tongue; and if in ſome caſes it appears otherwiſe to us at this great diſtance, it is owing either to its frequent alluſions to cuſtoms and things then univerſally underſtood, and ſince loſt; or to our being in the dark about the true meaning of a great number of words and proper idioms, which we are forced to ſeek for in the *Chaldee* and *Arabic*, tho' often without ſucceſs, and ſeldom with any tolerable certainty of having found the right one. Some of their manners of ſpeaking there are likewiſe which ſeem to us flat and uncouth, which will upon due examination, appear not only the moſt natural and exact, but argue perhaps a clearer and more ſolid judgment in thoſe that uſed them. Of this nature is their introducing perſons in their narrations, ſpeaking their own words inſtead of affecting to repeat them in their name; it is, for inſtance, the common ſtyle of the divine writers to expreſs themſelves thus, *And God ſaid to* Abraham, *I am thy ſhield and thy exceeding great reward*, inſtead of *God told* Abraham, *that he was his ſhield. And* Abraham *ſaid, O that* Iſhmael *might live!* inſtead of *he intreated God for* Iſhmael's *life*. This every one knows, is the conſtant language of all the writers of the old teſtament; but whether or no it will be allowed to be the moſt natural and exact way of writing, it cannot be denied to be a certain mark of the moſt antient ſimplicity, which we cannot ſay doth run with the like conſtancy and pureneſs through the *Chaldee*, much leſs in the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other antient tongues; ſo that upon all theſe accounts the *Hebrew* ſeems to bid faireſt for being the parent of the reſt. The *Chaldee* bears the greateſt affinity to it in many reſpects, tho' it ſeems to have been rather a daughter than a mother to it. However, as nothing can be poſitively decided on either ſide, we ſhall only obſerve farther with reſpect to the *Hebrew*, that it is of all others the moſt conciſe, maſculine, pathetic, and freeſt from lightneſs and bombaſt; upon which accounts a judicious author ſays of it, that it comes neareſt to the language of ſpirits, who ſtand in no need of words to convey their minds to one another [r].

[r] Fleury Mœurs des Iſraelites, ch. 20.

IT is indeed far otherwiſe with their way of writing, tho' we ſhould allow it equally eaſy and natural to write from the right to the left as they did, or from the left to the right as the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Moderns* do; for whether we take it to have been the ſame with the preſent character in which we have the ſacred books, which yet is univerſally allowed now to have been the old *Aſſyrian*, and introduced only ſince the *Babyloniſh* captivity, or whether we take it to have been the old *Samaritan*, which has been preſerved only in ſome few medals, and in the *Samaritan* pentateuch, which is now the moſt received opinion; ſure it is, that the former ſeems rather to have been contrived for beauty than expedition, whilſt the laſt is the fartheſt from either, and is perhaps the moſt uncouth and unnatural, the moſt puzzling and unſightly, that ever was invented; inſomuch, that it is ſcarcely credible, that ſo judicious a perſon as *Moſes* was, would ever have made uſe of it, if he had known of any better being extant at that time. This the reader will beſt judge of by the alphabet following, by which he will ſee ſufficient reaſon to juſtify *Ezra*, and thoſe who changed them for the more elegant and commodious *Aſſyrian*, if they did really ſo, and the *Samaritan* was really the old one. *Character.*

The

The HEBREW ALPHABET.

Samaritan.	Chaldee.	Names.	Power.	Numbers.	Final.
𐤀	א	1 *Aleph*	*Aspiration*	1	
𐤁	ב	2 *Beth*	*B*	2	
𐤂	ג	3 *Gimel*	*G*	3	
𐤃	ד	4 *Daleth*	*D*	4	
𐤄	ה	5 *He*	*H*	5	
𐤅	ו	6 *Vau*	*V*	6	
𐤆	ז	7 *Zain*	*Z*	7	
𐤇	ח	8 *Cheth*	*Ch*	8	
𐤈	ט	9 *Teth*	*T th*	9	
𐤉	י	10 *Iod*	*I i y*	10	
𐤊	כ	11 *Caph*	*K*	20	ך
𐤋	ל	12 *Lamed*	*L*	30	
𐤌	מ	13 *Mem*	*M*	40	ם
𐤍	נ	14 *Nun*	*N*	50	ן
𐤎	ס	15 *Samek*	*S*	60	
𐤏	ע	16 *Ain*	*H gh ngh*	70	
𐤐	פ	17 *Peh*	*P ph*	80	ף
𐤑	צ	18 *Tzade*	*T tz*	90	ץ
𐤒	ק	19 *Coph*	*K*	100	
𐤓	ר	20 *Resh*	*R*	200	
𐤔	ש	21 *Shin*	*Sh ſ*	300	
𐤕	ת	22 *Tau*	*Th th*	400	

THAT this is the exact number and order of their letters is demonſtrable from thoſe acroſtic pieces, both in the pſalms and elſewhere, whoſe every half or whole verſe, or every other verſe, begins with one of theſe letters ſucceſſively, as we mentioned it under the laſt article. It is likewiſe univerſally agreed, that the *Samaritan* letters are either the ſame, or very near ſo, with the old *Phœnician*. This we have hinted already †, and it is far from improbable, that the old *Egyptian*

† See Vol. II. p. 320.

was

was alſo very like it [r], ſo that *Moſes, who was learned in all the wiſdom of* Egypt, might write his laws in that character. Sir *Iſaac Newton* indeed thinks that he had it from the *Midianites* [t]; and we have, in more places than one of this hiſtory, concluded it highly probable, that not only they, but all their trading neighbours had the art of writing very early *, though it be not poſſible to determine, whether each nation had a peculiar one of their own, or the ſame in common to them all, much leſs to aſcribe the invention of it to its true author (T).

HOWEVER,

[r] Vid. PLUTARCH lib. de dæmon. Socrat. KIRCHER. VOSS. CAPPELL. & al. mult. [t] Chronol. p. 210. * See Vol. II. p. 112, & p. 163, & alib.

(T) Were the *Sabeans* to be relied upon, we ſhould not be long to ſeek for the firſt inventer of writing and letters, ſince they produce a book which they pretend to have been written by *Adam*, the character of which, though different from all others (28), might have given the hint to thoſe alphabets that have been ſince uſed. But as their authority weighs but little in this point, others have attributed it to *Seth*, upon the authority of *Joſephus*, who tells us, that he cauſed his aſtronomical diſcoveries to be ingraven upon two pillars, deſigned to continue proof, one againſt the flood, and the other againſt the conflagration (29). Others to *Enoch*, becauſe St. *Jude* quotes a prophecy of his (30), which they think muſt have been handed down in writing, though much more probably by tradition. Others again to *Noah* and to *Abraham* †, but the far greater part of both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, antient and modern, to *Moſes*, whom very many think to be the ſame with the *Egyptian Thoyth* or *Hermes*, mentioned in the hiſtory of that nation (31). Among theſe laſt, ſome believe that the firſt writing was that upon the two tables, and that conſequently God did firſt ſhew it unto *Moſes*, who taught it to *Aaron*, *Joſhua*, and the 70 elders. Moſt of the *Jews* are of the ſame opinion, and ſome of them add, that there was an alphabet ingraven alſo upon the tables, along the margin, in order to teach him and his people the way of reading the decalogue. But the reverſe of all this ſeems implied in the account which that law-giver gives us of his receiving thoſe tables; he ſays indeed, that they were written by the finger, or, as we

(28) D'Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient* p. 726. (29) *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 3. (30) *Epiſt. Jud. ver.* 14. † *See Vol. II. p.* 383. *note* (Q). (31) *Ita Rabbin. fer. omn. See Vol. I. p.* 481. *vid.* & Artaph. & Eupolem. *ap.* Euſeb. *præp. lib. ix. c.* 17, 18. *Rabbin. fer. omn.* Lud. Vives *comm. in St. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 18. *c.* 29. Grot. *not. in verit. Rel. Chr.* Huet. *demonſt. Evang.* Gale. *Court of the Gentil.* p. 36. & *al. innumer.*

formerly

HOWEVER, though it be now the moſt received opinion, that the *Samaritan* was the antient *Hebrew* character, yet it has been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral learned men [u]. The *Talmudiſts* not only ſuppoſe the contrary all along, but have declared themſelves for the *Chaldee* characters even in that place, where they have been quoted for the oppoſite opinion [w] (V), and

[u] HOTTING. cont. MORIN. POSTEL. BUXTORF jun. & al.
[w] Tract. Sanhedr. ap. Walt. prolegom.

formerly ſhewed *, by the order and direction of God; but he hints nothing like his being taught to read them, or his inſtructing others in it, much leſs that ſuch a way of writing was taught him by God himſelf, and till then unknown to the world; which circumſtance he can hardly be ſuppoſed to have omitted, had that been the caſe. But we have elſewhere ſhewed, that this art was, in all probability, of much older date among the *Phœnicians* and other trading nations, than the decalogue, ſo that we can by no means fall in with this notion; though we know of nothing recorded of greater antiquity than that.

(V) We have had occaſion to hint this formerly (32), and the miraculous power by which they affirm the middle of the ם and ם to have been ſupported, doth plainly ſhew, that they did not mean the *Samaritan*, but *Chaldee*; becauſe in the former, the ם *Mem* hath nothing in its figure that required ſuch a ſupernatural ſupport. As to the paſſage quoted out of the *Talmud* by *Walton*, and thoſe who have followed him, in favour of the *Samaritan* againſt the *Chaldee*, or, as that place calls it, the *Aſſyrian* letters, if thoſe authors had but had the patience to have read a little farther, they would have found ſeveral anſwers to it, which though neither definitive nor ſatisfactory, yet plainly ſhew that the compilers were of a quite contrary opinion. We ſhall not trouble the reader with the whole paſſage, but only ſubjoin the moſt material things they anſwer in favour of the *Chaldee*; the firſt of which is to this purpoſe; We have ſtill our columns and our vaus, intimating thereby the likeneſs of the ו to a column with its chapiter, ſuch as its name implies in the *Hebrew*, whereas the *Samaritan* vau has nothing in its figure that bears the leaſt reſemblance to it. The next anſwer is, that it is ſaid in the book of *Eſther* (33), that *Mordecai* wrote unto all the nations according to their writing and language, and to the *Jews* alſo according to their language and writing; which laſt, it is there urged, would have been needleſs, if the preſent *Hebrew* had been the old *Aſſyrian* character, and the *Jews* had already adopted it inſtead of the old *Samaritan*, or any other. To this is ſubjoined a further queſtion, or objection. Why then are thoſe

* *See Vol. II. p.* 561. *note* (A) *ſub fin.* (32) *Ibid.* (33) *Eſth. viii.* 9.

characters

and there ſeems to have ran an univerſal conſent to them through all their ſucceſſors ever ſince (W). Among thoſe of the *Chriſtians*, who have declared themſelves on that ſide, there has been one who has taken an unſpeakable deal of pains, to prove the *Chaldee* character to be the genuine alphabet of nature, becauſe no letter can be rightly ſounded, without diſpoſing the organs of ſpeech into an uniform poſition, with the figure of that letter. This he has endeavoured to diſplay in 33 copper plates, 22 of which ſhew the pronunciation of the letters, and the reſt that of the point vowels; from which he infers at the ſame time, that the *Sa-*

characters called אשרים *Aſhrim?* to which the anſwer given is; From the *Aſhrim* or *Beatitudes* contained in it, meaning in the ſacred books written in that character.

We beg leave to obſerve here, that we are not vindicating the anſwers of the *Talmudiſts*, which muſt ſtand or fall according to their worth; but only ſhew, how lightly they have been quoted on that ſide of the queſtion, which they have moſt plainly declared themſelves againſt.

(W) They even tell us at the very threſhold of their grammar, that the names of ſeveral of the letters, which they would have us believe are of almoſt equal antiquity with them, were given them from their figure, as that of others from their ſound. Thus ב the ſecond letter, was called *Beth* from its far off reſemblance to a houſe, and the ג *Gimel* from a much nearer one to a camel, the ד *Daleth* to a door, the ו *Vau* to a column, ל *Lamed* to a ſpit, and ſo on; whereas no ſuch reſemblance is to be found in the *Samaritan* alphabet; but they are wanting in the mean proof, namely, the antiquity of thoſe names, for want of which their concluſion falls to the ground. For the ſame argument might as well be urged in favour of the points *Pattach*, *Kametz*, *Tzere*, *Kibbutz*, &c. which are now univerſally allowed to be of modern invention, as we ſhall ſee anon; for though theſe names bear no reſemblance to the figure of thoſe points, yet they were invented, in all likelihood, to expreſs the manner in which they ought to be pronounced; as for inſtance, the *Pattach*, or *A*, with an open mouth, and the *Kibbutz*, or *U*, with the lips cloſely gathered. In like manner, it is probable, they made choice at firſt of ſuch names as could beſt imprint the ſhape of the letter on the memory, by the likeneſs it did bear to the thing by which they were called, as the ג *Gimel* to a Camel, by reaſon of the bunch on its back, the ע *Ain* to an eye, the ש *Shin* to a tooth; and this might as probably have been done, when they began to teach this *Chaldee* character to thoſe who had been uſed to the old *Samaritan*, for their eaſier attainment of it, but where the letter bore no likeneſs to any thing that carried the ſound of it, they gave it a name that did, as *Mem*, *Nun*, &c.

maritan, bearing no kind of similitude to such a position of the organs, could not be the antient *Hebrew* [x].

THE misfortune is, that all his fine reasoning, and whatever else is urged by others on that side, of the question, is intirely overthrown by one fact produced for the other side, namely, that of the old *Jewish* shekel here annexed, which is inscribed on the



one side, THE SHEKEL OF ISRAEL; and on the reverse, JERUSALEM THE HOLY; not only in this *Samaritan* character, but as there is some reason to suppose, in this *Jerusalaimic* dialect. We shall refer the further particulars of this coin and its inscriptions to the next note; and only observe here, that by the name of *Israel* in the first could not be meant the ten revolted tribes, because they had nothing to do with *Jerusalem the holy*, which is on the reverse. There are also some pregnant proofs, that it could not belong to the *Samaritans* after the captivity; one of which among the rest is, that their hatred against the *Jews* was grown to such a height by that time, that they would have suffered any thing, rather than be forced to stamp such an inscription upon their coins. The reader may see the whole argument at length, in

[x] Vid. VAN. HELMONT Alphabet. Natur.

the

the authors quoted in the margin * ; from which the *Samaritan* character is proved to have been the antient *Hebrew*, and not that which has been, and is ſtill uſed by the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* under that name (X).

THESE

* MORIN, SIMON, CALMET, WHISTON, & al.

(X) Some of theſe ſhekels were in the poſſeſſion of *Maimonides* and Rabbi *Azarias* among the *Jews*, and of *Morinus*, *Montanus*, *Villalpandus*, and others, among the *Chriſtians*. The mark on the one ſide is ſuppoſed to have been *Aaron*'s miraculous rod budding forth almonds, and on the other, the pot of Manna. The letters over this laſt not being plain enough, are variouſly conjectured to ſtand for the name of GOD, of *Iſrael*, *David*, *Jeruſalem*, and the like; as for the inſcriptions round thoſe two ſides, bating a ſmall variation of the character and ſpelling between thoſe extant coins, they plainly anſwer to theſe in the modern *Hebrew*, on the one ſide שקל ישראל *Shekel Iſrael*; and on the reverſe ירושלים הקדושה or *Jeruſhalaim Hakadoſhah*, *Jeruſalem the holy* *.

Thus then the argument in favour of the *Samaritan* characters ſeems to amount to a demonſtration. We can ſee but two things that can be objected againſt it with any colour of reaſon; the firſt is, that conſidering the notorious cheats which have been impoſed upon the world, with reſpect to coins and medals, we ſhould be well aſſured of the genuineſs of theſe, before we venture to decide in ſo weighty a point. The next is, that allowing them to be genuine, and to have been coined before the revolt of the ten tribes, which is more than probable from what we obſerved above of one ſide's being inſcribed the *Shekel of Iſrael*, yet they may as likely have been the tribute money, which either the *Samaritans*, or ſome of the *Canaanitiſh* nations, paid either to *David*, *Solomon*, or to ſome of his ſucceſſors. What gives this latter a greater face of probability is, the difference of character and ſpelling between thoſe coins, and which cannot be ſo well accounted for, if we ſuppoſe them to have belonged to a ſingle people, eſpecially that of *Iſrael*. But if the ſeveral nations of *Canaan*, for inſtance, were obliged to ſtamp theſe inſcriptions on their tribute money, in token of their ſubjection to the *Hebrews*, we ſhall not be to ſeek for the reaſon of this difference. Now ſuch an exaction is ſo far from improbable, that we find it has been practiſed afterwards by ſeveral conquerors upon the people they ſubdued; and we ſhall ſhew, in the ſequel of this work, that ſome nations have even choſen to ſacrifice their lives, rather than to comply with this one ſingle mark of ſubjection. We pretend not to determine on either ſide, but if we may be permitted to ſpeak our thoughts concerning the *Sama-*

* *Vid. int. al.* Walton. *Supplem. in prolegom. de ponder.* p. 36. & 38.

THESE characters, notwithstanding their great affinity to the old *Phœnician*, if they be not indeed the same with them, and the vast progress of this latter all over the world, would have been entirely lost, had they not been preserved to us in the *Samaritan* pentateuch; by the help of which, we have been able to decypher both the inscription of these shekels, which have given so great a light to this controversy, and of some other *Phœnician* medals, of no less use in other parts of antient history. But tho' we have had no copies of that book till within these 200 years (Y), and consequently no knowledge

ritan and *Phœnician* characters, it is plain, that as they were never calculated for ease and expedition, such as one might reasonably expect among those trading nations, but rather to conceal learning from the vulgar, as the *Egyptians* affected to do †; so if *Moses* chose to write his laws in them, preferably to any other that might then be in use, one can scarce suppose any other reason for it, than that of preserving an awful regard to them.

This might be the reason of his ordaining the lecture of them to be made by the priests to the people, and of his commanding the parents to transmit the main ones to their children by word of mouth; and lastly, this may be the reason why the learned among the antient *Jews* are called סופרים *Sopherim*, that is *Scribes*, according to the generality of versions, or according to the more literal sense of the word, men that could read or write books.

(Y) Archbishop *Usher* is the first person, to whom we are beholden for the first copies that ever were brought into *Europe*; the frequent mention which he met with in the last quoted authors, would not suffer him to be at rest, as he expresses himself (34), till he had procured five or six of them from *Syria* and *Palestine*, and had carefully examined them. What his observations, and those of other learned men, are concerning that book, is foreign to our purpose, the reader may consult the authors quoted in the margin about it (35). With respect to the character itself, we shall not pretend to decide, whether the *Phœnicians* had it from the *Hebrews*, or these from them; sure it is indeed, that *Moses* is the oldest writer we know of; but whoever considers the vast interval between the creation of the world, and the time in which he wrote, the great increase of mankind, their early commerce, arts, sciences, and the like, will hardly think the knowledge of letters to be so recent as that law giver's writings. It will be more reasonable to divide the honour of that invention and its gradual improvements among more nations, and perhaps more ages than one; for without all peradventure, had he known it to have been the invention of

† *See Vol. I. p.* 481. (34) *Epist. ad Lud. Cappel.* (35) Morin. *dissert.* Hotting. *cont* Morin. F. Simon *Hist. Critic* u t. *Sentimens de quelques Theolog. de Holland. Prideaux Connect. T.* 2. *l.* 6.

one

ledge of thoſe ſhekels till ſome time after, we muſt not think, the *Samaritan* pentateuch had been unknown till then, or that the *Chaldee* had paſſed till then for the original *Hebrew* character. On the contrary, we find the former often mentioned by ſome of the fathers and other antient authors [y], the greateſt part of whom (eſpecially of the fathers) were of opinion, that the *Jews* exchanged their old *Samaritan* for that more beautiful *Chaldee* which is now in uſe with them, after their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, whilſt the *Samaritans* choſe to preſerve the antient one. This opinion was likewiſe embraced by many modern critics, even before theſe *Samaritan* copies were brought into *Europe*, tho' by a far greater number ſince theſe additional teſtimonies have been brought to light. There has been however a third claſs, who have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, by affirming that the antient *Jews* had two ſorts of characters, the ſacred and the vulgar; the firſt of which they pretend was the *Chaldee* now in uſe, and the latter the *Samaritan* [z]: but as they have given no reaſonable proof for ſuch a diſtinction, it has been juſtly rejected as chimerical; tho' if they had really had two ſuch ſorts of characters, one would rather have ſuppoſed the *Samaritan* to have been the ſacred, for the reaſons mentioned in a former note.

IT has likewiſe been a famous diſpute among the learned, whether the *Hebrews* uſed any vowel letters, or whether the points, which are now called by that name, were ſubſtituted inſtead of them, and if the latter, whether they are as old as *Moſes*, or invented by *Ezra*, or by the *Maſorites*. It is not our deſign to enter into that ſpacious field of controverſy, which has exerciſed the wits of the moſt learned critics of the two laſt centuries, and is far from being as yet adjuſted by thoſe of the preſent. It will be ſufficient, we hope, to acquaint our readers with the moſt received opinions upon theſe two heads, and to refer them, for further ſatisfaction, to thoſe authors who have treated on theſe ſubjects *ex profeſſo*. As to the firſt, it is now the general opinion that the *Aleph*, *He*, *Vau*, *Iod*, and *Ain* did ſerve inſtead of vowels, tho'

[y] Vid. ORIG. Hexapl. HIERON. in Ezek. & alib. EUSEB. CÆSAR, DIODOR. TARSENS. CYRIL. ALEX. PROCOP. SYNCELL. & al. [z] RR AZARIAH AB. de BARTENOR, POSTEL, BUXTORF, CONTING. SGHAMBAT, & al. quid.

one man, eſpecially of one of the patriarchs, he would not have failed recording him as well as the inventers of muſic, forging, and ſuch like.

they

they were ſometimes omitted, or, as the grammarians term it, underſtood in their declenſions and conjugations, and often varied in their ſound, and had ſometimes the power of conſonants as our J and V; but for this we refer our readers to the grammars of that tongue. Sure it is, that the *Samaritans* never admitted of any others, tho' they readily read their *Hebrew* pentateuch by the help of their *Samaritan* character. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic*, which laſt did not begin to uſe points till ſeveral centuries after Chriſt: nay, the *Jews* themſelves never admitted them in their ſynagogues, no not even to this day. So that it is plain, notwithſtanding the many objections that have been raiſed againſt it, that it may be, and is eaſily read without thoſe points, which have been invented for the greater eaſe of learners, and to preſerve the true pronunciation of that tongue. All that needs be added, with reſpect to their letters, is, that in the ſacred books, as we have them now, ſome words have one letter bigger than the reſt, others leſs, ſome at the beginning, ſome in the middle, and ſome at the end of a word; ſome are ſuſpended, or ſtand higher in the line, and others are turned upſide down (Z). An unwary reader might be eaſily

(Z) There are thirty one places in the old teſtament, in which ſome one or other of the letters of the alphabet are of a larger ſize than the reſt; as the א in אדם *Adam*, 1 *Chron.* i. 1. the ב in בראשית *Bereſhith*, *Gen.* i. 1. ג in וזאת גלח *vezoth galah*, he ſhall ſhave himſelf, *Levit.* xiii. 33. the ד in אחד *Achad*, *Deut.* vi. 4. and ſo of the reſt. The minuſcula, or letters of a leſſer ſize happen in thirty three places, as the א in ויקרא *vajiecra*. *Levit.* i. 1. the ב in דוב *dab*, give. *Prov.* xxx. 15. the כ *Caph* in the word לבכתה *libkothah*, *Gen.* xxiii. 2. where *Abraham* is ſaid to have come to weep for her (*Sarah*); and where they ſay the ſmallneſs of that letter is deſigned to expreſs the moderation of his mourning, ſhe being an old woman. Moſt of their reaſons for the reſt of thoſe minuſcula are much of the ſame ſtamp. The נ *Nun* is the only inverted letter, or turned upſide down; it is obſerved to be ſo nine times, but the *Jews*, inſtead of inverting it in their printed books, do only note it in the margin, thus נ׃הפוכה that is, *Nun inverted*, which they think ſignifies ſome perverſity, or retroaction, implyed in the word, wherein it happeneth to be ſo. The ſame letter is ſuſpended once in the word, מנשה *Manaſſeh*. *Judg.* xviii. 30. where, in ſome printed books it is only marked in the margin נ תלויה *Nun ſuſpended*. The ע *Ain* is ſuſpended three times, once in *Pſ.* lxxx. 13. in the word יער, *jaar*, foreſt, and twice in *Job*.

We hope it will ſuffice to have juſt hinted theſe cabbaliſtical obſervations, which are not worth dwelling longer upon, unleſs we could

eaſily led to think, that theſe differences happened ſince the invention of printing, becauſe ſuch miſtakes are apt to happen frequently in printed books; but it is plain they have been taken notice of a great many centuries before that art was thought upon, and have been religiouſly conveyed down to us in the ſame form, both in the written volumes, ſuch as they have always uſed in their ſynagogues, and in their printed books ſince the diſcovery of that art; as having been deſignedly ſo written by their inſpired pen-men, either to convey ſome extraordinary myſtery, or to imply ſome excellence or commendation, if the letter be of the larger; or if of the ſmaller kind, ſome dimunition and contempt of the thing ſignified by the word in which they are placed, or at leaſt to raiſe either a greater degree of attention to the ſubject, of which we have had occaſion to give an inſtance under a former head †.

As to the numbers which we have ſet over againſt each letter, it muſt be obſerved, that they are thoſe which the *Jews* have made uſe of time out of mind; but as to the divine pen-men, they never made any uſe of them for numerical letters, but always wrote the numbers in words at length: which we the more willingly take notice of, becauſe ſome chronologers, in imitation of the cabbaliſtical *Jews*, have pretended to find out and ſettle dates, and rectify epochas; as the latter pretend to find out the weight and meaſure of things, by the help of theſe numerical letters *; and both *Jews* and ſome cabbaliſtical Chriſtians to find out myſteries in them. Thus it is pretended, that the letter ℵ, which ſignifies either 1, or 1000, occurs ſix times in the firſt verſe of *Geneſis*, to denote that the world ſhall laſt juſt 6000 years in the condition it is now in, after which it is to be renewed. But all this is ſaid without the leaſt proof that they were uſed to any ſuch purpoſe, either by the inſpired writers, or even by the antient *Jews*.

THE antiquity and authority of the points is the next thing in diſpute; *Jews* and *Chriſtians* have been much divided, one part attributing them to *Moſes*, and making them equally authentic with the text; and the other to *Ezra*, and

† See before p. 159. not. (H). * See Vol. II. p. 566. Sub. fin. not. (C). Vid. & BASNAG. Hiſt. des Juifs, T. 6. l. 19. c. 8. 20. & ſeq.

could be ſatisfied both about the antiquity and deſign of theſe variations; which, for ought we know, may be owing to chance; and if they were done with a deſign, yet would puzzle an *OEdipus* to find it out.

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the men of the great ſynagogue; till the learned *Elias Levita* [a], a learned *German Jew*, who flouriſhed at *Rome* about the middle of the ſixteenth century, did make it appear, that they had never been in uſe till after the finiſhing of the *Talmud*, that is, according to him, about 500 years after Chriſt. His book ſoon raiſed him a cloud of adverſaries, both of his own nation and of Chriſtians. Among the latter were the two *Buxtorfs*, who produced ſome cabbaliſtical books of great antiquity, at leaſt boaſted as ſuch by the *Jews*, in which there was expreſs mention of points (A). Theſe were anſwered by *Cappellus* and other critics, till *Morinus*, having examined all that had been urged on both ſides, wrote his learned diſſertation on that ſubject, againſt which there has nothing been replied of any conſequence; whereas his opinion has been univerſally applauded and confirmed by thoſe that have come after. So that it plainly appears, that neither *Origen*, nor St. *Jerom*, nor even the compilers of the *Talmud*, which according to him was not finiſhed till the ſeventh century, knew any thing of them; no, nor even any of the *Jewiſh* rabbies, that wrote during the eighth and ninth century. He adds, that the firſt footſteps he met with of them were in the writings

[a] ELI. LEVIT. præfat, 3. in Maſoram Hammaſor.

(A) Theſe books are; the בהיר *Babir*, זהר *Zohar*, and the כוזרי *Kozri*. The firſt of theſe is pretended to have been written a little before our Saviour's time; and the ſecond, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after. As for the *Kozri*, the *Jews* will have it to be about 1900 years old, and to have been an account of a conference between a learned *Jew* and king *Chozroes*, in which the latter was converted to Judaiſm †.

In theſe three books mention is made of points more than once or twice, and the latter has this expreſſion about them; that they are the ſame to the letters, that cloaths are to modeſt women, who dare not be ſeen without them. Were the boaſted antiquity of theſe books unqueſtionable, there would be an end at once of the argument; but the *Jews* fidelity in ſuch things is too well known to be relied upon. However, what ſhews the impoſture of them is, that there are things in them which muſt have been written about 1000 years after their ſuppoſed date, and that none of thoſe books have been quoted or mentioned during that time by any author. Other objections urged by the *Buxtorfs* and others againſt the recentneſs of the points, the reader will find fully anſwered by *Morinus*, and the authors quoted after him above.

† *De his vid lib. Juchaſin, p.* 42. *& ſeq.* R. Azarias, *c.* 19. Buxtorf, Cappel. Morin. Baſnag. *& al.*

of the rabbies, *Aaron Ben-Aſher*, chief of the weſtern, and *Moſes Ben-Naphtali*, chief of the eaſtern ſchool; that is, about the middle of the tenth century. So that they can hardly be ſuppoſed older than the beginning of it [b] (B).

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[b] Vid. MORIN. Diſſert. Biblic. CAPPEL. Arcan. punctat. & Diatrib. WALTON. prolegom. DUPIN. VOSS. WASMUTH & al. *mult.*

(B) We ſhall venture, however, to ſubjoin a ſhort ſpecimen of thoſe points for the ſake of our *Engliſh* readers. They are reckoned fourteen in number; all of them, one or two excepted, placed under the letter as follows:

Long Points.		Semibriefs.		Quite brief.	
אָ	*Kametz* a	אַ	*Pathah* a	אְ	*Sheva* e
אֵ	*Tzere* e	אֶ	*Segol* e	אֲ	*Chateph-patah* ă
אִי	*Chirek* i *gadol*	אִ	*Chirek katon* i	אֱ	*Chateph-ſegol* e ĭ
אֹ	*Cholem* o	אָ	*Kametz hatuph* o	אֳ	*Chateph-kametz* ŏ
אוּ	*Shurek* u	אֻ	*Kibbutz* u		

It would be needleſs to dwell longer upon theſe, or to mention ſome differences among grammarians about them; for though the *Jews*, even thoſe who believe them to be the invention of the *Mazorites*, look upon them to be of ſuch authority, that nothing can be altered in them; yet the generality of Chriſtians reject ſuch a ſuperſtitious fear, and make no difficulty of departing from them, whenever a better ſenſe may be obtained by a change of them; becauſe it is plain, that their reading doth not exactly agree either with the ſeptuagint verſion, or with that of St. *Jerom*, or with their targums, or with the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, the moſt antient of all, or with the interpretation of the antient rabbies; for which reaſon their punctation has been as much ſuſpected by ſome, as it has been cried up by others: So that if we could ſuppoſe the points to have been as old as thoſe antient verſions, we muſt likewiſe ſuppoſe, that their books were differently pointed from thoſe of the *Mazorites*. All that can therefore be ſaid for theſe laſt is, that they have ſucceeded better in their punctation than Chriſtians could have done, becauſe they had retained the true reading, at leaſt for the moſt part, by conſtant tradition, which we ſhould have had to ſeek for, by the bare help of thoſe antient verſions and paraphraſes, not without an immenſe deal of trouble It is even plain, that they could not ſo much as agree among themſelves about every particular word, tho' they did in the main; hence aroſe that differenc-

AT the same time, these doctors set about inventing and fixing the grammatical points, the comma and full stop, to divide the periods and verses, which till that time had lain confused and undistinguished, not only in the sacred, but in all the other *Hebrew* books (C). This has been also a very useful work to the world, tho' few Christian interpreters have thought it necessary to confine themselves to their divisions. On the contrary, there is scarce a modern version that doth not very reasonably depart from them, when a clearer sense, a parallel place, or the analogy of faith can bear them out in it. And it is to be believed, that if a new version was now to be made of the Old Testament, it would alter the punctation of the *Mazorites* in a much greater number of places than the former have done (D). Notwithstanding which, it must be owned, of lection or punctation, known by the critics by the names of *Keri* and *Ketib*.

This brings into our minds a story out of the *Talmud*, which tho' not of any authority, serves to shew that their reading was not fixed at that time. There *David* is introduced reproving his general for not utterly destroying the *Amalekites*, according to the command of God. *Joab* answers, that he had punctually done it, and rooted out the זַכַר *Zakar*, or the males, and *David* tells him, that he ought to have rooted out the זֵכֶר *Zeker*, the memory of *Amalek*: To which *Joab* replies, that he had been always taught to read it *Zakar*, and not *Zeker*. The reader must not however imagine, that these differences are considerable, or that they leave the sense of the scripture too undetermined. This is indeed objected by those who contend for the authenticity of the points; but is fully answered by the authors on the opposite side. This is certain, that tho' the points are a vast help, both to the learners of *Hebrew*, and for a more ready way of reading it, yet when men have made any considerable progress in that tongue, they not only can read it with ease without them, but even choose to do so (36).

(C) An eminent critic assures us (37), that he had examined above 2000 *Hebrew*, manuscripts of all sorts, and that he never met with any pointed that were above 600 years old; or at least if the books themselves were of older date, yet the points were manifestly added to them afterwards; and this he affirms, equally of the grammatical and vowel points. And he was so sure that he had made all the necessary enquiry after them, that he defies all the advocates for the points, to produce one that could disprove his assertion; which has never been done to this day, that we know of.

(D) This is not at all to be wondered at; the *Jews* were too tenacious of their old traditions, and had too wrong a bias in eve-

(36) *Vid. Method of learning* Hebrew *without points.* (37) Is. Vos. *de* LXXII. *interpret. translat. c.* 30.

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owned, that their labour in theſe two reſpects, have proved very ſerviceable to the learned, and that they has made the knowledge

ry thing that related to the religion, and reign of the *Meſſiah*, to have ſucceeded, tho' roughly, in ſuch an undertaking, if their intentions had been never ſo upright. But it is to be queſtioned, whether their fear of giving the Chriſtians any advantage, has not crampt them more than all the reſt, and made them ſit down ſatisfied with a pointing, which left the text dark and intricate, rather than to give a better, which might be afterwards uſed againſt them.

To give one inſtance for all: It is plain, that by making but two periods of the 2d, 3d, and 4th verſes of the 110th Pſalm, which is confeſſed on all hands to be prophetical of the Meſſiah's reign, they have ſo far murdered the ſenſe of it, that no verſion has been able to tranſlate it without ſome needleſs and unwarrantable ſuppletives; whereas had they divided it into three verſes, and placed the full ſtops where they ought to be, the ſenſe would have been clear, eaſy, and exactly agreeable to the prophecy contained in it. But perhaps that is what they carefully avoided. The reaſon of it will appear by what follows. And as no verſion has as yet rectified it, we ſhall take the liberty to ſubjoin the literal verſion of thoſe three verſes, according to their and our punctation, that our readers may ſee which ought to be preferred.

According to the Mazoretic.	*According to our punctation.*
2. The lord ſhall ſend the rod of thy power out of *Sion*; be thou ruler in the midſt of thine enemies.	2 The Lord ſhall ſend the rod of thy power out of *Sion*.
3. Thy free-will people, in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holineſs; from the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.	3. Rule thou in the midſt of thine enemies; thy free-will people in the beauty of holineſs. 4 From the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

In the firſt of theſe the reader will ſee that the placing the full point after enemies, ſtrikes off the next words *thy free-will people* from being either the accuſative of the verb רדה *radh*, *rule thou*, going before, or from having any connexion with what comes after. So that thoſe words ſtand ſo ungrammatically there by themſelves, that to make ſenſe of the verſe, moſt verſions have been forced to make it the nominative of a verb which they have ſubſtituted to it of their own. Thus one of our verſions, that in our Common-Prayer-Book, words it thus; in the day of thy power *ſhall* the people *offer thee free-will offerings*, where the words *ſhall offer* are added to make up the ſenſe, and the order inverted, by placing the words, *in the day of thy power*, before them, contrary to the *Hebrew*. That in our Bible is ſtill wider from the original, tho' it

knowledge of the ſacred books much eaſier and expeditious, than it could have been without it. Their other productions, tho' equally laborious, are of a more trifling nature; they excogitated a great variety of other points, ſome rhetorical, ſome muſical, and others critical; the former of which were deſigned to keep up the right cadence and chant of the *Hebrew*, and the latter to fix the ſenſe of ambiguous places in their own way; all which grew as various, numerous, and intricate as they were indeed uſeleſs, and in ſome caſes ridiculous. From theſe they ſet themſelves, about numbering the verſes, and even letters, and middle verſes of every book; and to ſet down how often every letter of the alphabet occurs in each book (E). And as the deſign of all this labour was to pre-

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ſubſtitutes leſs, as the reader may ſee by comparing it with ours here, which is exactly literal and plain. According therefore to this pointing, the verſes in queſtion may be fairly commented as follows.

2. The Lord ſhall ſend the rod, or ſceptre, of thy power out of *Sion*, that is, out of the tribe of *Judah*. Compare *Gen.* xlix. 10. and *Pſ* lxxviii. 68. 3 Rule thou over *thy free-will* people (for none but ſuch are fit to be Chriſt's ſubjects; ſee *Matth.* xi. 29). In the midſt of thine enemies (*Jews* and *Heathens*, or, in a ſpiritual ſenſe, the world, the fleſh, and the devil). In the day of thy power (that is, when all power ſhall be given him, both in heaven and earth, *Matth.* xxviii 18) In the beauty of Holineſs (which is the peculiar characteriſtic of Chriſt's reign, and of his religion).

(E) Thus they obſerve, for inſtance, that *Geneſis* contains 1534 verſes, the middle of which is the 40th of the 27th chapter; and that the letter א *Aleph* occurs in that book 42,377 times; the ב *Beth* 38,218; and ſo of the reſt of the letters, and of every canonical book. The number of all the letters in the whole ſtands thus, according to them:

Final letters, ſtanding at the end of words	51,520
in the middle of words	160,734
Medial letters apart - - - - - - - - - - -	763,160
Total of medial and final - - - - - - - - - -	975,414

Whether theſe niceties were an improvment upon the *Mohammedans*, who likewiſe compute the number of verſes at the end of each ſection of their *Koran*, and ſum up the total at the end of it; or whether theſe did it in imitation of the *Jews*, we will not affirm; the former however ſeems the more likely of the two, from what *Morinus* and others have obſerved (38), that the firſt *Jewiſh* gram-

(38) *Morin. ub. ſup. & al. quoq.*

marians

vent any miſtakes, additions, omiſſions, or alterations creeping into the text; ſo it plainly intimates that they were conſcious of its having done ſo before; and that notwithſtanding all their pretended care and ſcrupulous exactneſs in tranſcribing them, they had not been able altogether to avoid ſome ſuch miſchances.

THE materials they wrote upon, as well as the inſtrument they wrote with, may, in ſome meaſure, be gathered from ſome places of ſcripture. As to the former it is plain, that their firſt writing, namely the *Decalogue*, was upon tables of ſtone. But it is likely, that *Moſes* made uſe of a leſs heavy and cumberſome material to write the reſt of his laws upon, ſuch as the *Shittim*, or ſome other hard wood. This way of writing upon tables was ſtill in uſe, not only in *Iſaiah*'s days[c] (F), but even continued ſo till our Saviour's time[d]. But beſides theſe, we find frequent mention made in *Job*, the *Pſalms* and in the prophets, of their writing upon rolls[e], which are reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made of ſkins, or of ſome pliable matter, fit to roll up or round, for ſo the original word imports (G). And we have the teſtimonies of *Herodotus*[f] and *Diodorus Siculus*[g], that the *Ionians* and *Perſians* uſed the ſkins of ſheep and goats to write upon, long enough before king *Pergamus*'s time, who is rather therefore to be looked upon as an improver than the inventer of parch-

[c] Iſai. xxx 8. [d] Luke i. 63. [e] Job. xxxi. 35, 36. Pſ. xl. 7. Iſai. viii. 1. Jerem. xxxvi 4. Ezek. ii. 9. iii. 1. & ſeq. Zechar. v. 2. [f] Lib. 5. [g] Lib. 2.

marians were *Arabians*, and wrote their grammars in that tongue, ſome time after the points had been added to it; from which he concludes it probable, that they took both their points and rules of grammar from the *Arabians*; and if ſo, they might as well take their method of numbering the verſes, and improve it by extending it to the letters, and thoſe other niceties above-mentioned.

(F) The ſeptuagint render this place, *write it* ἐπὶ πυξίου, *upon a box table*; which makes it probable that that wood had been in uſe before their time. And the *Talmud* tells us, that the lots of the two goats, which were ordered to be brought to the high prieſt on the day of expiation (39), were firſt written upon two ſmall box-table †

(G) מְגִלָּה *Megilah* comes from גָּלַל *Gallal*, which ſignifies *to roll up*, as *volumen* from *volvo*; anſwerable to which, the evangeliſt (40) makes uſe of the words ἀναπτύξας and πτυξας for the opening and ſhutting of the book.

(39) Levit. xvi. 8. † *See before p.* 205 *note* (V). (40) Luke iv. 17, 20.

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ment †. Theſe rolls differed in their ſize, according to the ſubject they contained, and the character in which it was written; ſo that ſome of them had ſeveral ſkins ſewed to one another lengthwiſe. The *Jews* retain them to this day in their ſynagogues. The lines were not continued through the whole length of the ſkin, much leſs of the roll, but were conveniently divided into columns. This is what is meant by what our verſion renders leaves, in that place of *Jeremiah* [h], *where the king cut the roll in pieces, after they had read three* or four pages of it (H). Of this ſort, we ſuppoſe, was alſo the book of the law, which the high-prieſt found in *Joſiah*'s time [i].

HENCE we conclude, they uſed two ſorts of inſtruments; the firſt of ſteel, or ſome hard metal, for ingraving upon ſtone and wood; one ſide of which was ſharp-pointed, and the other blunt and ſmooth, and ſerved either to ſmooth or eraſe what had been written. Hence the *Latin* proverb *invertere ſtylum*. This kind of inſtrument we find mentioned in ſome places of ſcripture [k], though not deſcribed, but gueſſed at, from thoſe which were uſed by other nations. The other ſort was for writing upon the ſkins of beaſts; but how it was made, whether like our pens, pencils, or ſome other way, we cannot conjecture; only we read of a pen-knife, or, as the original has it, a ſcribe or writer's knife, with which king *Jehoiakim* cut the roll which was ſent him by *Jeremiah*.

Education and learning.

WE do not find, that they had any ſchools, or colleges, for the inſtruction of their youth, if we except thoſe of the prophets, which were of a different nature, as we ſhall ſhew by and by. They have not ſo much as a word to expreſs it (I): and if we conſider their manner of education and life, we

† See Voss. orig. & lib. de grammat. cap. xxxviii. [h] Jerem. xxxvi. 23. [i] 2 Kings. xxii. 8. [k] Job xix. 24. Pſ. xlv. 2. & alib.

(H) The word is דלתות *Daltoth*, which properly ſignifies *Doors*; and here *Pages* or *Columns*, from their likeneſs to a door. A leaf of a book doth indeed bear the ſame reſemblance, but cannot properly belong to ſuch rolls as we are ſpeaking of.

(I) The *Jews* however to wipe off this imputation, have coined two names for theſe ſchools, of which there is no mention in the ſacred books, namely, the בית־מוסר, *Beth-Muſſar*, which ſignifies *the houſe of inſtruction*, or *an inferior ſchool for reading and writing*, and the בית־מדרש *Beth-Middraſh*, or *houſe of enquiry* or *expounding*, whith ertney went to be inſtructed in the weightier matters of religion, or rather in the rabbinic ſubtilities. But tho' it be viſible, that

we ſhall find no great uſe for them. They bred up their ſons to bodily exerciſes, ſuch as would beſt fit them either for war or huſbandry; and their daughters to houſhold occupations, without troubling themſelves much about cultivating their

that theſe are of more recent date, namely, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, yet they affirm the former to have been kept by the tribe of *Simeon*, and the latter by that of *Levi*; which they infer from *Jacob*'s prophecy of the diſperſion of thoſe two tribes in *Iſrael* (41). So that having no inheritance, they were obliged to keep ſchool for a livelihood (42). Agreeably to this abſurd notion (for it is plain that *Simeon* had a portion with the reſt (43),) they interpret the words of the pſalmiſt, *paſſing through the valley of* Baca, *uſe it for a well*; *and the rain filleth the pool* (44) of theſe wells of learning; and it was a common phraſe with them, *Maſter, we come to drink waters from thy well*, inſtead of, *We come to be thy ſcholars* or *diſciples* (45). And thus alſo the words in the next verſe, *they go from ſtrength to ſtrength*, they underſtood, *of raiſing from one claſs to another*. Theſe are, according to them, the מועדי־אל, *Mohede-El, houſes of God*; or, as our verſion more truly renders it, *the ſynagogues*, which the pſalmiſt ſaid were deſtroyed by the king of *Babylon* (46). So that upon the whole, we have not any grounds from ſcripture for any ſuch ſchools.

Much leſs for thoſe antediluvian academies, of which ſome chriſtian moderns make *Adam* the firſt founder, and which they pretend to have been continued by *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Melchizedek*, *Abraham*, and *Jacob* (47); the laſt of which, where it is ſaid, *that he was a plain man, and dwelt in tents*, the *Chaldee* paraphraſt, and after him other *Jewiſh* commentators, have rendered it, *that he was a perfect man, and maſter* of the *Beth-Muſſar*, or, in plain *Engliſh*, *an excellent ſchool-maſter*. Of *Abraham* we have ſeen heretofore, that he is affirmed by *Joſephus* and others to have taught aſtronomy in *Egypt* *; and *Melchizedek* is likewiſe ſuppoſed by the ſame authors, to have kept a famous ſchool at *Hebron*, called from thence *Kiriath-ſepher*, which may be properly rendered, *the city of books*, or *learning*; and *Debir*, *oracle*. Some others think, that it flouriſhed about 1456 years before Chriſt, that is, about *Joſhua*'s time; and that it had been founded by the *Canaanites*, and was the moſt antient academy in the world; after whoſe model that famous one of the *Edomites*, called *Theman*, and that of *Tekoah*, had been formed. Some add, that it had a public library, in

(41) *Gen. xlix.* 7. (42) *Targ. Hieroſol. Rab.* Raſch. Sal. Jarch. & *al. in Gen. xlix.* 7. (43) *Vid. Joſh. xix.* 1. & *Vol. II p.* 440, *not.* (F). (44) *Pſ. lxxxiv.* 6. (45) *Vid. Genar. in* חגיגה, *fol* 3. & *Middraſh in Pſ. lxxiv* 8. (46) *Pſ. lxxiv.* 8. *Vid. Middr. in loc.* (47) *Vid* Boulduc. *Eccleſ ant. leg.* Sanders *vindic. Bibl.* Batnag. & *al.*

* *See Vol. II. p.* 383, *not* (Q).

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their minds, farther than to inſtruct them in the knowledge of their religion and laws; and this was the province of the parents, chiefly on the ſabbath. They had rather an averſion than curioſity for foreign languages, and he that could ſpeak and write his own well, or at leaſt as well as his neighbours, thought himſelf ſufficiently learned; and for theſe cuſtom ſerved them inſtead of grammar. Hiſtory, farther than they found it in their ſacred books, they thought beneath their care, becauſe they found in theſe all that they eſteemed worth knowing. The creation of the world, the flood, the origin and diſperſion of nations, and, what concerned them moſt, their own hiſtory and deſcent from *Abraham*, their affinity to other branches of his poſterity, the *Egyptian* bondage and deliverance; and, in a word, all that wonderful ſeries of tranſactions which had happened to their nation; in all which God had ſhewed ſuch peculiar regard to them, that it is no wonder if we find them ſo full of themſelves, and ſo prone to deſpiſe all the reſt of the world. Beſides the *Pentateuch*, and the hiſtories of *Joſhua*, of their judges, and kings, which they thought themſelves obliged to be verſed in, they had alſo ſeveral others, which have been loſt ſince; ſuch as the book of the wars of the Lord, that of *Jaſher*, and eſpecially the book of the *Kings*, and the *Chronicles* of the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, to which thoſe we have extant continually refer (K): but theſe laſt were not perhaps ſo univerſally ſtudied, but fell only to the lot of princes and politicians.

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which were preſerved the records and hiſtory of the world, continued from the flood downwards †. All which is built, at the beſt, upon very uncertain conjectures.

(K) It cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the *Chronicles* and the book of *Kings* do refer to one another, whenever we meet with theſe words at the end of every reign. *The reſt of the acts of*— and ſo on, *are they not written in the book of*, &c. ſeeing the ſame facts are repeated all the way in both, with little or no variation or addition, and very often in the ſame words. The *Greek* verſion has indeed given the book of *Chronicles* the name of παραλειπόμενοι, or *things omitted*, but with relation to hiſtorical facts, the reader will find but a ſmall number in this, that are not in that of the *Kings*: It ſeems therefore to have been called ſo from its having given a full chronology of the Scripture from *Adam*, and carried it beyond that of the *Kings*, as St. *Jerom* juſtly obſerves (48). To which may be added, that it ſets forth the order of the genealogies, tribes, and families, the offices and courſes of the prieſts and *Levites*, and ma-

† Milenddorp Driedo Ar. Montan. Maſius *ap. St. Philip. Ho-nach. Hebr. jab Othoniel.* (48) *Epiſt. ad Damian.*

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ALL that related to religion and morality was contained in the *Moſaic* books, and interſperſed in the others; but be-

ny other particularities, which give a great light to the reſt of the ſacred writings, and without which it would be ridiculous for a man to pretend to underſtand them, as the ſame father elſewhere expreſſes it (49).

The books therefore referred to in theſe ſeem to be, either the records out of which they were taken by their compilers, or, which is indeed more probable, the annals and archives of every king's reign, to which the readers were ſent for a farther account; whilſt theſe, being writen by inſpired pen-men, were deſigned to contain only ſuch tranſactions, as had an immediate relation to religion.

If it be aſked, who were the authors of thoſe books, it is plain that the former were written by the hiſtorians or recorders of every reign, who were appointed to that office by the kings themſelves. But who were the writers of the latter, is not ſo eaſily agreed: For as, on the one hand, the hiſtorians mentioning every tranſaction as done in their time, has induced many of the learned to ſuppoſe, that they were written at ſeveral times, and by ſeveral inſpired pen-men, cotemporary with them, ſuch as *Samuel*, *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and others; ſo, on the other ſide, the ſeeming uniformity of ſtyle through all thoſe books, makes that notion ſeem very improbable, and ſeveral expreſſions interſperſed in them impoſſible. Thus it is ſaid, in the beginning of the book of *Samuel*, that the word of God was precious, or ſcarce, in thoſe days (50); and that it was then the cuſtom to call a prophet a ſeer, and to enquire for him by that name (51). Theſe and ſeveral others in the ſame ſtyle ſeem at leaſt to intimate, that it was otherwiſe when the books were written. Thus it is alſo ſaid in another place of the ſame book, that in the author's time, the name of *Beth-el*, or *houſe of God*, was turned into that of *Beth-aven*, or the *houſe of wickedneſs*; which did not happen till after *Jeroboam*'s revolt (52). Theſe, and many more which we omit, make it very probable, that they were not written by cotemporary authors.

To reconcile theſe it is generally believed, that the original authors of them were thoſe inſpired perſons above-mentioned, who committed them to writing as they happened; but that all thoſe pieces were afterwards collected into a regular hiſtory, either by *Ezra*, *Haggai*, or ſome of theſe prophets who returned from the captivity; and who, being alike inſpired, might make ſuch further additions as they thought proper to illuſtrate their hiſtory, ſuch as the change of names, cuſtoms, and the like, without derogating from their authority. Accordingly we find, that they have been ſtill conſtantly acknowledged by the *Jews*, to be of divine authority, and have been appealed to, as ſuch, by the writers of the goſpel (53).

(49) *Id. ad Paulin.* (50) 1 *Sam. iii.* 1. (51) *Ibid. ix.* 9. (52) *Ibid. xiii.* 2, 5. (53) *Vid. Matth. xxii.* 3. *& al. Luke iv.* 25, *& ſeq. & alib. paſſ.*

ſides theſe they had the *Pſalms*, the *Proverbs*, and *Eccleſiaſtes*, beſides many other writings of *Solomon*, a great part of which are likewiſe loſt; to ſay nothing of *Job* and the *Prophets*. All theſe they were to be inſtructed in, even from their infancy, they heard them expounded on the ſabbath and other feſtivals, by the *Prophets* and *Levites*, and in them they found ſuch a dreadful account of the theology of other nations, that we cannot ſuppoſe them to have had the leaſt curioſity to know more of it. And indeed their law-giver knew but too well, how dangerous ſuch knowledge would have been to a people ſo eaſy to be corrupted, and therefore wiſely ordained, that their children ſhould be inſtructed only in ſuch truths, as were proper to inſpire them with an awful regard to God and his laws, and with the love of virtue; whilſt he forbad them, almoſt upon all occaſions, to be inquiſitive after the religion and learning of other nations.

THIS was moſt probably alſo the foundation of that extraordinary diſregard they ſhewed for thoſe uſeful arts and ſciences, in which their neighbours had ſo long excelled. Arithmetic, being ſo neceſſary for the trading part, might indeed find ſome encouragement amongſt them, and even this we offer more as a probable conjecture than from any teſtimony; but as for navigation, aſtronomy, and ſuch like, we find nothing in their hiſtory, but what aſſures us of their unſkilfulneſs in them. The maritime tribes contented themſelves with receiving foreign merchants into their harbours, without endeavouring to carry on their commerce abroad; inſomuch, that when *Solomon* reſolved to ſend ſome ſhips into foreign countries, he was forced to have them manned with foreign ſailors. And as for aſtronomy, we need but call to mind what has been ſaid, under another head, of the poor ſhifts they were drove to, to find out their new moons *, to convince us of their profound ignorance of it. We ſhall only add, that they were ſo far from knowing any thing of eclipſes, that they have not ſo much as one upon record, or indeed a name for it. They probably looked upon them as miraculous, and as tokens of the divine anger, and ſo never dived farther into the nature of them. Perhaps alſo they were led into this notion, by that figurative expreſſion in *Job* [l], *he covers the light with his hands, and ſets, as it were, an interpoſer over it*; for that is the literal ſenſe of the original, and of the verſion of the ſeptuagint: agreeable to which is that awful deſcription of the day of the Lord in *Joel* [m], and of the down-

* See before, p. 186. note (H). [l] Job. xxxvi. 32. [m] Ch. ii. 10 & 31. iii. 15.

fal-

fal of *Egypt* and other nations, which we meet with in the *Prophets*.

THE changing of the ſolar into the lunar year, and the complete month of thirty days into the irregular moons of twenty nine and thirty days, mentioned under other heads; the diſtinguiſhing of the days of the week (not by the ſeven planets, of which they do not ſeem to have had any knowledge, or ſo much as names for; but to have ranked them, the two great luminaries excepted, among the fixed ſtars; but) by firſt, ſecond, third day, or firſt and ſecond from the ſabbath; the diviſion of the day and night not into 12 equal parts, as the *Egyptians* are thought to have done long before, but the day into four parts, and the night into four watches. Theſe diviſions of time, ſo very oppoſite to that more perfect one of the *Egyptians* and other neighbouring nations, ſeem entirely calculated by their law-giver, to prevent their applying themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and thence falling inſenſibly into that of aſtrology, and being thereby inſnared into the worſhip of thoſe heavenly bodies, after the example of other nations (L). What inſtruments they had to reckon the time by, whether the *Egyptian Clepſydra*, or water-glaſſes, or ſun-dials, or any other, we cannot affirm, except that we read of the ſun-dial, or, as the original ſignifies, the ſtair-caſe, or flight of ſteps of *Ahaz* [n]; but allowing it to have been a real and regular ſun-dial it may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have been rather

Measuring of time.

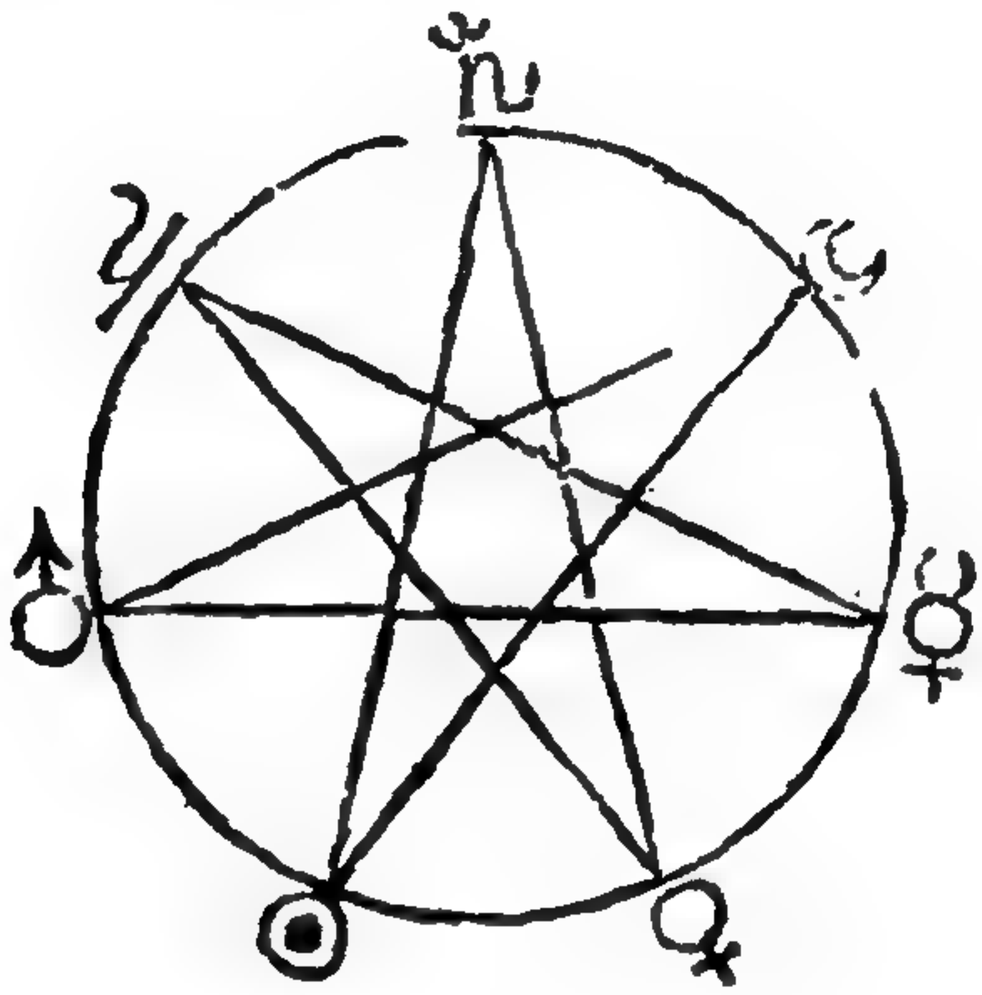
[n] 2 Kings xx. 9, & ſeq.

(L) It is no difficult matter to conceive how thoſe antient nations came to worſhip the planets and heavenly bodies, after they had once imbibed the belief of their having ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the government of all ſublunary things, and had aſcribed to every one their ſeveral influences, good or bad, and the particular periods in which they ruled by turns. But how this notion came firſt into their head, is not ſo eaſy to imagine; and yet that it muſt have begun very early, and was univerſally received by all the heathen world, will plainly appear, if we conſider how antient the diviſion of the day and night into twenty four hours is; and that the conſecrating every day of the week to one of the ſeven planets (not in the regular order in which they ſtand in their ſyſtem, ♄, ♃, ♂, ☉, &c. but by ſkipping two of them every new day,) could not be owing to any thing but an opinion, that every planet ruled alternately the ſeveral hours of each day.

Thus on *Saturday*, *Saturn*, the planet of that day, being ſuppoſed to govern the 1, 8, 15, and 22 hours, whilſt *Jupiter*, the next in order, governed the 2, 9, 16, and 23, *Mars* the 3, 10, 17, and 24, the *Sun* muſt of courſe govern the firſt hour of the next day, upon which account he became the planet of that day.

ther the work of ſome foreign aſtronomer, than a common thing among them; that prince's character ſufficiently ſhews, that he was not over ſcrupulous of introducing new things of a much more dangerous nature, witneſs his new *altar from Damaſcus.*

and having ruled the 1, 8, 15, and 22, and *Venus* and *Mercury* the two remaining ones, brought in the *Moon* to be lady of the next, or of *Monday*; and ſo of the reſt, according to the following diagram:



Thus then it is plain, that this planetary diviſion of the week was of aſtrological extraction; and that that of the days into twenty four parts was ſo likewiſe, though not equally demonſtrable, can hardly be queſtioned, if we conſider the great connection which theſe two have to one another; and that the reputed author of this laſt, the *Egyptian Hermes* ſurnamed *Triſmegiſtus*, and cotemporary with *Moſes*, if not the ſame perſon with him, was a great aſtrologer, as it appears by ſome of his writings on that ſubject ſtill extant under his name.

Some authors do indeed tell us, that he took the hint of this diviſion from the *Egyptian Cunocephalus*, which he obſerved, at the time of the equinox, to have piſſed and howled twelve times from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, and at equal diſtance, from which the *Egyptians* took alſo the hint of the *Clepſydra*, or water hour-glaſſes, in memory of which, they uſed to place the image of that animal on the top of them (54). But as we cannot look upon the whole ſtory to be authentic, ſo the moſt that can be made of it is, that that nation hath the faireſt claim for being the inventers of this diviſion;

(54) Tull. *ap. Victorin. cited by Macrob. lib. i. c.* 21. *Vid.* Kerch. *Hierogliph. & al.*

though

maſcus o. Beſides, as they divided the day into four parts, the two firſt of which were from the ſun-riſing to its meridian, and the two laſt from noon to its ſetting, it was not difficult for them to make out the other diviſion by ſuch obſervations, either on his career, or on the ſhadow of any trees, houſes, or even of their own bodies, as every ploughman with us is able to do to a much greater juſtneſs. The ſame might be done in the diviſion of the four night-watches from the motion of the ſtars. To ſeek for other ſciences, or for ſchools or univerſities among them, were like ſeeking them among the *Goths* and *Vandals*; they not only had an equal contempt for them and for thoſe nations that cultivated them, but looked upon them as dangerous and unlawful. Their zeal, or rather hatred, againſt them was ſo far from abating, after their return from *Babylon*, where they had ſeen them flouriſh, that it rather grew into a kind of fury, inſomuch that their large chronic, intitled *Juchaſin*, hath recorded a ſentence of anathema, which paſſed in the time of *Hircanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, againſt ſuch as ſhould ſuffer their children to be inſtructed in any part of the *Greek* learning. *Solomon* indeed, we are told, was an excellent naturaliſt, and wrote a great deal upon that ſubject; but he was ſo far from recommending that ſtudy to others, that he calls his reſearches of that kind *vanity and vexation of ſpirit*, or, as the original imports, *a feeding upon the wind* p: which is probably the reaſon, why, inſtead of following his example, they ſuffered all thoſe excellent writings to be loſt. Whilſt they were thus averſe to the learning of other nations, they were no leſs ſcrupulous of concealing their own from them, eſpecially their ſacred books; witneſs the grief they expreſſed, when *Ptolemy* obtained a verſion of them into *Greek*, in memory of which they have kept a ſtrict, even a double faſt, on the eighth and ninth days of the month *Thevet*, or *December*.

ON the other hand they were no leſs careful to cultivate the knowledge of them among themſelves: we cannot indeed *Synagogue.*

o Ibid xvi. 10, & ſeq. p Eccleſ. i. & ſeq. paſſ.

though whether they or the *Chaldeans* were ſo, the *Jews* never admitted of it till after the captivity; for the firſt mention that we find of hours, properly ſo called, is in the apocryphal book of *Judith*; ſo that, in all reſpects, their computation of time was different from the reſt of the world. Even their very ſeaſons are not called by the uſual names of ſpring and autumn, but of ſeed-time and harveſt, cold and heat, winter and ſummer (55).

(55) *Vid. Gen. viii. ver. ult. & alib. paſſ. Vid.* & Whiſt. *Theory.*

be

be ſure that they had any ſynagogues before the captivity, though it be far from improbable, conſidering the great diſtance at which ſome of them lived from the temple, and that at beſt they were obliged to reſort thither but thrice in a year; but other places they had for prayer and inſtruction, namely, *Schools.* the ſchools of the prophets, to which they might repair on the ſabbaths, new moons, and other feſtivals [q]. By prophets we mean not thoſe ſtrictly ſo called, men endued with a ſpirit of prophecy (M), but their diſciples, or, as the *Hebrew* idiom words it, the ſons of the prophets. The former were generally conſulted by the kings, prieſts, and elders of the people upon all extraordinary occaſions, whether about religion or ſtate affairs [r], and the latter were brought up under them, and fitted for inſtructing the people, in the way of virtue and the worſhip of God.

Prophets. THESE had their habitations chiefly in the country, they lived in a kind of ſociety among themſelves, and had generally one or more of the prophets to be heads over them, and to whom they gave the title of father [s]. Their houſes were but mean, and of their own building [t]. Their food was chiefly pottage made of herbs [u]; unleſs when the people ſent ſome better fare to them, ſuch as bread, parched corn, honey,

[q] Vid. 2 King. iv. 23. [r] Vid. 1 King xxii. 5, 7. 2 King. xix. 2. 20, & ſeq. Jerem. xxxvii. 3, & ſeq. Ezek. xiv. 1, & ſeq. & alib. [s] 1 Sam. ix. 6. 2 King. vi. 1, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. ver. 2, 3, & 4. [u] Ibid. iv. 38, & ſeq.

(M) The word prophet doth not always ſignify an inſpired perſon in the old teſtament, but often a preacher of righteouſneſs, ſuch as were all the patriarchs from *Seth*, or, in the ſenſe of the goſpel, ſuch as believed and taught the coming of the *Meſſiah* (56); in which ſenſe alſo thoſe that preached him and his doctrine after his coming, are alſo called prophets, and their preaching prophecy (57). The ſame may be alſo ſaid of thoſe who ſang the praiſes of God, or accompanied them with ſome muſical inſtrument, as *Miriam* (58), the company of prophets that met *Saul* (59), and the ſons of *Aſaph*, of *Heman*, and *Jeduthun*, who are ſaid to have propheſied with harps, pſalteries, and cymbals (60); tho' they were properly no other than muſicians. The apoſtle gives the title of prophet, even to the heathen poets (61); and hence comes that diſtinction in St. *Auſtin* of *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian*, and *Heathen* prophets (62).

(56) *Luke* i. 70. (57) *Vid.* 1 *Cor.* xi. 4. xiv. 24, 29, & *ſeq.* & *alib.* (58) *Exod.* xv. 20. (59) 1 *Sam.* x. 5. (60) 1 *Chron.* xxv. 1. (61) *Tit.* i. 12. (62) *Præfat. in lib* xix. *cont. Fauſt.*

dried

dried fruits, and the like [x]. Their dreſs was plain and coarſe, and tied about with a leathern girdle [y]; their wants being ſo few were eaſily ſupplied by their own hands, and as their views reached no farther, ſo they limited their labour to that, that they might beſtow the more time in prayer, ſtudy, and retirement. Riches were no temptation to them in ſuch a ſtate, and therefore *Eliſha* not only refuſed *Naaman*'s preſents, but puniſhed *Gehazi* in a ſevere manner, for having clandeſtinely obtained a ſmall portion of them [z]. This laborious, recluſe and abſtemious courſe of life, joined to the meaneſs of dreſs, gave them ſuch a ſtrange air, eſpecially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better than madmen [a]. Their extraordinary freedom in reproving even princes for their wicked deeds, did likewiſe expoſe them frequently to perſecutions, impriſonments, and ſometimes to death; eſpecially in the reigns of ſome wicked princes, ſuch as were *Ahab* and *Manaſſeh*; but in the main, they were always reſpected by the better and wiſer ſort, even of the higheſt rank, and uſed with the utmoſt reverence and regard both in language and behaviour [b].

THIS is all that we know concerning thoſe religious communities and their manner of life: thoſe who have ventured to give us a further account of it, ſuch as their living in perpetual celibacy, poverty, obedience, and the like, have ſpun it out of their own brain [c]. It is true, that we do not read of any women living amongſt them, and that when the *Shunammite* went to acquaint *Eliſha* with the death of her ſon, he ſent *Gehazi* to meet her, and that when ſhe would have fallen down at his maſter's feet, he offered to hinder her; but it is alſo certain, that ſeveral of the prophets were married, and had children, as *Samuel*, *Iſaiah*, whoſe wife is called a propheteſs [d], *Ezekiel* [e], and *Hoſea* [f], and it was the widow of one of the ſons of the prophets, whoſe oil *Eliſha* did miraculouſly multiply, to ſave her ſons from being ſold to the creditors of the deceaſed [g]. The propheteſſes were likewiſe married, *Deborah* was the wife of *Lapidoth* [h], and *Huldah*, whom king *Joſiah* ſent to conſult, was the wife of *Shallum*, and ſhe is obſerved (in the text) to have lived in the college of *Jeruſalem* [i]. Theſe

[x] 1 King. xiv. 3, & ſeq. 2 King. iv. 42, & alib. [y] Vid. Zech. xiii. 4. 2 King. i. 8. [z] 2 King. v. paſſ. [a] Ibid. ii. 23. ix. 11. [b] 1 King. xviii. 7, & ſeq. 2 King. i. 13. xiii. 14, & alib. [c] Vid. int. al. BALDUC. Eccl. ant. leg. CALM. ſub. voc. prophet. [d] Iſai. viii. 3. [e] Ezek. xxiv. 18. [f] Hoſ. i. 2, & ſeq. [g] 2 King. iv. 1, & ſeq. [h] Judg. iv. 4. [i] 2 King. xxii. 14, 15.

inſpired

inſpired perſons, whilſt they continued in *Iſrael*, which was till the return from *Babylon*, being the ſureſt expounders of the *Moſaic* law, proved ſuch a ſtrong fence againſt ſchiſm and hereſy, (that political one of *Jeroboam* excepted, againſt which they waged a continual war) that it could never get footing among them (N); whereas prophecy no ſooner ceaſed, than they ſplit themſelves into ſuch a great variety of ſects, and gave ſuch a ſcope to their fertile fancies, that the *Talmudiſts* own, *Elias* himſelf would be at a loſs to ſolve the ſubtile difficulties which they have raiſed againſt each other [k].

[k] Tract. Megillath.

(N) We muſt not however paſs by a diſtinction, which the antient *Jews* have hammered out of the ſacred writings, between the חסידים *Haſſidim*, called by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers *Aſſidei* †, the צדקים *Tzadikim*, and רשעים *Reſhabim*. The words properly ſignify no more than *merciful*, *juſt*, and *wicked men*; and the aſſembly or company of the two former is often oppoſed to that of the latter, not as being different ſects, but as perſons of a different character. But the *Talmudiſts* have attributed ſome peculiar opinions to each of theſe, though they are not quite agreed, whether they related to ſpeculation or practice. They give the preference to the *Haſſidim* in both reſpects, as being the honeſteſt interpreters and practicers of the law, and the *Phariſees* boaſt themſelves ſprung from them; though much more likely from the *Tzadikim*, which were an over-ſtrict and ſcrupulous ſect, pretending much to works of ſupererogation, to whom it is thought the advice of *Solomon* was directed, *be not righteous over-much* (63). Theſe however are the tenets attributed to each of them with reſpect to *meum* and *tuum* (64). The *Haſſidim* ſaid, *what is mine is yours*; the *Reſhabim*, *what is yours is mine*; but the *Tzadikim*, *what is mine is mine*, and *what is yours is yours*. To this the apoſtle ſeems to allude, when he ſays (65), *that ſcarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man ſome would even dare to die, whilſt Chriſt vouchſafed to die, even for the worſt of the three, even for the wicked*; where the δίκαιος alludes to the *Tzadik*, or *rigidly righteous*, and ἀγαθὸς to the *Haſſid*, or *merciful man*, as *the wicked* to the *Reſhabim*. Whether that diſtinction likewiſe of our Saviour (66), between the good and the bad, the juſt and unjuſt, hath not probably an eye to this threefold ſort of men, we leave to the reader.

† *Vid.* 1 *Maccab. vii.* 13. (63) *Eccleſ. vii.* 16. (64) *Vid.* D. Kimchi. *in Pſ. ciii.* 17. Bartenor. *gloſſ. in pirke abb. c. ii.* 8. *v.* 10. Wagenſch. *ad lib.* סוטה *c. ix.* 15. (65) *Rom. v.* 7, 8. (66) *Matt. v.* 45.

THESE prophets, the *Talmudiſts* reckon from *Abraham* to *Malachi*, to the number of forty eight, and ſix propheteſſes (O). Several of the former are known to us by nothing

(O) The propheteſſes are *Miriam*, *Deborah*, *Hannah*, (*Samuel*'s mother) *Abigail*, *Huldah*, and *Eſther*; ſome add the two *Egyptian* midwives to that number. As for the prophets, they are *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Joſhua*, *Phinehas*, *Elkanah* and his ſon *Samuel*, *Eli*, *Nathan*, *Gad*, *Iddo*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Micaiah* the ſon of *Imlah* (67), *Obadiah*, *Ahijah* the *Shilonite* (68), *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani* (69), *Azariah* the ſon of *Oded* (70), *Ahaziel* the ſon of *Mathaniah*, *Eliezer* the ſon of *Dodavah* (71), *Hoſea*, *Amos*, *Micah*, *Amos* II. ſuppoſed the father of *Iſaiah*, *Elijah*, *Eliſha*, *Iſaiah*, *Jonah*, *Nahum*, *Joel*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Jeremiah*, *Urijah* the ſon of *Shemaiah* (72), *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Baruch*, *Neriah*, *Seraiah* his ſon, *Maaſeiah* his father (73), *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, *Malachi*, *Mordecai*, *Shallum* the huſband of *Huldah*, and *Hanameel*, *Jeremiah*'s kinſman, of whom he bought a field (74).

Some add, that when the father of any prophet is mentioned, he is alſo a prophet (75); as where *Jeremiah* is ſaid to be the ſon of *Hilkiah*, *Hoſea* the ſon of *Beeri* (76), *&c.* and that when the place of his nativity is not mentioned, he is ſuppoſed to have been of *Jeruſalem* (77).

It is obſerveable, with reſpect to *Daniel*, that though the *Jews* allow him a rank among the other prophets, yet they will not admit his writings among thoſe of the other prophets, but only among the *Hagiographa*, which they look upon as of the leaſt authority of all the canonical books. The reaſons they give for it, are 1. That *Daniel* was a courtier, and ſpent his life in luxury and grandeur, in the ſervice of an uncircumciſed king. 2. That the ſpirit of prophecy was confined to the land of *Canaan*, out of which he lived all his life: to theſe ſome have added a third, namely, that he had been made an eunuch, according to *Iſaiah*'s prophecy to *Hezekiah* (78), and that ſuch were excluded from entering into the congregation of the Lord (79). Some learned *Jews* have indeed vindicated him from this laſt imputation (80), but their *Gemarrah* doth caſt ſtill a much more injurious reflection upon him, namely, that he ſtole away privately into *Egypt* to buy hogs, whilſt *Nebuchadnezzar* was ſetting up his golden image, and his three friends *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego*, were condemned to the

(67) 1 *King.* xxii. 8, *& ſeq.* (68) *Ibid.* xi 29. (69) *Ibid.* xvi. 1. (70) 2 *Chron.* xv 1. (71) *Ibid.* xx. *ult.* (72) *Jerem.* xxvi. 20; *& ſeq.* (73) *Ibid.* li. 59. (74) *Ibid.* xxxii. 7, *& ſeq. de his prophet. vid. Seder olam. miner.* (75) *Vid* Kimch. *in* Hoſ. i. (76) *Jer. & Hoſ.* i. 1. (77) Kimch *ibid.* (78) 2 *King.* xx. 18. (79) *Deut.* xxiii. 1. (80) *Vid.* Abençar *in Dan.*

thing but their names; as for the reſt of them, we ſhall refer the farther account of their actions, writings, and character, till we come to the hiſtory of thoſe kings in whoſe reigns they lived, and with which they have an immediate relation. The ways by which God revealed himſelf to them were various; to ſome he appeared and ſpoke, either in a human or ſome other viſible form, as he did to *Abraham* and *Moſes*; to others by voice only, as to *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Hoſea*, and others [l]; ſometimes by viſions, as he did to *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and others [m]: at other times by dreams [n]; but the moſt uſual and general way was by the ſole operation of the ſpirit of God, acting on the mind of the prophet. In this laſt manner, the book of *Pſalms* is generally thought to have been dictated by the *Holy Ghoſt* to the author, or rather the authors of it, *Moſes*, *David*, *Solomon*, the three ſons of *Chore*, *Aſaph*, and the reſt [o].

SECT. VI.

The JEWISH CHRONOLOGY, *from* Abraham's *vocation to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity*.

WE have ſhewn, in a former ſection, that the time which elapſed from *Abraham*'s firſt entrance into *Canaan*, to *Jacob*'s deſcent into *Egypt*, was 215 years †, and that his poſterity continued in the latter, another 215 years *, in all 430. From their coming out of

[l] 1 Sam. iii. 4, & ſeq. Jerem. i. 4, & ſeq. & alib. Hoſ. i. 2. [m] Iſai. vi. 1, & ſeq. Ezek. i. 4, & ſeq. Dan. vii. 1, & ſeq. [n] Dan. ii. 19. Mat. i. 20, & al. Act. xvi 9. [o] Vid. HIERON. præfat. in pſalm. † Comp. the years in the margin, in Vol. II. p. 358. note (E). * Ibid. p. 363. note (K).

ſtames for refuſing to worſhip it (81). But it is plain, that all this rancour ſprings from the great uſe, which the *Chriſtians* have ſince made of his writings againſt them, in ſpite of the noble character which *Ezekiel* gives him, when he mentions him with *Noah* and *Job* (82). Even *Joſephus*, though he allows him to have been a complete politician, is ſo far from denying him the title of prophet, that he doth even give him the preference to the reſt, in ſeveral reſpects (83). But the reſt of the *Jews* have thrown his prophecies into the ספר כתובים *Sepher Kethubim*, among thoſe of *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, &c. (84).

(81) *Tractat. Sanhedr.* (82) *Ezek.* xiv. & *paſſ.* (83) *Ant. l. x. c.* 12. (84) *Vide* Hieron. *præfat. in Iſai.* Maimon. *More Nevoch. pt.* 2. Grot. *præfat. in Iſai.* Munſt. Bund. & *al.*

that

that bondage to *Solomon*'s laying the foundation of the temple, the text tells us, was 480 years [a]; from thence to the deſtruction of it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* was carried into captivity, are reckoned 422 years [b]: ſo that the whole time of this epoch, from the vocation of *Abraham* to the *Babyloniſh* captivity, amounts to 1332. As to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, it laſted only 254 years from its defection from that of *Judah*, in the 37th year after the building of the temple, to their being carried away captive by *Shalmaneſer*; which happened 134 years before the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

THUS far then the larger diviſions of this æra are fixed upon a ſolid ground, the authority of the ſacred writers; but leſt our readers ſhould think it equally eaſy to adjuſt the ſmaller periods, eſpecially thoſe which relate to the ſeveral reigns of their judges and kings; or ſhould think it impoſſible to err in them, becauſe the length of each is tranſmitted to us by inſpired writers, from whom it would be impious to diſſent; we beg leave to remind them, before we give a liſt of thoſe monarchs, of what has been obſerved in the preamble prefixed to the firſt volume of this work, concerning the vaſt, and almoſt irreconcileable, difference there is between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* chronology, as well as between theſe two and that of the ſeptuagint; to ſay nothing of *Joſephus* and other *Jewiſh* writers. We did alſo give our reaſons there, for preferring the *Samaritan*, as far as it went, to all the reſt, even to the *Hebrew*, which laſt is juſtly ſuppoſed to have been corrupted by the *Jews*, and mutilated by the careleſsneſs of copyiſts. We have given a pregnant proof of the latter in another ſection ‡, and ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſay ſomething further of the former.

But theſe are not the only cauſes of the difficulty one finds in ſettling the *Jewiſh* chronology, we beg leave to add a few others equally conſiderable; and theſe are, 1. That the ſacred writers affected to uſe round numbers in their large computations, without minding too ſcrupulouſly the odd years that fell over or under them. 2. The ſame they did in their leſſer reckonings; thoſe, for inſtance, of their kings reigns, which they computed by complete years, and overlooked the odd months, which the firſt and laſt happened to fall ſhort of; by which it often happened, that a whole year was gained within the compaſs of two or three reigns, or of forty or fifty years. 3. The book of *Judges*, whoever was the author of

[a] 1 King. vi. 1. and USHER's ann. p. 31. [b] See the marginal chronol. of our Bibles, ‡ See Vol. II. p. 355. not (B).

it (P), compared with *Josephus*'s history of them, seems only a short account of so many persons, and of their government,

(P) It is plain, that it was not begun and continued by several hands, under the government of each judge, as some have imagined; not only from the uniformity of style throughout, but also because the author of it, whoever he was, gives a kind of epitome of the whole book at the beginning (85); and the expression which often occurs in it, that in *those days there was no king in* Israel (86) shews it to have been written after the beginning of their monarchy. On the other hand, those who date it after the captivity, because it is said there (87), that *Jonathan* and his sons continued to be priests until the day of the captivity of the land, which they think must at least be that of *Tiglath-pileser*, (88) seem to post-date it prodigiously, not considering, that by what the author says at the beginning (89), *that the children of* Benjamin *dwell with the* Jebusites *in* Jerusalem, *unto this day*, he must have lived before these were driven out of it by *David*. It is therefore more probable, as the *Jews* think that the captivity here spoken of, was the battle which the *Israelites* lost against the *Philistines*, when the ark was taken by them; at which time, one may reasonably suppose a great number of the people were also taken captive.

What makes this conjecture still more probable is, that in the very next verse to that where the captivity is mentioned, the author adds, *that the* Danites *set up* Micha's *ephod all the time that the house of God was in* Shiloh, which was only till they fetched the ark from thence, to carry it against the *Philistines*; and this was about the beginning of *Samuel*'s time; for after its return it was not carried back to *Shiloh*, but to *Kirjath-jearim* (90). If the *ephod* then continued no longer in *Dan*, there was no farther need of keeping any priests to sacrifice unto it. Neither indeed is it credible, that such a notorious piece of idolatry could have continued under *Samuel*'s government, when it is expressly said, that he made the children of *Israel* put away their strange gods to serve the Lord alone (91).

It seems therefore very probable to us, that a mistake has been committed in the last word of that 30th verse, from the likeness of the final letters; and that instead of גלות הארץ *the captivity of the land*, it was originally written גלות הארון *the captivity of the ark*. From all which it will follow, that *Samuel* lived at the time of this book's being written; and consequently, that he is most likely to have been the author of it. Neither will the supposition of a much later captivity destroy this conjec-

(85) Ch. ii. 10, *& seq.* (86) Ch. xvii. 6 xviii. 1. xix. 1, *& alib.* (87) Judg. xviii. 30. (88) *See* 2 King. xv. 29. (89) Ch. i. ver. 21. (90) *Conf.* 1 Sam. iv. 4, & vii. 1, 2. (91) *Ibid. ver.* 3, 4.

ture,

ment, without regard to the interregnums and anarchies, which happened between any of them. It ſeems indeed as if they were deſignedly paſſed by, as dead *epochas* not worth recording. But laſtly, and to mention no more, after the diviſion of the two kingdoms, the length of every king's reign ſeems indeed exactly ſet down, and the ſynchroniſms between thoſe of *Judah* and *Iſrael* exactly obſerved; and yet there often happens ſuch jarring and diſagreement between them, as cannot be reconciled by any other way, than by ſuppoſing that ſome of thoſe monarchs, in either kingdom, were taken into copartnerſhip with their predeceſſors, and that the beginning of their reigns was dated from that time, and not from that of their father's death. The neceſſity of this ſuppoſition cannot but be obvious to thoſe who are converſant with chronological works, eſpecially thoſe of the learned *Uſher*. How far the *Jewiſh* computation by lunar years, their ignorance of aſtronomy, and want of exact tables, of which we have lately had occaſion to ſpeak under another head, may have increaſed theſe difficulties, we need not ſay. But theſe and many more we willingly omit, have induced a great number of learned chronologers, antient and modern, ſuch as St. *Jerom*, *Scaliger*, *Voſſius*, *Genebrard*, and others, to think it next to impoſſible to adjuſt the *Jewiſh* chronology by thoſe few books we have extant, and which are but epitomes of more full and comprehenſive hiſtories long ſince loſt.

WE need not tell our readers, that the hiſtories of ſeveral kings are ſaid in the text to have been written by contemporary prophets, of whom we have nothing extant but their names; and that the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* conclude every king's reign in words to this effect: *Now the reſt of the acts of* ſuch a king, *his valour and conqueſt*, and the like, *are they not written in the book of the kings* (or *Chronicles*) *of the kings* of *Judah* (or *Iſrael*). Now it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that thoſe we have extant under the name of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, do refer to one another, ſeeing, ſome few inconſiderable particulars excepted, they all mention the ſame things, and almoſt word for word; and are alike regardleſs of all the other particulars of thoſe reigns. It is therefore more reſonable to ſuppoſe, that they referred the readers to more exact and voluminous annals or hiſtories, written by proper perſons in every reign, and which either periſhed during the captivity, or ſince. But whether we aſcribe the diffi-

ture, if we ſuppoſe that *Ezra*, or any of the inſpired writers that returned from that of *Babylon*, might add this circumſtance, as we have made it probable already, they did many others to the hiſtorical books, by way of illuſtration.

ficulties

ficulties of the *Jewish* chronology to the loss of these books, to the *Jews* corrupting of the text, or to the carelessness of transcribers; any or all of these will sufficiently account for the different ways, by which almost every chronologer has endeavoured to fix the various *æras* before the birth of Christ; concerning which we shall refer our readers to our preface above mentioned, and to the tables thereto annexed.

THE *Jews* indeed, whether antient or modern, do not differ so widely from one another *in this respect as the Christians* do; but then it is plain, from the tables abovementioned, that they have shortned, one and all, the space between the creation of the world, and the birth of Christ, by 240 years, little more or less, of the vulgar *æra*. Whether therefore this was wilfully done, and with design to explode the completion of the prophecies concerning the time of the Messiah's coming, which is but too likely, seeing their chronology from that time to this, doth exactly agree with ours, this being their 5495th year from the creation; or whether it happened through the inadvertency of copyists, which yet was hardly ever granted by any true *Jew*; their chronology can no more be reconciled to ours, than to that of the *Egyptians*, or of any other nation.

THE truth is, that all their records, the sacred books excepted, are not only of recenter date than their *Talmud*, but seem wholly directed by it. So that whatever small difference is to be met with between them, in point of chronology, is rather owing to a different reading or understanding of that book, than a deviation from it; and of what authority both this and the others ought to be to us, we need not tell the reader. However, for the satisfaction of those who are not acquainted with these chronological works, we shall subjoin some few of the most considerable, together with their authors, as far as they are known, and the time in which they were compiled.

AND here we shall pass by their fictitious *Josephus Ben Gorion*, whom they have obtruded upon the world instead of the real one, so well known to the *Christians*, and so often mentioned in this history. The reader may see an account of these two, and the reasons of the former being trumped up by the *Jews*, in opposition to the latter, in *Prideaux's Connexion* [c], where he will find also a fuller account of the following chronological works; which we shall, for that reason, content ourselves with the bare mention of, and only observe here, that they follow the *Hebrew* text as far as it goes; the rest is mostly supplied by the *Talmud* to the time of its being compiled, and then by authors of a recenter date.

[c] Preface to the 3d vol. p. 28. & seq.

THE

THE firſt is the *Sedar Holam rabbah*, or large *Chronicle*; which contains a ſhort hiſtory from the creation, and is generally attributed to one rabbi *Joſe Ben Chalephta*, who flouriſhed, if we may believe the generality of the *Jews*, about 130 years after Chriſt, and is ſaid to have been maſter to the famous *Jehudah Hakodeſh*, the compiler of the *Miſhnah* [d]; but what ſhews him to be of more modern date is, that his work is continued down to the time of the emperor *Adrian* [e]. And *Prideaux* obſerves, that the book is ſtuffed with rabbinic fables; which certainly appear to have been taken out of the *Babyloniſh Talmud*; from which he concludes that it was written after it [f]. To this we may add what a learned *Jew* tells us [g], that he had ſeen a copy of it, in which it was ſaid, that the author lived 760 years after the deſtruction of the temple.

2. THE *Sheeloth* and *Teſhuboth*, are *queſtions* and *anſwers*, dialoguewiſe; of rabbi *Sherira*, ſurnamed *Gaon*, or *the ſublime*. This is a chronological epitome, the author of which flouriſhed from the year 967 downward [h].

3. THE *Sedar Holam Zutta*, or *the leſſer Chronicle*, another epitome of hiſtory, from the creation to the year of Chriſt 552; but whoſe unknown author lived, as the book itſelf ſays, about the year 1123 [i].

4. *Sepher Cabbala Rabbi Abraham Levita Ben Dior*; this book pretends to give a continued and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of all the patriarchs, prophets, elders, and wiſe men, through whoſe hands the oral tradition paſſed, from *Adam* to *Moſes*, and ſo on to the compilers of the *Talmud*, and from thence to the year of Chriſt 1141. This author doth often abridge the fictitious *Joſephus Ben Gorion*, and is ſuppoſed to be the firſt who brought that ſpurious author and his book into credit among the *Jews*.

5. THE *Sepher Juchaſin*, or *book of genealogies*, from the creation to the year of Chriſt 1500. This is a much larger work than any of the former.

6. THE *Shalſheleth*, or *chain of the cabbala*, of the ſame kind with the *Juchaſin*.

7. THE *Tzemach David*, or *ſprout of David*, treats on the ſame ſubject with the two laſt. Theſe three are ſtill more modern, and leſs worth our notice [k]. Beſides theſe, we find an

[d] Vid. WOLF. Bibliot. Rabbin. num. 848. p. 462. & ſeq. [e] See MORIN. BARTOLC. BUXTORF. & al. [f] PRID. ubi ſup. [g] R. AZAR. *Meor. Henaim*. pt. 3. [h] Vid. WOLF. & PRID. ubi ſup. [i] Vid. *Sepher Juchaſin*, *Shalſheleth* & *Tzemach David*. ap. WOLF. ub. ſup. [k] Id. & PRID. ub. ſup.

apocryphal

apocryphal book, intituled, *Dibre hajamim*, or *chronicle of Moſes*; but which is univerſally rejected by the *Jews* as well as *Chriſtians*. As for the *Samaritan* chronicle, publiſhed by *Bernard* [l] and *Baſnage* [m], it is ſo ſhort, obſcure, and incorrect, that it could yield us but little help in this particular, were it of greater authority than it is. Theſe, eſpecially the firſt ſeven, are the books which the *Jews* urge againſt our chronology, and from which they pretend to demonſtrate, that Chriſt appeared earlier in the world by about 240 years, than we ſay he did: But as their authority is altogether founded upon that of the *Talmud*, we ſhall ſpend no more time in confuting either [n].

WE paſs by alſo the *Jewiſh Targums*, or *Chaldee paraphraſes*, becauſe we have none upon the book of the *Judges* or of the *Kings*. But upon the whole, whatever ſmall differences there may be between thoſe chronological works, they all agree in the ſeries and ſucceſſion of their kings and judges, in the ſame order of time as we find them in thoſe two ſacred books and that of the *Chronicles*. It is true, that this laſt doth ſometimes jar with thoſe of *Samuel* and *Kings* in point of numbers, whether of years or other things mentioned in both. But ſuch differences are ſcarce worth the pains which ſome critics have taken to reconcile them. We ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel of their hiſtory, to hint at ſome of the latter ſort; and as to the firſt, the only inſtance we are going to give, will eaſily convince the reader, that, in theſe caſes, ſome errors have manifeſtly crept into the text, whether through the likeneſs of the numerical *Hebrew* letters, or the negligence of copyiſts, whatever the *Jews* may pretend to the contrary: The place we mean is, where the book of *Chronicles* ſays, that *Ahaziah* was 42 years of age when he began to reign [o], contrary to that of *Kings*, which makes him but [illegible] years old [p]. It will be no hard matter to find where the miſtake lies, ſince, according to the former author, this monarch muſt have been two years older than his father, who is affirmed to have died in the 40th year of his age [q]. It were ridiculous to follow the forced and unnatural ſolution of two or three authors, who have in vain endeavoured to ſolve the difficulty [r], againſt the far greater majority, who have plainly owned, that it could not be removed by any other way, than by owning

[l] AP CALMET ſub voc. croniq. [m] Hiſtoire des Juifs. T. 6. lib. 8. c. 6. [n] Vid. PRID. Conn. ub. ſup. & pt. 1. lib. 5. [o] 2 Chron. xxii. 2. [p] 2 Kings viii. 26. [q] 2 Chr. xxi. ver. ult. [r] USSER. an. BROUGHTON, JUN. in loc.

the bigger number to be an error of the tranſcriber [r]. The following is the liſt of the judges and kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*. As for their chronology and ſynchroniſms, we ſhall refer them, as we have done hitherto, the former to their hiſtory, and the latter to the chronological table at the end of this work.

A Table of the ISRAELITISH JUDGES.

1. *Othniel*, ſon-in-law to *Joſhua* (A).
2. *Ehud.*
3. *Shamgar.*
4. *Deborah* the propheteſs, and wife of *Lapidoth* (B), and *Barak* her general.
5. *Gideon*, or *Jerubbaal.*
6. *Abimelech* his ſon.
7. *Tola.*
8. *Jair.*
9. *Jephthah* the *Gileadite.*
10. *Ibzan.*
11. *Elon.*
12. *Abdon.*
13. *Eli* the high-prieſt.
14. *Samſon.*
15. *Samuel.*

The JEWISH KINGS *before* Jeroboam's *Revolt.*

Saul. *Iſhboſheth.* *David.* *Solomon.*

[r] JEROM. KIMCH. ABARBAN. L. DE DIEU. PISCAT. CAJET. SCALIG. GROT. CAPPEL. & al. mult. Vid. & NORT. KNATCHBUL Animadv. in N. T. in act. iv. LE SCEN. Eſſay on a N. Verſ. pt. 2. ch. vi. § 8. & al. mult.

(A) *Joſephus* makes *Kenaz* the father of *Othniel*, to have been the firſt judge in *Iſrael* (1); and takes no notice of his ſon, either as his copartner, or ſucceſſor; but the text is intirely againſt him, which gives that dignity to the latter, and attributes the ſignal victory to him; for which he was choſen and continued in it forty years (2).

(B) Some read אשת־לפידות *Eſheth-Lapidoth*, a woman of *Lapidoth*, ſuppoſing that to be the name of the place of her abode; and others, becauſe *Lapidoth* properly ſignifies lamps, will have her called by that name, becauſe ſhe ſpun the cotton for the lamps that burnt in the holy place. But all this is ſaid without foundation, and *Deborah* is not the only propheteſs that had a huſband. Witneſs *Huldah* the wife of *Shallum*, mentioned in a former note. It doth not appear what tribe *Deborah* was of; the place of her abode was upon the frontiers of *Benjamin* and *Ephraim* (3), and theſe were indifferently inhabited by either tribe.

(1) *Ant. lib.* V. *c.* 4. (2) *See Judg.* iii. 8. & *ſeq.* (3 *Ibid.* iv. 5.

KINGS *of* JUDAH *and* ISRAEL *after the division of the two kingdoms.*

JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
Reboboam.	*Jeroboam.*
Abijam.	*Nadab.*
Asa.	*Baasha.*
	Elah.
	Zimri.
	Omri.
	Ahab.
Jehoshaphat.	*Ahaziah.*
Jehoram.	
Ahaziah.	*Jehoram.*
Athaliah.	*Jehu.*
Jehoash.	
Amaziah.	*Jehoahaz.*
Uzziah, or *Azariah.*	*Jehoash.*
	Jeroboam II.
	An inter-regnum of 11½ years.
	Zachariah.
	Shallum.
	Menahem.
Jotham.	*Pekahiah.*
Ahaz.	*Pekah.*
Hezekiah.	*Hoshea.*
Manasseh.	
Amon.	
Josiah.	
Shallum, or *Jehoahaz.*	
Eliakim, or *Jehoiakim.*	
Jechoniah, or *Coniah*, called also *Jehoiakim.*	
Mattaniah, called also *Zedekiah.*	

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the JUDGES *that governed* Iſrael, *from the Death of* Joſhua *to* Saul *their firſt king.*

JOSHUA had attained to the 110th year of his age, by that time he had finiſhed his arduous task of ſettling the tribes each in their proper lot, diſmiſſing the two tribes and half to their own, on the other ſide *Jordan*, and appointing the cities of the *Levites*, and of *Refuge*, as we have ſeen in a former ſection. Finding therefore, that he was drawing to his end, he called to him all the heads of *Iſrael* at *Shechema* [a]; and after the example of *Moſes*, reminded them of all the wonderful and ſignal favours which God had ſhewed to them, from their fore-father *Abraham* unto that time; and how much they were bound by intereſt as well as duty, to continue ſtedfaſt in their obedience to him, and by no means to ſuffer themſelves to be enſnared into idolatry, or into a conformity with the ways of the *Canaanites*; which could not but prove fatal to them, as it had been to their anceſtors. He added, that as for them they were at their choice, whether they would ſerve the Lord, or the gods of *Canaan*; but himſelf and his houſe were fully reſolved to continue ſtedfaſt in the worſhip of the true God. This pathetic exhortation of their venerable general, whom they now ſaw for the laſt time, extorted from them an univerſal promiſe, that they would all follow his example, and cleave unto God. *Joſhua* took care to ſee it recorded, and cauſed a monument to be erected in memory of this new covenant, under the oak that grew in the precinct of the tabernacle. He died ſoon after, and was buried at *Timnath-ſerah* in mount *Ephraim*, which was his own inheritance. His death was ſoon followed by that of *Eleazar* the ſon of *Aaron*, who was ſucceeded by his ſon *Phinehas* in the high-prieſthood. By degrees the reſt of the ſeventy elders, who had outlived *Joſhua* died alſo; and with them, one would have thought, not only the remembrance of *Joſhua* and of their late covenant, ſo ſolemnly ſworn to by all the tribes, but even all ſenſe of religion and fear of God, or regard to his laws; inſomuch, that *Joſhua* had been ſcarce dead twenty years, before we find them ſunk over head and ears into confuſion and idolatry.

Joſhua's *death.*

Year of the Flood, 1556. Year before Chriſt, 1443.

A GREAT part of *Canaan* remained ſtill unconquered when that general died, ſo that they could not, without pur-

[a] Joſh. xxiii. & xxiv. p. tot.

Judah's war.

ſuing their conqueſt, ſecure the poſſeſſion of what they had. *Judah* was appointed by the oracle to begin the war; *Caleb*, the ſon of *Jephunneh*, famous for his bravery and faithfulneſs, in the report he made of the land of *Canaan* [b], was head of that tribe, and engaged that of *Simeon*, with which his own was interwoven, to join forces with him againſt the king of *Bezek* [c]. We have ſeen elſewhere the juſt fate of that inſolent petty prince †. As for *Caleb*, he ſet himſelf immediately about the conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*, which had been retaken by the *Jebuſites* from the tribe of *Benjamin*, and ſoon after took and burnt it to the ground; the beſieged retiring into the fortreſs of *Zion* [d]. After this he turned his forces towards the ſouth, againſt the cities of *Hebron* [e], or *Kirjath-arba*, and *Debir*, called alſo *Kirjath-ſepher*, which were then inhabited by the gigantić ſons of *Anak*. Theſe had been formerly promiſed to him by *Moſes*, as a reward of his faithfulneſs, and yielded to him accordingly by *Joſhua* a little before his death: *Caleb* however who was then above fourſcore and five years of age, tho' ſtill ſtrong and vigorous, thought it prudent not to exhauſt his ſtrength too far in the ſiege of thoſe ſtrong places, and therefore propoſed his daughter *Achſah* as a reward to the man that took *Kirjath-ſepher*; and it was not long before it was gained by *Othniel*, a man of valour and of his own family (A), whoſe conduct and bravery upon this occaſion did raiſe him ſoon after to the dignity of judge.

WHILST

[b] Vid. Numb. xiii. 6. & 30. xiv. 6, & alib. [c] Judg. i. 3. & ſeq. † See Vol. II. p. 180. [d] Judg. i. 8. [e] Vid. Joſh. xiv. 9, & ſeq.

(A) The text calls him the ſon of *Kenaz*, brother to *Caleb* (1); ſo that it is not eaſy to determine, whether he, or his father, was *Caleb*'s brother. The ſeptuagint and vulgate have taken it in the firſt ſenſe; but it is plain, he was not his brother by the father's ſide, becauſe the one is called the ſon of *Jephunneh*, and the other the ſon of *Kenaz*; neither can they be ſuppoſed to be uterine brothers, becauſe, in ſuch a caſe, the law of *Moſes* would not have permitted the one to have given his daughter to the other. The diſparity of age is another proof of it: *Caleb* was then above 85 years of age; *Othniel* therefore muſt be ſuppoſed much younger, to have married his daughter, who was an heireſs. Neither could he have married her, if his father *Kenaz* had been *Caleb*'s brother; becauſe the marriage of an aunt is likewiſe forbidden by the *Moſaic* law. It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that *Caleb* and *Kenaz* were

(1) *Joſh.* xv. 17. *Jud.* i. 13.

firſt-

WHILST *Caleb* and his new ſon-in-law were employed in enlarging their inheritance, the other tribes were doing the ſame in their ſeveral lots. But whether out of compaſſion to the poor *Canaanites*, doomed to deſtruction, or out of an ambitious deſire of having vaſſals under them, they wholly neglected the expreſs order of their law-giver, and inſtead of extirpating them, contented themſelves with laying them under tribute; this proved the ſource of all their misfortunes, and of thoſe many ſlaveries that enſued; for the oppreſſed *Canaanites* did, at leaſt in appearance, ſo patiently ſubmit to their yoke, that they became leſs cautious of them; they grew by degrees more intimate with them, and by that means were ſo far enſnared with the beauty of their women, as to contract affinities with them. Theſe unhappy intermarriages ſoon debauched them into all their idolatries, and reconciled them to the worſhip of *Baal*, *Aſhtaroth*, and other gods of *Canaan*, and at once provoked God to forſake them, and gave their enemies an opportunity of regaining their liberties, and of oppreſſing them in their turns.

IT was during this time of apoſtacy and confuſion, that *Micah*, a wealthy man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, is ſuppoſed to have erected that idol in his houſe, which was ſoon after taken from him by the *Danites*, and ſet up at *Dan*. The ſtory of it is indeed related at the end of the book of the *Judges*, from whence ſome have concluded, that it happened after *Samſon*'s death [f]; whilſt others place it about the latter end

[f] Vid. Sedar Holam. SERAR. & al. in loc.

firſt-couſins, which the original doth often call brothers; in which caſe *Othniel* and *Achſah* might lawfully marry. St. *Auſtin* and after him *Vatablus*, affirm *Othniel* to have been not only a great warriour, but alſo a learned doctor of that law (2), and ſo doubly eager for the conqueſt of a place which was the ſeat of learning at that time †. The *Jews* tell us wonders of the beauty of *Caleb*'s daughter. However her husband was not ſo well ſatisfied with her and her portion, but he prevailed upon her to ſue for an addition to it; which ſhe accordingly did; and upon her complaining of the drought and barrenneſs of the ſouth high lands, which her father had given her, ſhe obtained thoſe of the valleys beneath, which were better watered, and conſequently more fertile. This happened in *Joſhua*'s time (3).

(2) *Vid* Vatabl. *in loc.* † *See before p.* 423. *ſub. fin. not.* (I)
(3) *Vid. Joſh. & Jud. ub. ſup.*

of

of *Joshua*'s life [g]; but the far greater part between *Caleb*'s death and *Othniel*'s being chosen judge [h]. Till that time, the idolatrous *Israelites* seem to have contented themselves with the idols of the *Canaanites*, without setting up any of their own. *Micah* was the first we read of, that took it into his head to outdo them, not only by erecting this, but by consecrating an apartment of his house to it, and procuring a wandering *Levite* to officiate to it. The story, giving us a lively idea of the monstrous absurdities of the religion of those times, and of the degeneracy of the *Israelites*, who could so soon give into them, cannot well be omitted.

The story of Micah.

Micah felt a remorse for having wronged a covetous and superstitious mother of 1100 pieces of silver, which amounted to somewhat above that number of shillings of our money, and for which she had bestowed some severe curses upon him. She conceived such joy at his restoring them to her, that she resolved to consecrate the greatest part of it to what she thought a religious use, such as might prove an equivalent blessing to him, for the curses he had extorted from her. Accordingly, with part of that silver, she and her son purchased two idols, one molten, and the other carved; and with the rest they built a chapel to set them up in, together with some *teraphim*, which they had, in all likelihood, already in the house; they being a kind of little statues, or household gods, which the corrupted *Israelites* had in common with other nations *. To this they added an ephod, or priestly garment, with which *Micah* installed his son to the priestly office of his new gods. Soon after this, a young indigent *Levite* wandering by that way, was hired as a more proper person for that office than his own son.

Year of the Flood, 1586. Year before Christ 1413

Micah thought himself then highly blest; and, having his chapel so well furnished with idols, and, with a priest to administer to them, began to think, that nothing could hinder him from the favour of God [i]; when the *Danites*, who found themselves too streightened in their own tribe, sent out some spies to seek for a new habitation. These chanced to come by that way, and having consulted the *Levite* about the success of their journey, and received a favourable answer, went directly to *Laish*, a considerable town, whose rich inhabitants, like those of *Zidon*, lived in a careless security, without magistrates, soldiery, or strength. They returned, and acquainted their tribe with the joyful

[g] Masius. de Lyr. Riber. & al. [h] Vid. Corn. a Lapid. Grot. Usser. Munst Calmet. & al. * See Vol. II. p. 401. not. (B). [i] Judg. xvii. pass. vid. ver. ult.

news;

news; upon which the *Danites* of *Zorah* and *Eſhtaol* armed 600 of their men; and theſe, with their five ſpies at their head, marched immediately towards *Laiſh*. In their way, the ſpies acquainted them with what they had ſeen at *Micah*'s chapel, and in particular with his having a young *Levite* there, named *Jonathan*, the ſon of *Gerſhom*, from whoſe mouth they had received a promiſe of ſucceſs in this expedition. The text rightly obſerves, that *there was at that time no king* in Iſrael, *and that every one did what was right in his own eyes* [k]. The *Danites* therefore, inſtead of reproving *Micah* for his apoſtacy, and deſtroying his idolatrous chapel, entered it by main force, took away the idols, *teraphim*, and *ephod*, and forced the young prieſt to go along with them to *Laiſh*. *Micah* purſued after them, and made loud complaints that they had robbed him of all that was valuable in life [l]; all the anſwer they gave him was, that his outcries might coſt him his life, and that it was his ſafeſt way to go home quietly. They ſoon arrived at *Laiſh*, took and deſtroyed it, with its inhabitants; and having built a new city, and called it *Dan*, after the name of their progenitor, they ſet up their idols there, and retained young *Jonathan* and his ſons to be their prieſts. The *Septuagint*, vulgate, and ſome *Jewiſh* rabbies, call him the grandſon of *Moſes*, but the original the grandſon of *Manaſſeh* [m]. As for the idol, the text ſays, that it continued there till the captivity of the land; and what that means, we have ſhewed in a former note.

A bloody war againſt Benjamin.

DURING theſe years of anarchy, the inhabitants of *Gibeah* in the tribe of *Benjamin* were guilty of ſo horrid a breach of hoſpitality towards a wandering *Levite*, as proved the cauſe of much bloodſhed, and was like to have occaſioned the ruin of that whole tribe. The *Levite* was bringing his eloped concubine home, and was come to that place towards ſun-ſet. After he had waited ſome time in vain for ſome body to lodge him that night, an old man coming from his work, who was a ſojourner there, being of the tribe of *Ephraim*, came at laſt and invited him to his houſe. They had ſcarce made an end of refreſhing themſelves, when a band of profligate young fellows ſurrounded the houſe, and in a tumultuous manner, demanded the ſtranger to be ſacrificed to their brutiſh luſt, which they made no difficulty to expreſs in the plaineſt terms. This gives one reaſon to believe, that it was no unuſual thing amongſt them. The *Levite* found no other way of ſaving himſelf, but by delivering his concu-

[k] Ibid. ver. 6. [l] Ibid. xviii. 24. [m] Ibid. ver. 30.

bine

bine to them ; and on the next morning he found her dead at the threſhold of the door, whether of ſhame and regret, or of the grievous abuſe ſhe had ſuffered that night. It was in vain to complain of this cruelty in ſuch an abandoned place; he took therefore the dead body with him, and brought it to his own houſe, where he divided it into twelve pieces, and ſent one of them to each tribe, with an account of the occaſion of it. The ſurpriſed tribes aſſembled themſelvs from all parts of *Iſrael* to *Mizpeh*, to the number of 400,000 fighting men, and there the *Levite* gave them a farther account of the injury, which had been done to his concubine, but cunningly concealed his own weakneſs and cowardice, in ſacrificing her to his own ſafety [n]. The whole people had ſcarce heard his ſtory out, when they roſe up as one man, and reſolved not to return to their reſpective homes, till they had puniſhed the authors of that unheard-of action with the utmoſt ſeverity. Whilſt therefore they deputed every tenth man to their reſpective tribes, to fetch them arms and proviſion for the war, they ſent deputies to the heads of the tribe of *Benjamin*, to demand the delivery of theſe profligate *Gibeathites*. But that haughty tribe, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, armed 26000 of their beſt warriours, beſides 700 of the inhabitants of *Gibeah*, to go out againſt them. This unexpected ſtubbornneſs did only exaſperate the eleven tribes the more, and made them vow to take a fuller revenge on that of *Benjamin*. However, they thought proper before all things to conſult the Lord, not whether they ſhould undertake the war againſt their brethren, for that they took for granted was both lawful and incumbent upon them ; but which of the tribes ſhould go out firſt againſt *Benjamin* ; and the Lord anſwered by the mouth of *Phinehas*, the then high-prieſt, that *Judah* ſhould go firſt. They gave them battle accordingly on the next morning, not doubting of a complete victory ; but it proved quite otherwiſe, and *Judah* was repulſed with the loſs of 22000 men. This unexpected defeat filled them with ſurpriſe, and made them apply themſelves again to God, to know whether they ſhould purſue the war againſt their brethren of *Benjamin* ; who anſwered them by the high-prieſt, that they ſhould engage them a ſecond time, though without promiſing them the victory ; and upon their coming up againſt *Gibeah*, they were again repulſed with the loſs of 18,000 men, by a vigorous ſally which the inhabitants made upon them. This ſecond diſappointment did almoſt drive them

[n] Ibid. c. xx. 5. & ſeq.

to deſpair; at length they reſolved to return to *Shiloh*, and to lie proſtrate before the ark all that night, and by ſacrifices, faſting, and prayers, to intreat the Lord, either to grant them a victory, or to declare his diſpleaſure againſt the war which they had engaged in. This humble behaviour of theirs obtained at length a favourable anſwer, and the high-prieſt promiſed them, that the Lord would, on the next onſet, deliver the *Benjamites into their hands.* This anſwer inſpired them with freſh courage; but yet they thought it adviſeable to add policy to their ſtrength. To this end a ſtratagem was put in execution, which had its deſired effect. They divided themſelves into three bodies, one of which ſhould lie in ambuſh, and be ready to enter in and ſet fire to the city as ſoon as the men were ſallied out, after another body had made a ſham aſſault, on purpoſe to draw them out of the place in purſuit of them; whilſt the third and main body lay concealed in the neighbourhood of *Baal-tamar*, and ready to fall upon them. The children of *Benjamin* did eaſily give into the ſnare; and finding themſelves unwarily ſurpriſed in their purſuit by the main body, were thinking to retreat into the town; when upon turning themſelves about, they ſaw it all in flames, and were ſo diſheartened at the ſight, that they were all cut off, to the number of 25000. About 600 ſaved themſelves by flight, and went and fortified themſelves upon the tops of the rocks of *Rimmon*, and there abode four months, that is till they were called down by the other tribes in an amicable manner.

IN the mean time, this victory did only whet the fury of the other tribes, which did not ſo much as cool till they had burnt down all their cities and villages, and killed all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, even to their very cattle; and made, as they thought, an utter end of that unfortunate tribe. It was then indeed that they began to reflect, with ſome remorſe, upon what they had done, and to bewail the loſs of one of their tribes. They went up to *Shiloh* again, and there expoſtulated with God, for having ſuffered ſuch an univerſal deſtruction without ſtopping their hand. They erected a large altar, probably becauſe that of the tabernacle was not capacious enough for the multitude of their victims, and having been informed, that the ſix hundred, which were eſcaped from the ſlaughter, were ſtill upon the rocks of *Rimmon*, they entreated God to direct them how to recal them peaceably, to reſtore the loſt tribe by their means. There was however one main impediment to it, namely a raſh oath they had made at *Mizpeh*, when they vowed the

war againſt *Benjamin*, that none of them would give their daughters to any of that tribe. The oath, being unlawful in itſelf, might have been diſſolved by the high-prieſt, who was there preſent; but whether conſcience was more tender in this reſpect than it generally was in all others, they bethought themſelves of another expedient, which would anſwer their end, without the danger of being perjured, though it was ſcarcely ſo juſtifiable as the breach of ſuch an oath would have been, even though they had had no *Phinehas* to have abſolved them from it. They cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made in their muſter-rolls, whether any of the tribes had failed to come to the camp at *Mizpeh*, and upon enquiry it was found that the inhabitants of *Jabeſh-Gilead*, belonging to the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, on the other ſide of *Jordan*, had not come to the general aſſembly. One would expect, therefore, that as they had had no ſhare in the oath with the other tribes, they would only have obliged them to furniſh thoſe ſix hundred men with wives; but they went a more cruel way to work, and ſent twelve thouſand armed men, with orders to deſtroy all the inhabitants of the place, except the virgins. Theſe ſoon went and executed this bloody command, and brought four hundred virgins captive, which were given to as many of the remaiming men of *Benjamin*. There were ſtill two hundred unprovided for, and no more towns to be condemned to the fate of *Jabeſh*; however rather than break their oaths for their ſakes, they bethought themſelves of a way of evading it, by giving them leave to take that by force, which they thought not lawful to give them of their own accord. The men took their advice, and lay perdue in the vineyards about *Shiloh*, and when the young damſels came out of it with tabrets and dances, from ſome ſolemn feaſt as is ſuppoſed, every man ſeized upon one of them, and took them home, whilſt the reſt of the tribes returned alſo every man to his habitation[o]. The ſix hundred men ſoon rebuilt their cities, and the tribe of *Benjamin*, thus reſtored by degrees to its former valour and ſtrength, did cleave ever after to that of *Judah*, and gave the ſecond judge and firſt king unto *Iſrael*.

BY theſe two inſtances, the reader may judge into what degree of degeneracy the whole nation was fallen, in that little interval between the death of *Caleb*, and his ſon-in-law's being choſen judge. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that the preſence of one good man in authority

[o] Judg. xxi.

ſhould

ſhould be able to put a ſtop to ſuch a vehement propenſity to idolatry, which, immediately after his death, could not be contained within any bounds, but broke out like a torrent with double force. Yet this was the caſe of the *Iſraelites* during all the time of their judges; the ſame that delivered them from thraldom freed them alſo from idolatry, and he was no ſooner dead than their innocence and obedience were at an end, tho' their peace and happineſs were ſure to end with it: thus every epoch is only an alternate ſucceſſion of ſinning and repentance, of ſervitude and deliverance. What thoſe nations were which they ſuffered to live amongſt them, and by whom they were ſo often corrupted, enſlaved, and delivered from by turns, we have already ſeen in the hiſtory of *Canaan* †, to which we ſhall refer the reader once for all, to avoid, as much as the ſeries of this hiſtory will permit, all unneceſſary repetitions.

THE firſt ſlavery which their defection brought upon them, was under *Chuſhanriſhathaim*, king of *Meſopotamia*, who held them in ſubjection about eight years; at the end of which, the warlike *Othniel* found means to raiſe an army againſt him, with which he gained a ſignal victory, and freed *Iſrael* from the yoke of that potent prince. The text gives us no farther account of that war, which could not but be much to the *Hebrew* general's honour, conſidering the ſtrength of his enemy. All that it adds is, that his ſucceſs obtained him a peace which laſted forty years; that is, till the death of their judge and deliverer [p]. This victory happened about 38 years after *Joſhua*'s death; as for that of *Othniel*, it is not eaſy to fix it [q]. Othniel, *the firſt judge.*

SOON after it, they fell again under ſervitude to the *Moabites*, and at the end of eighteen years, *Ehud* their ſecond judge, who was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, being deputed to carry the yearly tribute to *Eglon* their king, freed them by the death of that prince, whom he privately ſtabbed, whilſt he was delivering a pretended meſſage from God to him; and having eſcaped undiſcovered, blew the trumpet, and raiſed a ſufficient army, with which he ſhook off the *Moabitiſh* yoke, and procured his people another forty years peace [r]. Ehud, *ſecond judge.* Year of the Flood, 1674. Year before Chriſt 1325.

Shamgar, their third judge, delivered them from ſome ſmall oppreſſion which they ſuffered from the *Philiſtines*. The text gives us no further particulars about him, than that Shamgar, *third judge*

† See Vol. II. p. 181. & ſeq. [p] Judg. iii. 8 & ſeq. [q] Vid. Annal. Uſſer. p. 28. [r] Judg. iii. 12, & ſeq. See Vol. II. p. 91.

he ſlew ſix hundred of them with an ox-goad, or, as the *Latin* and *Greek* verſions render it, with a plough-ſhare[r] (B). How long he judged *Iſrael* is not to be gueſſed at: he was ſucceeded by

Deborah, *fourth judge.*

THE propheteſs *Deborah*, ſoon after the ſmart of a fourth ſervitude, worſe and longer than any of the three former, had brought them to a ſenſe of their ſins and ingratitude. *Iſrael* was for every market, and as ready as they were to ſell themſelves to ſome new crimes, ſo was providence to ſell them to new lords. The text takes notice, that after the death of their judge, they fell into new crimes, and God, to puniſh them for it, raiſed up a more powerful adverſary againſt them, *Jabin* king of *Canaan*, whoſe ſtrength beſides a numerous army and a valiant general, conſiſted in an incredible number of iron chariots[s]; whereby he held them in ſevere ſubjection twenty years; yet when their cries and repentance had obtained a promiſe of a ſpeedy deliverance, leſt they ſhould arrogate to themſelves any ſhare in the glory of their future victory, two women are choſen to be the main inſtruments of it, and *Jael* compleats what *Deborah* had concerted, and *Barak*, at the head of ten thouſand men, diſcomfited *Siſera* and his numerous army, tho' ſtrengthened with nine hundred chariots of iron[u]; and the land of *Iſrael*, from a diſmal ſolitude[w], began to reſume its former fertility and ſplendor. We have given an account of this famous action in a former chapter †, which

[r] Judg. iii. ver. ult. See Vol. II. p. 208. & not. (S) [s] Judg. iv, 1. & ſeq. v. 8. [u] Judg. iv. 15, & ſeq. [w] Vid. Ch. v. ver. 6, & 7. † See Vol. II. p 185. not. (I).

(B) The word is מלמד הבקר *Malmad habakar*, which ſignifies any inſtrument by which oxen are broke to labour. We have taken notice, under another head, that the *Philiſtines* were more careful than any other nation to ſtrip the *Jews* of all their weapons of war, whenever they had them in ſubjection †; and if this was the caſe at preſent, it is likely that expreſſion means only ſuch ruſtical inſtruments, as he and his men could lay their hands on. But as the text mentions nothing of any previous ſervitude, it is probable that the deliverance here ſpoken of, was only from ſome incurſion of the *Philiſtines*, perhaps in ploughing time, when they thought they might be more eaſily ſurpriſed, but in which they were repulſed with loſs, by the vigilance and bravery of their then judge.

† *See before, p.* 370.

gave

gave occaſion to that noble ſong of deliverance, which *Deborah* compoſed immediately after it, and which procured them a reſpite of forty years [x].

THE ungrateful *Iſraelites*, having by that time forgot that ſignal deliverance, are plagued with a freſh bondage, and with which that of *Jabin* compared might be called freedom. Under the laſt, *Deborah* was allowed to judge *Iſrael* in the face of the ſun, but now they are not only without judge, but even without habitation, except what they are forced to ſeek for among the clefts and caverns of the rocks; and if they find time and convenience to ſow, their enemies pour in upon them, and reap the fruit of their labours [y]. Under this miſerable tyranny they were groaning, when God did firſt ſend a prophet to convince them how juſtly they ſuffered this hard *Midianitiſh* bondage [z]; after which he made choice of a proper perſon to undertake their deliverance. *Gideon* was privately threſhing his corn, to ſave it from becoming a prey either to *Midian* or *Amalek*; when the angel of the LORD ſaluted him with the title of the valiant ſaviour of his people, and convinced him by repeated miracles, that *Iſrael*, whom he now looked upon as forſaken by God, ſhould be ſpeedily and miraculouſly reſtored to their wiſhed for freedom by his means. *Gideon* on the one hand, was too well experienced a warrior, and too well acquainted with the dejected condition of his nation, to think that ſuch a deliverance could be wrought by an arm of fleſh; and on the other, he was ſo far from expecting ſuch a ſupernatural aſſiſtance, that he ſeemed even to doubt of the truth of all thoſe wonders which God had wrought in favour of them [a]. At length, to confirm his wavering faith, he obtained leave of the heavenly meſſenger to go and fetch a ſacrifice, and to offer it at his feet; which he had no ſooner done, but upon the angel's touching it with the end of his ſtaff, a miraculous fire aroſe out of the rock on which it was laid, and conſumed the whole ſacrifice; immediately after which the angel vaniſhed out of his ſight. *Gideon* was filled with ſurpriſe and dread, at the thoughts of the divine preſence which he had beheld, but God was pleaſed to diſſipate his fears; in memory of which, he reared an altar on the place, and called it *Jehovah-Shalom* [b]. *Gideon.*

ON that very night, the Lord commanded him to begin his heaven-appointed taſk, with the deſtruction of the altar and grove of *Baal*, the fatal ſource of *Iſrael*'s defection

[x] Judg. v. ver. ult. [y] Ibid. vi. 3, & ſeq. [z] Ibid. ver. 8, & ſeq. [a] Ver. 13. [b] Ver. 24.

and

and puniſhment; and to expiate their crime by the ſacrifice of a bullock of ſeven years, in the place where they had ſerved that *Midianitiſh* deity. *Gideon* was only eager to obey, but knowing the hazard of ſuch an enterprize, ſhould he ſet about it in the day-time, reſolved to finiſh it that very night, which he accordingly did by the help of ten of his ſervants, whom he called to the work. This unexpected deveſtation was no ſooner perceived on the next morning, than the whole city came to *Joaſh*'s houſe, and in an inſolent manner demanded, that he ſhould deliver up his ſon to be put to death, for his ſacrilege againſt *Baal*; but the grave old man ſoon made them ſenſible of their abſurd zeal for an impotent deity, which could not defend his altar and honour againſt his ſon. It is probable, he uſed ſome other topics to repreſs their fury; and that this only is mentioned, becauſe his ſon got the ſurname of *Jerubbaal* by it, that is, *Let Baal look to himſelf.*

IN the mean time the *Midianites* and their confederates, whether from the jealouſy which this action of *Gideon* might inſpire them with, or any other tendency they might obſerve in the *Iſraelites* to revolt, began to cover the ſpacious plain of *Jezreel* with their troops. *Gideon* on the other hand had ſummoned the tribes of *Manaſſeh*, *Aſher*, *Zebulun*, and *Naphtali* to appear in arms; but whether the ſight of ſo numerous an hoſt as was preparing againſt him, had weakened his faith or that of his troops, he begged for a farther miraculous proof of the divine aſſiſtance, which was, that the fleece of wool which he ſpread that night on the threſhing-floor might be found on the next morning covered with the dew of heaven, whilſt all the ground round about it remained dry. He had no ſooner obtained this miracle, and wrung a bowl full of water out of the fleece, but he begged, that for a further confirmation of the miracle and of their faith, the fleece might be the only thing that received no moiſture, whilſt all the ground round about it was wet. This was alſo granted at his requeſt [c], and *Gideon*, thus aſſured of a complete victory, led his ſmall army againſt the enemy, and encamped over againſt them. It conſiſted but of 32000 men, which were but a poor handful, compared to thoſe confederate forces of *Midian*, *Amalek*, and of the *Arabians* [d]; but God, who deſigned to take away all occaſion, both from the ungrateful *Jews* and their enemies, to attribute the ſucceſs to their number or valour, commanded *Gideon* to make a proclamation through his army, and to diſ-

[c] Ver. 36, & ſeq. [d] See Ch. vii. 12.

band

band all that were faint-hearted; upon which 22000 of his daſtardly troops were immediately diſmiſſed. *Gideon* by this time thought probably, that his army was ſufficiently reduced; when he was again commanded to lead it to the water ſide, and there ſeparate thoſe who went down upon their knees to drink, from thoſe who lapped the water out of the hollow of their hand. There were found but 300 of the latter, and God promiſed him the victory by them (C), and ordered the reſt to be ſent away. For a further confirmation, *Gideon* was commanded to go into the *Midianitiſh* camp, attended only by a ſervant, and there he would be informed what notion his enemies had of him: upon his coming, he heard one ſoldier telling a dream to another of a barley cake tumbling into their camp, and overturning a tent down to the ground, and the other interpreting it of *Gideon*'s ſword diſcomfiting the confederate hoſt. *Gideon* delayed not to verify the omen: he returned to his 300 men, commanded them to take every man a horn in one hand, and a pitcher with a light concealed in it in the other, and led them into the enemies camp about the dead of the night. Here he divided them into three bands, and ſent them to give the alarm at three ſeveral quarters, by ſounding their

(C) It is not eaſy to gueſs from this different manner of their quenching their thirſt, whether the 300 were choſen for any particular virtue which this action did indicate, or for the reverſe. Some authors think, that the 9700 who kneeled down, gave a token of their courage, in that they were not afrid of the nearneſs of their enemy, but choſe to drink at their eaſe; whilſt the others betrayed their cowardice, by being contented with taking a handful of water running, and that God made choice of them to make the victory appear more miraculous (4). Others on the contrary think, that thoſe that were weak and diſheartened kneeled down, and the couragious and ſtrong took the water up with their hand (5). It is hard to decide which is in the right; but the *Jews* have gone farther for a reaſon why theſe 300 were preferred; namely, that there was a ſtatue of *Baal* on the other ſide of the water, ſo that they ſcrupled to kneel down to drink, leſt they ſhould be thought to pay any worſhip to the idol; whilſt the others, more concerned for their eaſe than for the honour of God, were ſet aſide, as unworthy to have a ſhare in ſo ſignal a victory (6). But the reader may chooſe whether he will take their word for there being really any ſuch idol in the way.

(4) *Ita* Joſeph. *Ant. lib. v. c.* 8. *Rabbin. aliq.* Toſtat. *& al.*
(5) De Lyr. Montan. Corn. a Lap. *& al.* (6) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc. & before p.* 157. *not.* F.

horns,

horns, breaking their pitchers, and discovering their glaring lights at the signal given, which was crying out *The sword of the Lord and of Gideon*, and which was to be answered by all the rest. The success of this stratagem was the total defeat of the confederate army †; and *Israel* gaining, with their freedom, an immense quantity of the richest spoil.

Gideon, resolving to make the best advantage of this victory, summoned several tribes to pursue after the enemy, and to secure the fords of *Beth-barah*, and *Jordan*; and the cowardly 22000, who dared not look the enemy in the face, began now to take courage, when they saw them flying, and to pursue them one way, whilst himself and his 300 men went after another flying party another way. These last went over *Jordan*, and by that time *Gideon* and his men were come to *Succoth*, they found themselves so faint and tired, that he was forced to send to demand some refreshment for them out of that city, that he might continue his pursuit after the princes of *Midian*, *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*; but he had the mortification to be denied by the inhabitants, who sent him word, that it would be time enough for him to exact such a supply of provision, when he brought those two princes prisoners with him. *Gideon* contented himself for the present, with threatening to punish the insolent *Succothites* in the severest manner, and continued his journey with his men, faint as they were, till he came to *Penuel*, where he again sent the same message, and received the same repulse that he had done at *Succoth*. Whether the desire of revenge, or his hearing that the two princes he was in pursuit of, were in the neighbourhood of *Karkor* with 15000 men, the poor remains of an army of 120000, inspired him with fresh vigour, he stopped not his pace till he was come upon them unawares, and had secured the two princes, and routed the rest of their men.

IN the mean time, the *Ephraimites* had overtaken and slain *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, two other princes of *Midian*, and brought their heads to *Gideon*, as he was returning from *Karkor* with his two royal prisoners; and whether their success had made them arrogant, or whether they envied their judge's glory, they accosted him with an insolent demand, Why he had not summoned their tribe to the war against *Midian*? *Gideon*, instead of repressing their ill-timed arrogance, contented himself at present with extolling their atchievements above his own, telling them, that the gleanings of *Ephraim*'s laurels did vast-

† See Vol. II. p. 121.

ly

ly outweigh the vintage of his own tribe [e]; and having pacified them with this ſoothing anſwer, went to diſcharge his reſentment againſt thoſe who had more richly deſerved it, the cities of *Succoth* and *Penuel*. Conſidering the fatigue which he had undergone all that day and the night before, one would expect, that he would have allowed himſelf ſome reſpite, before he went upon ſo ſevere an enterprize; but the remembrance of the cruel uſage he had received from thoſe two places, and of what he and his men had ſuffered for want of their aſſiſtance, would not ſuffer him to let the ſun go down (D), before he had made them ſuffer the puniſhment which he had vowed againſt them. In his way to *Succoth* he met with a youth of that place, who gave him the names of ſeventy ſeven of its chief magiſtrates and elders, and when he was entered into the city, after having reproved the inhabitants for their brutiſh inſolence, he cauſed thoſe ſeventy ſeven men to undergo a very ſevere correction as a determent to the reſt (E), and at the ſame time he commanded thoſe of *Penuel* to be all put to the ſword, and their tower to be demoliſhed to the ground [f]. He then examined his two priſoners concerning ſome men, whom they had ſlain at mount *Tabor*, and underſtanding by the deſcription they gave of them that they were his own brethren, he ſet aſide all thoughts of mercy towards them, and put them to death on the ſpot [g].

† See Vol. II. p. 121. [e] Judg. viii. 1. & ſeq. [f] Ver. 13. ad 17.. [g] 18, & ſeq. See Vol. II. p. 122.

(D) The text is ſomewhat obſcure in this place, ſo that it is not eaſy to determine, whether the words, *before the ſun* (7), mean before its going down on that day, or its riſing on the next morning. Our verſion underſtands it in the latter ſenſe, but the *Jews* and the generality of *Chriſtian* interpreters in the firſt. And indeed it is ſcarce credible, that *Gideon* and his men could continue a whole day and two nights in action; and if we remember, that it was about mid-night when he put the enemies camp to the rout, he had time enough the next day to perform all the reſt.

(E) What this puniſhment was, is not clearly deſcribed in the text. The literal ſenſe, in the place where he threatens it is, *I will threſh your fleſh with thorns of the wilderneſs*; and where he executes it, it ſays, that *he made them feel the thorns*. The antient *Jews* think, that he cauſed their naked bodies to be flung among thorny buſhes, and to be trampled to death (8). Others think, that he cauſed them to be whipt to death, or to have their fleſh torn with thorns. Others, that they were only chaſtiſed or ſcourged with thorns; but this laſt is ſcarce probable, if we conſider that thoſe of *Penuel*, who were in the ſame offence, were all put to death.

(7) Judg. *viii.* 13. (8) *Vid. Targ.* Jonath. & Munſt *in loc.*

THE *Israelites* being thus delivered from their cruel slavery, and loaden with the spoils of their enemies, began to think they could not shew their gratitude to their brave deliverer, nor secure their new-gotten freedom more effectually, than by offering to settle the supreme authority upon him and his posterity; and *Gideon*, who had threescore and ten sons by several wives, might easily have been tempted to accept it, had he not been so lately convinced, that their greatest security did chiefly depend upon their obedience to their divine protector; he therefore advised them not to put their confidence in their own strength, nor in their general's valour, but in God; and to make sure of his protection by a stricter obedience to his laws. One would hardly think that a speech so full of modesty, piety, and disinterestedness should be the prelude to an action, which sullied both it, and all his other glories; and yet he had no sooner modestly refused their offer, but he desired them, as an acknowledgment of his late services, to present him with what golden ear-rings they had gotten from their enemies. His request was readily complied with, and a garment being spread upon the ground, was presently covered with those ornaments, amounting to 1700 shekels or 850 ounces of gold, besides collars, chains, and other ornaments of the same metal (F), and some purple and other costly garments, of which they had stripped the confederate princes. With these the *Jewish* general caused an ephod (G) to be made,

(F) We need not wonder at this great quantity of golden plunder, if we remember that all those eastern nations were fond of such ornaments, and that the *Midianites* in particular not only wore them themselves, but decked the necks of their camels with them, of which they brought vast droves into the field (9).

(G) We have already taken notice of two priestly garments, called by that name from the *Hebrew* אפד *Aphad*, to tie, because they were tied about with a girdle; the one was a plain linen vest, such as not only the priests, but even young *Samuel* wore when he ministred at the altar (10), and *David* when he marched before the ark (11); the other which was a much richer one, was peculiar to the high-priest. Some learned men have indeed affirmed, though without any foundation, that the *Jewish* kings were allowed to wear them, when they consulted the Lord by *Urim* (12); but this we have confuted elsewhere †, so that there can be no ground for supposing, that *Gideon* had this made for the same end, as being head of *Israel*; neither indeed could such a garment, how rich soe-

(9) *Vid.* Judg. *vii.* 12, & *Vol.* II. *p.* 122. (10) 1 Sam. *ii.* 18. (11) 2 Sam. *vi.* 14. (12) Spencer. *tr. de* Urim & Thum. Cunæ. *Rep. Hebr. l.* 1. *c.* 14. † *See before p.* 30. *not.* C.

ver,

made, which he ſet up in his own city *Ophrah*; and the text adds, that *it proved a ſnare both to him and to his houſe, becauſe it became the occaſion of a new kind of idolatry to the* Iſraelites. As for *Gideon*, he returned to his own inheritance, and judged *Iſrael* forty years; during which none of their enemies dared to moleſt them; and as to the *Midianites*, they received ſo total an overthrow from him, that they never made any attempt againſt *Iſrael* from that time. *Gideon* died in a good old age, and was buried with his anceſtors (H). As for the *Iſraelites*, whom he left in a peaceful and flouriſhing Year of the Flood, 1763. Year before Chriſt 1236.

ver, have taken up ſo great a quantity of gold. Some authors therefore think it to have been an idol (13); others only a kind of trophy, in memory of that ſignal victory (14). Some antient fathers (15), followed by many moderns, believe it to have been ſome ſuch trophy or monument; and add, that it was made in imitation of the complete habit of the high-prieſt, by which he only deſigned to perpetuate the memory of their miraculous deliverance, without dreaming that the *Iſraelites* would go a whoring after it; ſo that according to them, he was only the innocent cauſe of their idolatry, as *Moſes* was when he made the braſen ſerpent, which came afterwards to be worſhipped. We need not obſerve the diſparity between theſe two, and that *Gideon* did that of his own accord, which *Moſes* was commanded to do, and upon a different account: We ſhall only obſerve, that the words, *and it became a* מוקש Mokeſh, *a ſnare or ſtumbling block to* Gideon *and his family*, ſeem to imply ſomething worſe than a monumental trophy, whatever be meant here by the word *Ephod*; concerning which we can have nothing certain. This may be one reaſon, though not the only one, why *Joſephus* has carefully omitted it, as well as that judge's ſeverity againſt the men of *Succoth* and *Penuel* (16).

(H) *Gideon*, being alſo ſurnamed *Jerubbaal*, is ſuppoſed to be the *Jerombal* whom *Sanchoniatho* makes prieſt of the god *Jao*: but that author's work is now ſo univerſally cried down, as a piece of forgery under his name, and as written on purpoſe to diſcredit the ſacred books of the *Jews*, that we ſhall lay no other ſtreſs upon this conjecture, than that it proves that the author, whoever he was, had got ſome knowledge of the *Jewiſh* writings, and did intermix their hiſtory with the antiquities and fables of the *Phœnicians* (17).

Jerubbaal is by *David* called *Jerubbeſheth* (18), becauſe by that time *Baal*'s name was had in horror by the *Jews*, ſo that in all the names that ended with it, they ſubſtituted that of *Boſheth*, which ſignifies ſhame; as *Iſh-boſheth* for *Iſh-baal*, and the like.

(13) **Procop.** & *al. ap.* Toſtat. (14) Catejan. *N. Delyr.* Jun. Munſt. (15) Auguſt. Theodoret. & *al.* (16) *Vid. Antiq. lib. v. c.* 8. (17) *de Sanchon. vid.* Ant. Vandal. Dupin. *Bibliot. Ext.* Dodwell *Diſſertat.* Fabric, *Bibl. Græ.* Cumberland, *Journal de Trevoux*, Jan. 1714, & *al.* (18) 2 *Sam. xi.* 21.

condition, they forgot both God and him in a very little time. They adopted *Baalim*, and *Baal-berith* (I), and other new gods, and repayed *Gideon*'s services with the blackest ingratitude. He had left, besides his other children by his wives, a natural son whom he had by a concubine [h]; and he it was who succeeded his father by the most horrid treachery, even by the destruction of his father's whole race.

Abimelech's usurpation and cruelty

His name was *Abimelech*: he seems to have been a man of a base and intriguing genius, full of ambition and cruelty. The first step he took after his father's death, was to go to *Shechem*, where his mother and her kindred dwelt, and to prevail upon them, by their cunning insinuations, to inspire the *Shechemites* with some terrible jealousies against the sons of *Gideon*. He was indeed so far from being able to bribe them with gifts, that he wanted to be assisted by them with money; but he made use of other motives equally prevalent, though,

[h] Judg. viii. 31.

(I) We have already mentioned this deity out of bishop *Cumberland* from *Sanchoniatho*, in some other parts of this work (19); but it will not be amiss to subjoin to what we have observed in the last note concerning that supposed author, that this place is the only one in scripture, in which the name of *Baal-berith* occurs, which signifies the Lord of the covenant, and that the septuagint, vulgate, and some of the *Jewish* interpreters, render the words not as ours do, they made *Baal-berith* their god, but bound themselves to the service of *Baal* by covenant, or by an oath. It is true, we find in the very next chapter mention made of the house or temple of *Baal-berith*, which was in *Shechem*; but as every *Baal* had a kind of a surname, as *Baal-peor*, *Baal-zebub*, &c. to distinguish the one from the other, or rather perhaps the *Baal* of one place from that of another, might not the *Shechemites* surname theirs from the *Berith*, or covenant, by which they had bound themselves, and might not the pretended *Sanchoniatho* from thence make him the *Baal-berytos*, to make it appear of *Phœnician* extraction?

For our part, we think the most natural etymology the best; and that *Baal-berith* might signify the god that presided over contracts, covenants, and oaths, and punished the breakers of them. It is certain, that the binding the former by the latter was not only a very antient custom, but also the greatest security that could be insisted upon by the parties, which could only be owing to the received notion, that the deity, which was so solemny called as a witness to them, was bound in justice to punish the breach of them. Hence came the *Jupiter* the *Witness*, or *the faithful* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

(19) *See Vol.* I. *p.* 298. *not.* H. & *Vol.* II. *p.* 305, & *alib.*

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it is likely, promiſes were not wanting to draw them to his party. What he moſtly inſiſted upon was, whether it were better for *Iſrael* to have one maſter or ſeventy, and whether it were more for the intereſts of the *Shechemites* to have their city, or that of *Ophrah*, to be the ſeat of the ſupreme judge? By theſe and ſuch like inſinuations, he obtained from them a ſum of ſeventy ſhekels of gold, out of the treaſury of *Baal-berith*, with which he hired a number of profligate fellows, capable of the wickedeſt enterpriſe, and led them directly to *Ophrah*, where having ſurpriſed his brethren, the ſeventy ſons of *Gideon*, he murdered them all, except the youngeſt, upon the ſpot. This unnatural fratricide, which ought to have made him abhorred by all men, but eſpecially by thoſe who had the leaſt grateful remembrance of *Gideon*, did immediately bring all the *Shechemites*, and thoſe of *Millo*, into his intereſt, who went and proclaimed him king, in ſome conſpicuous part of the plain of *Shechem* (K), in hopes that all the reſt of the nation would follow their example.

In the interim *Jotham*, the only ſurviving ſon of *Gideon*, took that time to get upon mount *Gerizim*, which was near the place of this tumultuous aſſembly, and being within their hearing, and out of their reach, made uſe of the following pathetic apologue, to diſſuade them from their raſh and unjuſt enterpriſe [1]; *The trees, once upon a time, aſſembled to make choice of a king: they offered that dignity to the olive-tree, which anſwered, that it could by no means diveſt itſelf of its oil*

[1] Judg. ix. ver. 7. ad. 21.

(K) The original has אלון מוצב אשר בשכם *Alon Mutzab Aſher be-Shechem*, the oak of the ſtatue, or pillar, that is in the territory of *Shechem*. The *Hebrews* however tranſlate *Alon* a plain inſtead of an oak, and affirm that there was ſome ſtatue or pillar erected in it (20). It is plain, that there was both an oak and a ſtatue, or monument, and that the latter was erected by *Joſhua*, a little before his death, in memory of the new covenant which the *Iſraelites* had made with God at that place (21); ſo that it ſeems to be thus circumſtantially recorded to aggravate the crime of the *Shechemites*, in chooſing ſo remarkable and ſacred a ſpot of ground, to be the ſcene of their tumultuous aſſembly, and unlawful election.

As for the houſe of *Millo*, which joined with the *Shechemites*, it is ſuppoſed to have been all the kindred of *Abimelech*'s mother, whom *Joſephus* calls *Druma* (22), and *Millo* himſelf is ſuppoſed to have been her father. The ſeptuagint and vulgate do render it the city of *Millo*, but we do not read of any city of that name in all the land of *Paleſtine*.

(20) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (21) Joſh. xxiv. 26. (22) *Ant. l* 5. *c.* 9.

and

and fatneſs, ſo acceptable to God and man, to reign over them; they then invited the fig-tree, which did alſo refuſe them on account of its ſweetneſs; the vine being applied to, preferred her juice, which affords gladneſs to gods and men, to the empire over them. At length the bramble, being invited to accept of that dignity, anſwered that if they really meant to make him king over them, they ſhould come and ſhelter themſelves under its ſhadow, if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon.

HIS deſign was plainly to inſinuate, that the happineſs of a private life was ſo far preferable to the cares that attend on the ſupreme authority, that the perſon who exchanged the one for the other, muſt either do it from a generous deſire of ſerving his country, or from a baſe one to enſlave it. Some interpreters ſuppoſe, that by the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, he alluded to *Othniel*, *Deborah*, and *Gideon*, who were with difficulty prevailed upon to accept of the dignity of judge, and refuſed to have it entailed on their poſterity [k]; but whether it be ſo or not, it is plain from his own application, that the bramble alluded to the traitor *Abimelech*, who was ſo far from being able to protect the *Shechemites*, that he muſt unavoidably prove the occaſion of a bloody war, which like a conſuming fire would end in their utter ruin: *For*, added he, *I appeal to you, whether your choice of* Abimelech, *preferably to any of the ſons of* Gideon, *your late benefactor and deliverer, be either grateful or juſt? or rather indeed whether the murdering of all his children, for the ſake of the ſon of a ſlave, be not an inſtance of the blackeſt cruelty and ingratitude? if you think it is not, I wiſh you joy of your new king, and him of his new dignity; but if it is, may he prove a curſe to* Shechem *and* Millo, *and you to him* (L).

AFTER

[k] N. DE LYR. & al.

(L) We cannot forbear obſerving here, that this is the firſt inſtance we have of this way of ſpeaking by parables. We do not indeed take upon us to attribute the invention of it to the *Hebrews*, becauſe we do not know how far they might have learnt it elſewhere; though if that were the caſe, one may juſtly wonder, that *Moſes*, who was ſo well verſed in all the learning of his time, and had ſo much occaſion for this excellent way of inſtructing and reproving his ſtubborn and rebellious nation, ſhould yet never make uſe of it in all the forty years of his being their leader. Not that it was not in uſe by other nations in his time, ſince he mentions thoſe who record the overthrow of *Sihon* and of his metropolis in *Proverbs*, and *Balaam* uttering his prophecies in ſome ſuch proverbial

AFTER ſo bold and ſevere a ſpeech, *Jotham* did not think it adviſeable to expoſe himſelf to *Abimelech*'s reſentment, but fled to *Beer*, a city in the tribe of *Judah* not far from *Jebus*, or *Jeruſalem*, where he continued all the time of his reign, which according to his prediction, proved both thorny and ſhort-lived; for beſides his mortification in not being acknowledged

bial ſpeeches *. But if we may judge of them at this diſtance, by the ſhort ſpecimen he has given us of them, they were, if not crude and uncouth, at leaſt vaſtly inferior in elegance and energy to this of *Jotham*, and others which were uſed by the *Jews*; ſo that theſe may be juſtly ſaid at leaſt to have been the improvers, or rather perfecters of this parabolic way. But be that as it will, nothing is more palpable than the vanity of the *Greeks*, who boaſt themſelves the authors of it, when it was in greater perfection among the *Jews*, before they were civilized from the loweſt degree of ignorance and barbarity, than ever they raiſed it to, after they had arrived to the greateſt pitch of polite learning; an evident proof of which we have not only in this ſpeech of *Jotham*, but in that excellent one, by which the prophet *Nathan* made *David* pronounce a ſevere ſentence of condemnation againſt himſelf, for a crime, which it would have been dangerous ſo much as to have mentioned in any other way (23). We find it alſo frequently uſed, not by prophets only, but by courtiers, politicians, and ſoldiers, (24) in the old teſtament, and by our Saviour in the new.

And here we beg leave to vindicate our divine Maſter from a moſt unnatural and unjuſt expreſſion, which not only ours, but moſt verſions make him frequently uſe, *that he ſpake to the people in parables, that ſeeing they might not perceive, and hearing they might not underſtand, leſt they ſhould be converted and be ſaved*—*becauſe* Iſaiah *had ſaid, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts leſt they ſhould ſee*—*and underſtand, and be converted, and I ſhould heal them* (25). The momentouſneſs of the ſubject will, we hope, atone for the length of the note, ſince ſuch expreſſions can hardly be read without horror, or at leaſt without conceiving ſome very unworthy ideas, both of the Godhead and of that compaſſionate Redeemer, who ſo often bewailed, even with tears, their ſtupidity and hardneſs of heart: What part muſt he be ſuppoſed to have acted, who could expreſs ſo much concern at their unbelief, if his deſign were to confirm them in it? To what purpoſe was his three years preaching to them, and his reproving them for their ſlowneſs of belief, if his unintelligible way of ſpeaking made it unavoidable to them?

We need not obſerve here, how contrary this was likewiſe to the nature and deſign of parables, which is to reach down to the mean-

* *Vid. Num.* xxi. 27, & *ſeq.* xxiii. 7, & *ſeq.* (23) 2 *Sam.* xii. 1, & *ſeq.* (24) *Ibid.* xiv. 1, & *ſeq.* 1 *King.* xx. 38, & *ſeq.* xxii. 19, & *alib.* (25) *Matth.* xiii. 13, & *ſeq.* *Mark* iv. 11, & *alib.*

eſt

Abimelech *fifth judge.*

ledged by any of the tribes, the text says, that God sent an evil spirit, that is, caused a spirit of jealousy to be sown between the *Shechemites* and him, which ended in a full resolution to expiate their folly by his death. But God suffered him to escape for the present, that he might shortly become the instrument of a more severe chastisement against them. *Gaal*,

est capacities, by borrowing such examples and expressions, as are best understood by them; at least it is certain, that all those which our Saviour used were of this kind, whatever those of the *Egyptians*, *Pythagoreans*, and other philosophers might be. So that it is absurd to suppose, that he would have made choice of such a plain and simple way of teaching, if his design had been to have confirmed them in their ignorance; neither need we say how opposite it is to his professed design of coming into the world to save sinners, that none might perish but have eternal life, nor of his working so many miracles, to give the greater sanction to his doctrine.

We have already observed, that the writers of the New Testament did constantly quote the septuagint version (26), which had translated that passage of *Isaiah*, and many others of the like nature, in an active sense, which, in the original, implied only a bare permission; and it plainly appears, that both our Saviour and his apostles never understood them in any other sense, from that petition, *lead us not into temptation* (27), and that exposition of St. *James*, *Let no man say that he is tempted of God, for God tempteth no man* (28). We may further observe, that whatever language they spoke, they still intermixed the *Hebrew* or *Syriac* phrase with it, so that the *Greek* of the New Testament is best explained either by itself, or by the *Syriac* idiom.

Now if we seek from either of these for the true meaning of the text in question, *that seeing they might not see*, &c. we shall find that the particle, which some of the evangelists render by ἵνα and we by *to the end that*, is not only capable of several other senses less opposite to the nature of parables, and the design of the gospel, such as *though*, *so as*, *wherefore*, and the like (29); but even of such a one as is exactly agreeable to it, and that it may and ought properly to be rendered, because *seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not understand*; so that their gross and carnal understanding required the plainest preaching. And if this were the case, we hope any impartial reader will rather think that they used it in this sense, than in that absurd one which the versions give it. The only two particles which both the *Hebrew* and its derivatives have to express ἵνα or *to the end that*, is either כִּי *Ki*, or לְמַעַן *Lemaban*; and both do equally signify *because*, *wherefore*, and the like, and

(26) *See Vol. II. p.* 508, *not.* (D) & *p.* 549. *sub. fin. not.* (X).
(27) *Matt.* vi. 13. (28) *Jam.* i. 13. (29) *Vid.* Le Scene. *Essay on a new vers p.* ii, *Ch.* 5.

nothing

I

Gaal, informed of the hatred which they had conceived againſt their new-made king, came to *Shechem*, with a full deſign to blow it into an open rupture, but *Zebul*, whom *Abimelech* had intruſted with the government of that city, a fit ſervant for ſuch a maſter, failed not to acquaint him with it, whilſt, in outward appearance, he ſided with *Gaal* and his party. At length, after ſeveral bickerings on both ſides, *Gaal* perceived *Abimelech* marching towards the town, and went out with his men to oppoſe him, but was repulſed; and when he would have re-entered into *Shechem*, *Zebul* drove him back. What became of him and his party, the text doth not ſay, but upon *Abimelech's* entering the town, the frighted inhabitants retired into the temple of *Baal-berith*, as into a ſanctuary, where they were ſoon made ſenſible, to their coſt, what a god they had preferred to that of *Iſrael*. *Abimelech* commanded a party of men to follow his ſteps into the next wood, where every one after his example, cut down a bough of a tree, and having piled them round the temple and ſet fire to them, they were all ſmothered to death, being about a thouſand men and women. He then cauſed the city and

nothing but the analogy of the context can fix it; but the tranſlators have often fallen upon the wrong. As to the firſt, they have rendered it *becauſe*, where it plainly ſignifies *though*, or *wherefore*, as where it is ſaid that Eli's *ſons did not hearken to him*, *becauſe* [inſtead of *wherefore*] *it pleaſed the Lord to ſlay them* (30); for it were blaſphemy to ſuppoſe, that God did force them to diſobedience that he might deſtroy them for it. As for the ſecond, it is plain to all that have any knowledge of thoſe tongues, that it ſignifies as often *becauſe* as *to the end that*; and here we need not quote the authority of lexicons, or parallels, ſince St. *Matthew* tranſlates it here ὅτι *becauſe*, where the others render it ἵνα *that*. To his diſciples therefore, whoſe heart had been already prepared for the more ſublime truths of the goſpel, Chriſt ſays, it was given to underſtand the myſteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to the reſt whoſe hearts were ſtill groſs, carnal, and incapable of them, he ſpake in parables, that is, as our Dr. *Sam. Clarke* obſerves (31), in ſuch a way as beſt ſuited their capacity, was moſt taking with, and profitable to them, becauſe, as he elſewhere has it (32), parables are examples, or compariſons taken from things known and familiar, and are here put in oppoſition to myſteries, or truths of a ſuperior nature. The reader may ſee this point more fully demonſtrated by the authors above quoted, and many more (33).

(30) 1 *Sam.* ii. 25. *Vid. de part.* Ki. Buxtorf *Lexic. Hebr* Nold. *Concord. part. Heb.* Worſt. Alſtad. Amam. *& al.* (31) *in Mark* iv. 33. (32) *in Mark* iii. (33) *Vid.* Lo Scan. *Eſſay ub. ſup.* Whitby, Pelling. *& al.*

tower to be razed to the ground, and to be ſtrewed with ſalt; and thus was the firſt part of *Jotham*'s prophecy fulfilled, *and the fire from the bramble burnt up the cedars of* Lebanon.

The next part followed ſoon after, and *Abimelech*, flushed with his ſucceſs, marched againſt *Thebez*, a city of *Judah*, which had alſo taken up arms againſt him, and there met with an ignominious death, where he expected a new conqueſt. The citizens, repulſed by his victorious troops, retired into a tower, where he thought to have burnt them alive, when a woman flung down a ſtone, which lighted upon his head, and delivered her people from his fury. *Abimelech*, finding death approaching, and being more aſhamed of the hand that gave it, than of his own fratricides and tyranny, choſe rather to die a ſecond death, than to fall by the hands of a woman, and commanded his ſervant *Zebul* to diſpatch him, which he immediately did [l]. This was the exemplary end of *Abimelech*, whoſe ambition made him aſpire to a dignity, which has juſtly branded his memory, and ſullied the liſt of the judges; he being the only one that uſurped and abuſed that dignity. It laſted about three years, after which God made choice of a more worthy one to ſucceed him.

Tola, *ſeventh judge.*

Tola, the ſon of *Puah*, the ſon of *Dodo* (M), of the tribe of *Iſſachar*. The text mentions nothing particularly of him, except that he dwelt at *Shamir* upon mount *Ephraim*, where he was buried, after he had judged *Iſrael* twenty three years [m].

He was ſucceeded by *Jair*, a wealthy man, of that part of the tribe of *Manaſſeh* which dwelt on the other ſide of *Jordan*, and poſſeſſed a vaſt territory in the land of *Gilead*, in which were thirty cities, which he gave to his thirty ſons; whence they were called *Havoth*, or *hamlets* of *Jair* [n]. He judged *Iſrael* twenty two years, and was buried in the city of *Camon* in the ſame land. The text adds, as a then mark of their wealth and greatneſs, that they all rode upon aſſe

[l] Judg. ix. 4. [m] Ibid. x. 1, 2. [n] Judg. x. vid. & Num. xxxii. 41. Deut. iii. 14.

(M) The *Greek* and *Latin* verſions take the word *Dodo*, not as a proper name, but in a grammatical ſenſe, and from דוד *Dod*, uncle, with the ו affixed, and render it his uncle, meaning *Abimelech*'s, mentioned in the beginning of the verſe, whence they ſuppoſe *Tola*'s father to have been *Gideon*'s brother. The *Hebrew* indeed will bear them out in it; but there is one difficulty againſt them, namely that *Gideon* was of the tribe of *Manaſſeh*, and *Puah* of that of *Iſſachar*; ſo that they could at the beſt be but uterine brothers nor even ſo without ſuppoſing, that their mother had married firſt in one tribe, and then in the other.

colts;

colts; which is likewiſe obſerved of ſeveral others in the ſame book [o].

THE ungrateful *Iſraelites* returned ſoon after to their idolatry, and even multiplied the number of their gods, which brought a fifth thraldom upon them of eighteen years, under the *Philiſtines* and *Ammonites*. Here they had recourſe again to prayer and profeſſions of repentance; but they were bid to go and cry to thoſe deities they had adopted, for deliverance. This anſwer, and the preſſing danger they were in from the *Ammonites*, who had already paſſed the *Jordan*, and were going to fall upon *Judah* and *Benjamin* [p], brought them to ſuch a ſenſe of their folly, that they put away all their ſtrange gods, and began to ſerve the Lord in earneſt; upon which God was pleaſed to give them a promiſe, that they ſhould be ſpeedily delivered. They aſſembled themſelves at *Mizpeh*, to ſtop the career of the children of *Ammon*; but as God had not now nominated a judge or general, as at other times, they found themſelves at a loſs for an experienced leader; and not finding one among them, either that would take that charge upon him, or whom they dared to intruſt with the command of their army, they were forced to ſend an invitation to the valiant *Jephthah* to accept of it, and with it of the place of judge or general during his life.

Jephthah was the ſon of *Gilead*, but by a concubine, for which reaſon he was thruſt out by his brethren, whom his father had by a lawful wife, and forced to retire into the land of *Tob* (N), where he became chief of a band of fugitives and idle perſons, and ſignalized himſelf more by his valour than by his honeſty; he therefore received their meſſage with ſome miſtruſt, and did not accept of their offered dignity, till it was confirmed to him by an oath [q]. As ſoon as he had Jephthah.

[o] Vid. Judg. v. 10. [p] Ibid. x. 9. [q] Ibid. xi. 10.

(N) This land is on the moſt northern part of *Manaſſeh*'s lot on the other ſide of *Jordan*. It is called *Toby*, and its inhabitants *Tobinians*, or *Tubinians*, in the firſt and ſecond books of the *Maccabees* (34). As for *Jephthah*'s brethren driving him out of the inheritance, he could not juſtly complain of it, becauſe it paſſed into a conſtant law ever ſince *Abraham*'s time, and was founded on the command which God gave him, to caſt out the ſon of the concubine (35).

(34) 1 *Macc.* v. 13. 2 *Macc.* xii. 17. (35) *Gen.* xxi. 10. & *ſeq.*

put himself at their head, he sent an expostulatory message to the *Ammonites* †; but finding them stiffly bent upon conquest, rather than parley, he ran over the land of *Gilead* and *Manasseh*; and having got a sufficient army, marched directly against them. Before he ventured to engage them, either his fear or superstition put a strange expedient into his head, to make sure of the divine assistance: he made a vow that if God would but bless him with an entire victory, he would sacrifice to him the first living creature that came out of his house to meet him at his return; and this inconsiderate promise robbed him at once of the glory and pleasure of the ensuing action. The *Ammonites* were indeed totally defeated, and the *Israelites* laden with their spoil, as we have seen above; but his daughter, a virgin and his only child, and, if we may credit the *Jews*, a person of exquisite beauty and virtue, proved the unhappy victim of his rash vow. The welcome news of her father's success had brought her out, at the head of a company of maidens, to congratulate him with timbrels, and dances, and other expressions of filial joy; so that she proved the unhappy object upon which he cast his eyes, and which he had vowed to destruction. As soon as he saw her, he rent his cloaths, and disclosed the secret to her, with most lively expressions of grief. She heard it with a constancy, which one would hardly have expected in a person of her tender years, and only begged for a respite of two months, during which she would retire with some of her companions into the mountains, to bewail her virginity, it being esteemed a great misfortune for a daughter of *Israel* to die unmarried. Her request being granted, she absented herself during that short space, and, at the end of it, returned to her father, who did to her according to his vow; that is, according to the generality of *Jewish* and *Christian* interpreters [r], he offered her up for a burnt-offering: from which came that custom mentioned in the text, for the daughters of *Israel* to go yearly to lament *Jephthah*'s daughter four days in a year [s]; or, according to others, he consecrated her to God, and condemned her to perpetual virginity; so that those yearly visits were

His rash vow.

† See Vol. II. p. 102. [r] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. v. c. 9. RABBIN. ser omn. Chald. paraph. Jonath. in loc. JUST. MART. AMBROS. de off. l. iii. c. 12. HIERON. cont. Jovinian. lib. i. & alib. AUGUST. quæst. in judic. 49. CHRYSOST. homil. 14. ad pop. Antioch. THEODORET. quæst. in judic. 20. SERAR. SALIAN. GENEBRARD. CAJÉT. & al. mult. vid. & LUD. CAPPELL. & D. CALMET. dissertat. de vot. Jeph. [s] JUDG. xi. ver. ult.

payed

payed to her, as compliments of condolence for it, as ſhe was the daughter of an *Iſraelitiſh* judge[t] (O).

THIS

[t] PAGNIN. ARR. MONTAN. TREMEL. MUNST. DRUS. GROT. N. DE LYR. & al. in loc. LE SCEN. Eſſay on a new verſ. ch. vii.

(O) It will ſcarcely be doubted, that the fable of the ſacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from this; eſpecially if we remember that the taking of *Troy* happened ſoon after the time of *Jephthah*. There is indeed this difference, that ſome of the wiſer heathen authors who relate it, have introduced the goddeſs *Diana* interpoſing herſelf to prevent ſo horrid a ſacrifice being offered to her; whilſt the far greater part of the *Jews*, even *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and the *Chaldee* paraphraſt, acknowledge *Jephthah* to have been ſuffered by God, by the high-prieſt, and the whole people, to offer the fruit of his own body, an innocent young virgin, an only child, and a dear and dutiful one, the only object of his preſent comfort and future hopes, in a burnt-offering unto the Lord, who had ſo often declared his utter abhorrence againſt all ſuch abominations, and rejected the *Canaanites* upon that very account. Some even add, that her life was ſacrificed rather to a punctilio of honour, her father thinking it beneath him to go to the high-prieſt, to be abſolved from his unlawful vow; and the latter being above doing of it, unleſs he were applied to by him. It ſeems indeed wonderful, that ſo many of the antient fathers have too implicity followed the *Jews*, in believing that ſhe was really ſacrificed, notwithſtanding the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ranking *Jephthah* among the faithful *Jewiſh* worthies. But here it muſt be remembered, that they had no means of being ſet right, for want of being acquainted with the original, and conſequently of knowing that the text was capable of two different ſenſes, and that the *Jews* had choſen the leaſt reaſonable of the two. But what is moſt ſurpriſing of all is, that ſo many learned interpreters ſhould ſtill adhere to it, ſince a better underſtanding of that tongue has opened the way to the other ſenſe, which is moſt agreeable both to reaſon and to the tenor of ſcripture. However, as what has been urged on both ſides of the queſtion is too copious, and would ſwell this note too much, to give our readers even a ſhort abſtract of it; we chooſe to refer them to thoſe learned moderns, who have wrote on that ſubject (36), while we content ourſelves with juſtifying the latter ſenſe, as far as the original will bear us out in it. For we doubt not, but if we make it appear to be capable of it, our readers will readily abſolve the *Hebrew* judge from ſo horrid and unnatural a ſacrifice under pretence of religion, though contrary to, and plainly forbidden by it, even when the text expreſly ſays, that the ſpirit of God came upon him

(36) *Vid.* Pagnin. Montan. Munſt. Vatabl. Druſ. Grot. Cleric. Lyran. Marian. Cappel. Marſham. *Canon Ægypt. ſec.* ix. § 3. Saubert. *de ſacrific. c.* 21. Sobed. *de diis German. lib.* 2. *& al. mult.*

about

THIS dear-bought victory was like to have proved fatal to him from another quarter, which he had no reason to expect it

about the time when he made this vow, (37); rather than to fancy, with some of the fathers (38), that God suffered him to offer up his daughter in the strictest sense, to deter men for the future from making any such rash vows. What has misled all the antient fathers is, that the *Septuagint* and the *Vulgate* render the words of *Jephthah*, *whatsoever cometh forth to meet me*, in the masculine, as if he had said, whosoever, or what person soever, cometh forth; whereas the original is here undeterminate. Again, they did not know that the particle *Vau* may be properly enough taken in the disjunctive sense, *or*, instead of the conjunctive, *and*. This is what some judicious critics, both *Jews* and Christians, have since clearly shewn to be the right signification, both here and elsewhere (39). So that *Jephthah*'s words should be rendered *shall surely be the Lord's, or*, not, *and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering*; that is, if it be a human creature, he or she shall be consecrated to the service of God, as some sort of *Nazarites* were *; or if a beast, it shall be offered up for a burnt-offering, if it be fit for it, or if not, be exchanged for another that is so. What confirms this sense of the vow is, 1. That there were but three sorts of creatures that could be fit for a burnt-offering, according to the *Mosaic* law; whereas any other creature might as well chance to come out of his doors, as any of these three. 2. It might chance to be an unclean one, such as a dog, an ass, or a hog; which could not be in any way offered to the Lord, but must be exchanged or redeemed. 3. That human sacrifices of any kind, except what was vowed to extermination of the nations condemned by God to it †, (and these could not be said to be offered up in burnt-offerings) were expressly forbidden (40). And, 4. That there was an express redemption for vows relating to human creatures, and the price of it appointed by God (41).

It were therefore absurd to suppose, either that *Jephthah* would have vowed to offer the first creature indifferently that came out of his house, a burnt-offering unto God, without distinction of clean and unclean, fit and unfit, or if he had, that the priests would have suffered him to put it in execution, when the victim vowed proved an unlawful and redeemable one, and would have been an abomination to God, as well as a scandal to all the world. For these plain reasons we think, with those learned men above quoted,

(37) *Judg.* xi. 29. (38) *Vid. int. al.* Chrysost. *Homil. ad pop. Antioch.* xiv. Justin. *Mart.* Theodoret, *qu.* xx. *in Judic.* (39) *Vid.* Jos & Dav. Kimchi. R. Levi. *Ben.* Gers. Salom. *Ben* Melech. & *auct. Christ. sup. citat.* * *See before p.* 229, 230. † *See before p.* 227. & *seq.* (40) *Deut.* xii. 31. & *alib.* (41) *Levit.* xxvii. 1. & *seq.*

that

it from. He was ſcarce returned to his own houſe, when the

that the words ought rather to have been rendered thus: *Then the ſpirit of God came upon* Jephthah——*and he vowed a vow unto the Lord, and ſaid, If thou ſhalt without fail deliver the children of* Ammon *into my hands, it ſhall be, that whatſoever cometh forth of the doors of my houſe, to meet me when I return in peace,—ſhall ſurely be the* LORD'S, OR *I will offer it up for a burnt-offering.—And* Jephthah *came to* Mizpeh *to his houſe, and his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and dances, and ſhe was his only child.—And when he ſaw her he rent his cloaths, and ſaid, alas, my daughter, thou haſt brought me very low, thou art one of thoſe that trouble me; for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back.—And ſhe ſaid unto him, If thou haſt opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to thy vow——only let this thing be done for me; let me——bewail my virginity two months. And it came to paſs at the end of two months, that ſhe returned to her father who did with her according to his vow, and ſhe never knew man*; that is, *ſhe continued a virgin. And it became a ſtatute or cuſtom in* Iſrael, *that the daughters of* Iſrael *came four days in the year* לתנות Lethanoth, *to condole or converſe with the daughter of* Jephthah.——

Here then *Jephthah*'s vow is taken in the firſt ſenſe, *ſhall be the* LORD'S; that is, the vowed thing, proving to be his only daughter, he conſecrated her to the ſervice of God. For this reaſon it is added, ולוא לא ידעה איש *Vebi lo yadhah iſh*, and ſo ſhe did not know man; that is, from that time to her death. For it would have been ſuperfluous to have added that circumſtance, if he had ſacrificed her as ſoon as ſhe came from bewailing her virginity. As for the verb תנה *Thanah*, which ſo many verſions render *to bewail*, were it capable of no other ſignification, yet would it not imply the bewailing of her death, but her being condemned to perpetual virginity, which was reckoned one of the greateſt misfortunes that could happen to an *Iſraelitiſh* maid. But it is plain, that it ſignifies alſo to condole, to converſe with, to declare or extol. In this laſt ſenſe the reader will find it uſed in the ſame book, chap. v. ver. 11. where it is ſaid that they יתנו *Yithnu* ſhall rehearſe, or extol the righteous acts of the LORD. So that here the *Iſraelitiſh* maids might go, either to condole her for being ſecluded from man, or to extol her piety and conſtancy in ratifying her father's vow.

There are but two things objected againſt this ſenſe of the text; the firſt is, that the *Moſaic* law did not allow parents a power to oblige their children to a ſingle life. But, beſides that the argument is much ſtronger againſt their power of ſacrificing them to the flames, we find that the children, when of age, might conſent to the vow; and this ſeems to be the reaſon why the text adds, that ſhe readily ratified it (42). But it is plain moreover that parents had a very great power, to impoſe ſevere and grating laws, not

(42) *Judg.* xi. 36. *vid.* & *Num.* xxx. *paſſ.*

only

the turbulent *Ephraimites* furrounded it, and in a tumultuous manner

only on their children, but alſo on their poſterity; as when the ſon of *Rechab* forbid all his deſcendants the drinking of wine, dwelling in houſes, and the like (43). Though were it not ſo, one could only ſay, that *Jephthah*, as a judge, ſtretched his power beyond what he might do as a father, though without ſuch a degree of barbarity, as if he had offered her up in the other ſenſe.

The next thing that is objected is, that the grief, which *Jephthah* expreſſed at the ſight of his daughter, ſeems to imply ſome heavier fate, than a bare doom to perpetual virginity. But it ought to be remembered, that he thereby deprived an only child, and a dear one, of the greateſt happineſs of life; for ſuch was marriage, eſpecially when bleſſed with children, eſteemed in *Iſrael*; and himſelf of all hopes of any poſterity. Where is then the wonder that he ſhould uſe ſuch expreſſions of grief, when his only child was condemned to ſuch a reproachful and uncomfortable life, and himſelf excluded thereby from the proſpect of having the *Meſſiah* to come of his ſeed (44)?

Since then the original is capable of ſo much fairer and more natural a ſenſe, it were abſurd to prefer the other, which is both contrary to reaſon, nature, the *Moſaic* law, and the analogy of faith; and has been the ſource of endleſs diſputes and ſuperfluous inquiries, how far this inhuman ſacrifice was, or was not, juſtifiable, commendable, and pleaſing to God; and how far *Jephthah*'s barbarous faith intitled him to be ranked among the *Hebrew* worthies (45). Concerning all which, the reader may conſult thoſe antient fathers above quoted, and ſeveral others (46); for whom there is only this to be ſaid, that they had no verſion, but the *Greek* and *Latin* to ſteer by, backed with the teſtimony of the antient *Jews*. A late commentator (47), however has ſince endeavoured to vindicate the notion of *Jephthah*'s daughter being really ſacrificed according to the letter, and the opinion of the fathers; though without pretending to juſtify, either the vow, or the execution of it. In order to which, he inſiſts ſtrenuouſly, 1. that he did not vow the firſt thing, but the firſt perſon that came out of his houſe. But we have already proved the contrary above; and it is a wonder, that he, who ſeems well verſed in the *Hebrew*, ſhould not have been ſenſible of it. He next inſiſts upon an expreſs text in the law concerning vows (48), that whatſoever is vowed unto the Lord of men, ſhall not be redeemed, but ſhall

(43) *Vid. Jerem.* xxxv. 6. & *ſeq.* (44) *Vid.* Le Scen. *Eſſay on a new verſ. ch.* vii § 9. (45) *Hebr.* xi. 32. (46) *Vid.* Auguſt. *quæſt.* 49. *in Judic.* Hieron. *lib.* i. *cont. Jovinian.* & *Epiſt. ad Julian.* Ambroſ. *lib.* iii. *de offic. c.* 12. Th. Aquin. *ſecund.* § 2. *qu.* 88. (47) Calmet. *Diſſert. de vot.* Jeph. *comm. in Judic.* & *Dict. ſub voc. Jephte.* (48) *Levit.* xxvii. 29.

manner threatened to ſet it on fire, and to burn him and all he had, for having dared to engage the *Ammonites*, without ſummoning them to arms. *Jephthah* who was not of ſo gentle a diſpoſition as his predeceſſor *Gideon*, did not think it worth the while to ſooth their pride with a flattering ſpeech; on the contrary, he upbraided them with their baſeneſs, in not anſwering his ſummons, and leaving him to bear the brunt of the enemy. Theſe reproaches ſtung them ſo to the quick, that they ſcrupled not, in the height of their reſentment, to call the *Gileadites* a pack of ſpurious fugitives, a kind of mongrels, between *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*. There wanted nothing more to exaſperate the *Gileadites*, who were of that half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, which was ſeated on the other ſide of *Jordan*. A bloody fight enſued, in which thoſe of *Ephraim* were diſcomfited with a great loſs, and the *Gileadites*, having ſeized the fords of *Jordan*, ſuffered none of thoſe who had eſcaped from the ſlaughter to live. Their method was, to examine all that offered to croſs that river whether they were *Ephraimites*; which was eaſily done, by making them pronounce the word SHIBBOLETH; which ſignifies *an ear of corn*, and which thoſe of that tribe were known to pronounce SIBBOLETH; ſo that as many as were caught by that ſnare, were immediately knocked on the head; ſurely be put to death. But if this be the purport of that command, there is at once an end of all enquiry, concerning the lawfulneſs both of *Jephthah*'s vow, and of all other human ſacrifices. Had our author conſulted the learned *Selden* (49), he would have found it fully proved, not only againſt *Cappellus* and others, that the parents had no ſuch power over their children, but even againſt the *Jews*, that maſters had it not over their ſlaves; and that the queſtion in this law is not about things, or men, vowed for burnt-offerings, which was abſolutely forbidden, but about ſuch as were devoted by חרם *Cherem*, *Anathema*, to utter extermination, of which kind were the inhabitants, and all the plunder of *Jericho* (50), of the *Amalekites*, of king *Arad* and his people, of the inhabitants of *Jabeſh-gilead* (51), and of the ſeven nations of *Canaan*. But of this *Cherem* we have had occaſion to ſpeak already, and ſhall dwell no longer upon it †. It is plain therefore, that theſe two places are nothing to our author's purpoſe, and that the whole tenor of the ſcriptures is againſt it; ſo that we ſee no reaſon to depart from the contrary opinion.

(49) *De Jur. Nat. & Gent. ſec. diſcipl Heb. c.* 4. *& ſeq.* (50) *Joſh. vi. paſſ. & alib* (51) *Num. xxi.* 2. *Judg. xxi.* 9. 10.
† *See before p.* 226. *vid.* & Seld. *ubi ſup.* Patric. Grot. Le Clerc. & *al. in Levit. xxvii.* 28. 29.

and this unhappy contention occasioned the loss of 42,000 *Ephraimites*. As for *Jephthah*, we read no more of him, except that he judged *Israel* six years; by which is only meant, that part of it which was on the other side of *Jordan*; and that he was buried in *(one of)* the cities of *Gilead* [u]. This has given birth to two *Jewish* fables, very opposite to one another; the first is, that he was smitten with a sore disease, as a punishment for his impious vow, which rotted all his limbs one after another; so that there was hardly one city in the land of *Gilead* in which he did not drop one of them. The other is, that the *Gileadites*, in memory of the great deliverance they obtained by him, dissected his body, that every city might have some part, to keep as a monument of it [w].

Ibzan. *Jephthah* was succeeded by *Ibzan*, whom the *Jewish* rabbies will have to be the same with *Boaz*, who married *Ruth* the *Moabitess* [x], but without any foundation. This was their 10th judge, a native of *Bethlehem*; but whether that which belonged to the tribe of *Zebulun* [y], or that which belonged to that of *Judah*, is not certain. He is only recorded for his numerous posterity, namely, thirty sons and as many daughters, whom he lived to see all married; so that he had 120 sons and daughters, and sons and daughters-in-law, besides grandchildren. This was looked upon as a great blessing in *Israel*. He judged seven years [z], and was succeeded by

Elon. *Elon*, of the tribe of *Zebulun*, who judged *Israel* ten years [a]. He was buried in *Ajalon*, in his own tribe, and succeeded by

Abdon. *Abdon*, who was the son of *Hillel*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, and native of *Pirathon* in the mount of the *Amalekites* in the same tribe, where he was buried, after having judged *Israel* eight years. He is recorded for his numerous issue, having left behind him forty sons and thirty grandsons, who rode on as many ass-colts, after the manner of the great men in *Israel* [b].

WE read of no slavery, war, or defection, during the life of these three last judges; whether it were that the swords of *Gideon* and *Jephthah* had too far weakened their enemies, or that their own valour did both intimidate them, and keep the *Israelites* from running into those idolatries, which were at-

[u] Judg. xii. 7. [w] Vid. MUNST. in loc. [x] Ruth iv. 8. & seq. Matth. i. 5. vid. MUNST. in Judg. xii. 8. [y] Josh. xix. 15. [z] Judg. xii. 8. & seq. [a] Ibid. ver. 11. [b] Ibid. ver. 13, 14.

tended

tended with the loſs of peace and liberty. The latter ſeems indeed the moſt probable, becauſe we find, that after the death of the laſt of theſe, they relapſed and ſuffered a heavy yoke of forty years under the *Philiſtines* [c].

THIS ſixth ſlavery began about the ſeventh month after Eli. *Eli* joined, in his own perſon, the dignity of judge to that of high-prieſt [d]. He was of the family of *Ithamar*, the younger branch of *Aaron*'s houſe; and the high-prieſthood had been tranſlated into it from the elder one of *Eleazar* (P). It is indeed ſurpriſing, that the people ſhould have continued ſo long free from defection, during the lives of their lay-judges, and fall into idolatry under the government of an high-prieſt. But *Eli* is particularly recorded for his indolence and remiſſneſs, eſpecially towards his two ſons, whom he ſuffered to run into the greateſt exceſſes of debauchery and irreligion, to the great ſcandal of all *Iſrael* [e]. However he was the only ruler the *Iſraelites* had during this long thraldom; and ſeems to have been choſen by God, as the propereſt judge for them at that time; for as he was known to be incapable of undertaking any thing for their deliverance, he was the fitteſt to withdraw their uſual confidence in an arm of fleſh, and to make them look up to heaven for relief. Accordingly, when the ſeverity of their thraldom had brought them to a better ſenſe, GOD ſent them a deliverer, who was altogether wonderful from his conception to his death.

[c] Judg. xiii. 1. [d] Vid. USSER. Ann. ſub A. M. 2848. and the chronolog. index at the end of our Bibles. Year before Chriſt 1156. [e] 1 Sam. ii. 12. & ſeq.

(P) This thraldom is computed by the chronologers cited above, not to have ended till ſeven months after *Eli*'s death, when the ark was brought back from the land of the *Philiſtines*.

We have already ſpoken in another place ‡ of this tranſlation of the high-prieſthood, from the elder to the younger branch of *Aaron*'s family. We need only take notice here, that though we find no mention of any other high-prieſt of the elder branch from *Joſhua* to *Samſon*, that is during 300 years, except *Phinehas* the ſon of *Eleazar*; yet the book of the *Chronicles* mentions (52) three others, namely, *Abiſhua*, *Bukki*, and *Uzzi*; called by *Joſephus* (53), *Ahiezer*, *Boccejas*, and *Ozies*. It is uncertain how long any of them lived; but by the dignity being transferred to *Eli* about the year before Chriſt 1156, it is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have paſſed from *Uzzi* to him, rather than from his ſon *Meraioth*.

‡ *See before*, p. 234. *not.* (8). (52) 1 *Chron.* vi. 4, 5, & 50. (53) *Ant. lib.* 5. *c. ult.*

Samſon. He was the miraculous ſon of old age and barrenneſs. His birth and proweſs had been foretold by an angel, firſt to his mother, then to *Manoah* his father, a native of *Zorah* in the tribe of *Dan*, with a ſtrict charge to the mother, that ſhe ſhould abſtain both from wine and ſtrong drink, and from all unclean meats, during her pregnancy; and that no razor ſhould come on the child's head all his life, becauſe he was to be a *Nazarite* from his birth. *Samſon*, for that was the name which his parents gave him (Q), began to give ſome early marks of extraordinary courage and ſtrength; and the text ſays, that the ſpirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of the *Danites*, between *Zorah* and *Eſhtaol* [f], the place of his abode.

How he plagued the *Philiſtines* during his twenty years government, and was at length betrayed into their hands by a treacherous harlot, ſhorn and bereaved of his ſtrength and eyes, became the object of their ſcorn and revenge, and how, after near a year's miſerable ſervitude, he buried with himſelf all the *Philiſtine* nobles under the ruins of a magnificent ſtructure, we have ſeen in the hiſtory of that nation †. The text adds, that he deſtroyed a greater number of his enemies by his death, than he had done in his life-time; and that his friends and relations hearing of it, came and fetched

[f] Judg. xiii. 25. † See Vol. II. p. 208. & ſeq.

(Q) It is not eaſy to dive into the etymon of this name; that which comes neareſt to it is ſtill ſomewhat forced, being derived from שמש *Shemeſh* the *Sun*, and the feminine *Syriac* pronoun ן *An*, their, *their Sun*; which, as ſome pretend, prognoſticated the riſing of the *Hebrews*, and ſetting of the *Philiſtines* (54). Others derive it from the *Chaldee* שמש *Shameſh* in *Pibel*, which ſignifies to *miniſter* or *ſerve*, as the ſun doth to all the world. *Joſephus* ſays, that *Samſon* ſignifies *robuſt* (55); by which it is plain, he knew nothing of *Hebrew*, or its derivatives. However, we have obſerved more than once, that there is ſo little credit to be given to etymologies, eſpecially when they are ſo far fetched as this is, that it is not worth a further enquiry.

Our archbiſhop *Uſher* places *Samſon*'s birth in the ſecond year of their thraldom, and gives this ſubſtantial reaſon for it, that he is ſaid to have avenged the *Iſraelites* twenty years (56), and that he can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have entered into this office before the 18th year of his age (57).

(54) *Vid. vocabul. Hebr. & St.* Philip. *in vit. Samſon.* (55) Ant. *lib.* 5. *c.* 10 (56) *Judg xv. ver. ult.* (57) *Vid.* Uſſer. *ſub. A. M.* 2849.

him

his body away, and buried it in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors [g] (R).

THOUGH this extraordinary ſlaughter of the *Philiſtine* nobility did not put an end to their ſlavery, yet it inſpired the *Iſraelites* with freſh courage, to attempt the regaining of their liberty; but their horrid wickedneſs proved an invincible obſtacle to their ſucceſs. *Eli*, their judge, was almoſt an hundred years old [h]; and his two ſons, *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, who acted under him, took the advantage of his extreme weakneſs, to commit the greateſt abominations. The ſcripture brands them with ſome of the vileſt characters; ſuch as, that they were *ſons of* Belial; that *they knew not the Lord*; that they committed ſuch *infamous irregularities in the ſervice of the tabernacle, as cauſed the people to abhor the offering of the Lord*; that *they debauched the women that aſſembled at the door of the tabernacle, and that their crimes were very great* [i]: by all which one may eaſily gueſs to what exceſs of wickedneſs a people ſo naturally prone to it, muſt have run under ſuch profligate governors. *Eli* was not ignorant of all this; and yet, inſtead of inflicting ſome exemplary puniſhment upon his ſons, or at leaſt of diſcarding them from their office, and beſtowing it upon perſons of more zeal and integrity, he contented himſelf with giving them a gentle reproof; ſo gentle indeed that he ſeems not to have had the courage to tell them, that their actions were vile and abo- Hophni *and* Phinehas.

[g] Judg. xvi. 30, 31. [h] 1 Sam. iv. 15. [i] Ibid. ii. 12, & ſeq.

(R) *Joſephus* places the hiſtory of *Ruth* after the death of *Samſon* (58), contrary to the greater part of the *Jews* (59), who think *Boaz* to have been the ſame with *Ibzan* the 10th judge of *Iſrael*, as we hinted above, becauſe he was of *Bethlehem*, and that there is ſome conformity in their names; but they are both palpably out of all chronology. Some of our chronologers place it in the time of *Deborah* (60); others under *Gideon*; but the moſt probable opinion is that, which places it in the time of *Shamgar*, the third judge, about 120 years after *Joſhua* (61).

As for the book itſelf, it is plain, it was not written before *David*'s time, becauſe he is named in the genealogy of *Boaz* (62), though the ſtory appears to have happened in the time of ſome one of the judges, by the very firſt verſe of it.

(58) *Ant. lib.* 5. (59) *Targ. in Ruth. Talm. Hieroſ. RR.* Sal. Kimchi. Levi *Ben David.* Abr. Zaccut. & *al.* (60) Toſtat. Tremel. De Lyr. Genebr. & *al.* (61) Uſſer. (62) *Ruth. c. ult. ver. ult.*

animable,

minable, but only that they were not good [k]. No wonder then if such an expostulation made so little impression on those two profligate young men (S).

THIS remissness in a high-priest and a judge, was so displeasing to GOD, that he sent a prophet to upbraid him with his ingratitude, and to assure him, that the high-priesthood should be taken from his house; that his two sons should be cut off in one day; and that the survivors of his family should pine away with the utmost poverty and misery [l]. This heavy sentence was again confirmed by GOD to young *Samuel* in a vision, and by him related unto *Eli*.

Samuel was the child of age and barrenness, obtained by the prayers of his mother, dedicated to GOD by a solemn vow, and entered into his service at the age of three years [m]. As he grew up, he was appointed to minister to *Eli* in the holy functions, girded with a linen ephod, and to open and shut the doors of the tabernacle. One morning, before break of day, as he lay in his bed near unto *Eli*'s chamber, he heard himself called, and ran to him, supposing it had been he that had called him. *Eli* bad him return to his bed this time, and the next; but upon his coming the third time, he began to think, that there was something extraordinary in that voice, and directed young *Samuel* what answer to make, if he should be called again, as he was accordingly soon after. It was then that GOD revealed to him the heavy judgments

[k] Ibid. ver. 24. [l] Ibid. ver. 27. ad fin. [m] 1 Sam. i, ii, & iii. pass.

(S) Were we to follow the sense of our own and some other versions, we should be apt to attribute their incorrigibleness to what is said in the 25th verse of the second chapter, *that they hearkened not to the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them.* Would not any one be apt to conclude from thence, that it was with design to destroy them, that God thrust them headlong into this disobedience? We therefore beg leave here to remind our readers, that the conjunction כִּי *Ki*, which is rendered *because*, doth often signify, and ought, both here and in several other places (63), to have been translated *wherefore*, or *though*; so that the sense will be, *they did not hearken to their father, wherefore it pleased the Lord to slay them*; or, *they hearkened not — though the Lord threatened to slay them for their disobedience* (64).

(63) *Int. al. Gen. viii.* 21. *Jerem, vii.* 10. *Ps. lxxviii.* 19.
(64) *Vid* Buxtorf. *Lexic. Hebr.* Nold. *Concord. part. Hebr.* Amam. *Grammat. Hebr.* Alsted. Vorst, Le Scen. & *al.*

he

he had denounced againſt *Eli*'s houſe. *Samuel* was fearful of diſcloſing the dreadful purport of the viſion, till ſtrictly charged and adjured to it by him, after which he became known, from the one end of the kingdom to the other, to be a prophet of the Lord, and to be eſtabliſhed judge in *Iſrael* in *Eli*'s ſtead [n] (T).

[n] 1 Sam. iii. 1 ſeq.

(T) *Samuel* was of the tribe of *Levi*, of the branch of *Kohath*; but becauſe he exerciſed ſeveral prieſtly functions, ſuch as anointing of *Saul* and *David*, offering up ſacrifices even out of the tabernacle, his wearing a linen ephod, and being named by the *Pſalmiſt* with *Moſes* and *Aaron*, the prieſts of the Lord (65), ſome antient fathers have thought him to have been of the race of *Aaron*, and to have performed the function of high-prieſt after the death of *Eli* and his two ſons (66). *Joſephus* ſeems to hint ſomething like it, when he ſays, that *Saul* knew him to be *Samuel*, when he appeared to the witch of *Endor* in a prieſtly veſt (67), though he calls his father a plain *Levite*, where he ſpeaks of his birth (68); but it appears from the *Chronicles*, that he was of the branch of *Kohath*, the ſecond ſon of *Levi* (69), and as for his wearing of an ephod, *David* did the ſame (70); and *Gideon*, *Manoah*, *Saul*, *Elijah*, and others, who were neither prieſts nor *Levites*, have ſacrificed upon particular occaſions; and ſome prophets, and even their diſciples have anointed kings (71). As to the paſſage in the *Pſalms*, he is only mentioned there *among them that call upon the Lord*; by which may be meant, either the *Levites* in general, whoſe office it was; or elſe, as is more likely, from the next verſe, *among them that called to God effectually, ſo as to be heard by him*, as *Moſes* and *Aaron* did; but who did officiate in the high prieſt's function after *Eli*'s death, is neither eaſy, nor of moment to gueſs, but more probably, one of the *Aaronic* race than a *Levite*.

One expreſſion, however, in the threatening meſſage of the prophet to *Eli*, would make one think that ſome perſon of the elder branch was choſen to the high-prieſthood, even in his life-time, either by reaſon of his inability, being grown almoſt blind with age, or for his remiſſneſs, or both. The words are, *and thou ſhalt ſee an enemy in my habitation, in all the wealth which God ſhall give* Iſrael (72); where it is to be obſerved, that the word צַר *Tzar*, which we render an *enemy*, doth ſignify a *rival*; and is uſed in that ſenſe, in the very beginning of this book (73). Now it is plain, that this *rival* could be no other than ſome head of the

(65) *Pſ. xcix.* 6. (66) Auguſt. *in Pſ. xcviii. cont. Fauſt.* & *alib.* Chryſoſt. Ambr. & *al. vid.* Mendez. *in* 1 *Reg. ii.* (67) *Ant. lib. vi. c.* 15. (68) *Ibid. lib. v. c.* 11. (69) 1 *Chron. vi.* 22, & *ſeq.* (70) 2 *Sam. vi.* 14. (71) *Vid. int. al.* 2 *King. ix.* 1, & *ſeq.* (72) 1 *Sam. ii.* 32. (73) *Ibid. i.* 6.

elder

NOT long after this, the *Israelites*, being repulsed in an attempt against the *Philistines*, with the loss of four thousand men, took it into their heads to bring the ark of God into their camp, in hopes at least, that it would strike a terror into their enemies, and inspire the people with more than ordinary courage; but the consequence of this wild project was, that they lost both the battle and the ark †, and the two sons of *Eli* that bare it, their lives, all in one day. The old priest, who waited with impatience to hear of the success of the battle, had seated himself on a bench in the highway to *Shiloh*, being under the greatest concern for the ark of God; and as soon as he heard the news of its being taken by the enemy, he fainted away, and falling backward from his seat, broke his neck and died. His daughter-in-law likewise, *Phinehas*'s wife, being then near her time, fell in travail upon receiving all this dreadful news, and testified the excess of her grief by calling the child she was delivered of *I-chabod*, to signify, that the glory of *Israel* was departed, and expired immediately after [o]. *Phinehas* left another son named *Ahitub*, who is supposed to have succeeded his grand-father *Eli* in the high-priest's office, because we find his son *Ahiah* in that dignity in *Saul*'s time [p]; from whom it passed to *Abimelech* his brother, who was killed by that jealous prince [q], and from him to his son *Abiathar*, who was the last of *Eli*'s race that enjoyed it. But as to the government, it was given by God to *Samuel*, a man of uncommon zeal and courage, and fit to reduce the *Israelites* from their abominable defection and idolatry. This was indeed what he applied himself to with good success, being feared and reverenced by all *Israel*, who knew him to be the chosen prophet of God, and that none of his words fell to the ground.

WHAT betided the ark of the covenant, and those that kept it captive, and its being sent back, we have already seen *. Its wonderful and unexpected return to *Bethshemesh* caused an universal joy in all the people, who came crowding from all the adjacent parts to feast their eyes with the sight of it, it being then the time of harvest. The field where it stopt had in it a large stone, upon which the priests and *Levites*

† See before, p. 56. [o] 1 Sam. iv. 12 to the end, [p] Ibid. xiv. 3. [q] Ibid. xxii. 16, & seq. * See Vol. II. p. 214, & seq.

elder branch of *Eleazar*, from whom the priest-hood had been transferred to him; but we will not affirm any thing further about it.

offered up the two milch-kine that brought it for a burnt-offering. This was accompanied with ſeveral others, which the inhabitants of the place ſacrificed there; after which the ark and treſpaſs-offering were depoſited upon the ſame ſtone. But their joy was ſoon after unhappily turned into mourning, through the irreverence of the *Bethſhemeſhites*, whom an imprudent curioſity enticed to look into the ſacred ſymbol of the divine preſence, and for which fifty thouſand and ſeventy men were puniſhed with immediate death (V). This terrible ſlaughter ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that they ſent to the inhabitants of *Kirjath-jearim*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Bethſhemeſh*, and in the tribe of *Judah*, deſiring that they would fetch the ark away from them [r]; which they accord-

[r] 1 Sam. vi.

(V) This is what ours and moſt other verſions make the original to ſay, for which reaſon we have not dared to depart from it; though we own, with the learned *Bochart*, that we can neither conceive, how there could be ſuch a multitude of people in a village on the borders of *Judæa*; nor how it could be conſiſtent with the goodneſs of God, to make ſuch a ſlaughter of thoſe men, who came with joy to receive the ark, ſuppoſing ſuch a number could really have all looked into it.

But we beg leave to obſerve here, that the original is capable of a two-fold ſenſe, beſides this in our verſion, both which do greatly leſſen that number, and remove the difficulty. The firſt is that of *Bochart* above mentioned (74), who ſhews, that it ought to have been rendered fifty men of a thouſand, inſtead of fifty thouſand, that is in all ſeventy; becauſe, as he obſerves rightly after St. *Jerom* (75), it is not uſual in the *Hebrew* to make the thouſands go before the inferior numbers when they make up a total ſum, but they conſtantly begin with the leſſer number and end with the greater. *Joſephus* has taken it in the ſame ſenſe (76), and reckons but ſeventy ſlain.

The other ſenſe is, that there were ſlain ſeventy men, בעם, *Baham*, of the common people, and חמישים אלף איש, *Chamiſhim eleph iſh*, fifty of the heads or captains of the people; for the word אלף ſignifies alſo a leader or captain. This ſeems to have been the opinion of *Junius*, though he has retracted it ſince, or *Tremellius* for him, to adhere to the vulgar one, though without giving any reaſon for his ſo doing (77). In memory of the mourning which their death cauſed among the people, the ſtone, or rock, upon which the ark reſted, when they looked into it, was called אבן אבל *Eben Abel, the ſtone of mourning.*

(74) *Phaleg ſub Bethſhemeſh. Vid.* & Le Scen. *Eſſay on a new verſ. part 2. ch. 6. § 4.* (75) *In Hebdom. Dan.* (76) *Ant. l. vi. c. 2.* (77) *Vid. Trem. in loc.*

ingly did, and placed it in the houſe of one *Abinadab*, which ſtood on the higheſt part of the city, where it continued till *David*'s time, that is about ſeventy years, and conſecrated his ſon *Eleazar* to be the keeper of it (W).

It may indeed be juſtly wondered, why the ark was not either ſent back to *Shiloh*, where the tabernacle and its ſacred utenſils ſtood, or that theſe at leaſt were not brought to *Kirjath-jearim*. But whatever be the reaſon of this irregularity, *Samuel*, who acted by this time both as prophet and judge, took occaſion from the people's aſſembling in great multitudes before the ark, to lament their not yet recovered liberty; to perſuade them to put away *Aſhtaroth* and their other ſtrange deities from among them, and to ſerve the Lord alone; upon which condition only, he could promiſe them a ſpeedy deliverance from the *Philiſtine* yoke. The people readily complied, and afterwards aſſembled themſelves at *Mizpeh* according to his appointment, where they faſted, and prayed, and expreſſed all the tokens of a lively repentance. This unuſual meeting gave an umbrage to the *Philiſtines*, who immediately took up arms, and came up againſt them; but *Samuel*, having offered up a ſucking lamb for a burnt-offering, did by his prayers obtain ſuch a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, as quite diſcomfited their enemies, whom the *Iſraelites* purſued with a great ſlaughter unto *Beth-car*. In memory of this ſignal victory, *Samuel* cauſed a great ſtone to be erected between *Mizpeh* and *Shen*, which he called *Eben-ezer*, or *the ſtone of help*; and from that time to *Samuel*'s death, the *Philiſtines* were ſo far from making any further attempt againſt *Iſrael*, that they ſuffered them to recover all the cities and fortreſſes which had been taken from them, from *Ekron* even unto *Gath*, and the territories about them †. At the ſame time the *Iſraelites* were at peace with the *Amorites*, ſo that the land enjoyed a profound peace all the time of *Samuel*'s government; whilſt he, to make it eaſier to the people, left *Ramah*, his uſual reſidence and the place of his nativity, once a year to take a circuit round *Bethel*, *Gilgal*, and *Mizpeh*, to adminiſter judgment; and then returned to his own city, where he had built

† See Vol. II. p. 217.

(W) Some have fancied, that this *Abinadab* was of the race of *Aaron*, or at leaſt a *Levite*, though without any viſible grounds, or indeed any neceſſity; ſince he was to be but a bare keeper of the ark, and that perhaps no longer, than till ſome proper prieſts and *Levites* were ſent for from *Shiloh* to miniſter before it.

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an altar unto God, and whither the people might reſort unto him at all other times [r] (X).

By that time *Samuel* had judged *Iſrael* twenty years, with great integrity and applauſe, he had the mortification to hear that his two ſons, *Joel* and *Abiah*, whom he had, in his latter days, made judges at *Beerſheba* (Y), did not follow their father's ſteps, but ſuffered themſelves to be bribed to pervert judgment; upon which account he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the elders of *Iſrael*, who deſired him that he would appoint to them a king, who might be a judge over them, and that they might be like other nations, ſince his ſons were not worthy to ſucceed him in his office. Such a propoſal could not but be highly diſpleaſing to him, who plainly foreſaw the danger of ſuch horrid ingratitude, and that, by caſting off the government of God over them, they would make themſelves unworthy of his protection. He expoſtulated with them, he upbraided them with their ingratitude, and forewarned them of their danger; and, among other diſſuaſives, he laid before them all the miſchiefs and grievances they were likely to ſuffer from a king, in the moſt lively terms. In a word, he omitted nothing that could poſſibly divert them from their deſign; but all to no purpoſe, till God commanded him to

[r] 1 Sam. vii. to the end.

(X) It appears from thence, that *Samuel* left *Shiloh* ſoon after the death of *Eli*, and the taking of the ark, and that he never returned thither, at leaſt to dwell. It is indeed probable, that the ark being removed from thence, all kind of religious ceremonies had ceaſed there; for which reaſon it is ſaid, that he built an altar at *Ramah*, the place of his reſidence, that the people might reſort to him, either for judgment, or to offer ſacrifices to God. This thing however was far from being according to the *Moſaic* law; but it ſeemed a caſe of neceſſity, becauſe the ark being at one place, and the tabernacle in another, neither of them could be properly reſorted to for ſacrificing, or any other part of public worſhip.

(Y) This *Samuel* had probably done, either to try how they would behave themſelves in that important poſt, or perhaps for the convenience of thoſe who lived at too great a diſtance from *Ramah*; *Beerſheba* being at one extremity of *Iſrael*, as *Dan* was on the other. *Joſephus* adds, that he appointed the eldeſt to keep his reſidence at *Bethel*, and the other at *Beerſheba*, and ordered them to take a yearly circuit at proper places, ſo as that each ſhould have one half of *Iſrael* to his ſhare (78); but the text ſays nothing of it.

(78) *Ant. l. vi. c. 3.*

hearken to them, and to ſet ſuch a king over them as he ſhould direct. Whereupon *Samuel*, having promiſed to comply with their demand, diſmiſſed them for the preſent [t], and *Saul* was ſoon after appointed by God to be the firſt king of *Iſrael*.

SECT. VIII.

The Hiſtory of the JEWS, *under their Monarchical Government.*

Saul, *firſt king of* Iſrael.

Year of the Flood, 1904. Year before Chriſt 1095.

SAUL was the ſon of *Kiſh*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*; he was a very comely youth, well-ſhaped, and taller by the head and ſhoulders than the common ſize. He had been ſent with a ſervant, about the time of the *Iſraelites* defection, to ſeek after ſome ſtrayed aſſes; and after three days uſeleſs ſearch, his man adviſed him to go to *Ramah*, near unto which they were then come, and enquire of the prophet *Samuel*, what he ſhould do next. *Samuel*, who knew him to be the perſon appointed by God to the regal dignity, and was then going to bleſs a ſacrifice which was held in that city, took that opportunity to introduce him to the feaſt, where he ſet him in the higheſt place, and diſtinguiſhed him from all the other gueſts, by a particular diſh of meat ſet before him above the reſt. He detained him all that night, and on the morrow early he called him up to receive his directions, and accompanied him ſome part of the way; and having commanded his ſervant to go on before [u], he poured the oil upon his head, and ſaluted him king of *Iſrael*. *Saul* behaved, during all this ceremony, with extraordinary modeſty, alledging the ſmallneſs of his tribe and family, as an argument of his being unfit for ſo high a dignity; but the prophet aſſured him, that he ſhould find himſelf endued with ſuch a ſuperior portion of God's ſpirit, as would give him a new heart, and a new diſpoſition, ſo that he would ſhortly feel himſelf quite another man. He then gave him ſome further directions relating to the occaſion of his journey, and his return home, and taking his leave of him for that time, left him to overtake his ſervant. Among other things that *Samuel* told him ſhould befal him in his way home, one was, that he would be met by a company of prophets, and that he would then receive the ſpirit of prophecy, and propheſie with them. This, as well as the reſt, came to paſs accordingly, and the ſurpriſe with

[t] Ibid. ch. viii. 1, & ſeq. [u] Ch. ix.

which

which thoſe of his acquaintance beheld it, occaſioned that ſaying, which paſſed afterwards into a proverb, *Is* Saul *alſo among the prophets*[x]*!* Soon after this *Samuel* called all the heads of *Iſrael* to *Mizpeh*, and cauſed them to preſent themſelves by their tribes before the Lord; and as they paſſed in their order, that of *Benjamin* was taken; then were the families of it called, and that of *Matri* was taken; and next to that the ſon of *Kiſh*[y].

WHILST this was doing, *Saul* who knew where the lot would fall, had hid himſelf ſo well among ſome houſhold lumber, that they could not find him, till they were directed to him by the Lord; and as ſoon as he was brought out, *Samuel* preſented him to the people, as the perſon whom God had choſen to be their head, and immediately the air rang with the peoples ſhouts, *Long live the king*. Here *Samuel*, who at their firſt tumultuous meeting, had forewarned them of all that a king might do in the plenitude of his power, and what they had to fear from him, did now think it neceſſary to inform him, before the aſſembly, of what he ought to do, and what to avoid. He therefore read to them the laws which had been preſcribed before by God himſelf to *Moſes*: laws which were equally levelled againſt tyranny and anarchy; and to which he perhaps added ſome others, as he was a prophet; becauſe it is added, that he cauſed them to be written, and depoſited by the ark[z], where thoſe we read in *Deuteronomy* concerning the duty of a king, had been before laid up by *Moſes*. *Saul* being thus proclaimed and anointed king of *Iſrael*, *Samuel* diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and the new king returned to his houſe in *Gibeah*, whither a number of brave honeſt men of *Iſrael* followed him; whilſt another company of looſe fellows, who deſpiſed his youth and comelineſs, and thought him unfit for ſuch a government, refuſed to acknowledge him, or to bring him any preſents, as the reſt did.

BUT it was not long before he had an occaſion to give them an earneſt of his courage, and to let them ſee how well he could uſe his new authority. The inhabitants of *Jabeſh-gilead* were ſtreightly beſieged by the *Ammonites*, and upon the brink of loſing not only their liberty, but their right eye, as a laſting reproach to the whole nation; when having obtained a reſpite of ſeven days from the *Ammoniti/h* king, they ſent an account of their diſmal ſtate to the elders of *Iſrael*. *Saul* was then in the fields with his cattle, when theſe

[x] Ch x. 11. [y] Ver. 21. [z] Ver. 25.

heavy

heavy tidings came, and at his return, found the people all in tears, and being informed of the occaſion of it, he immediately took a yoke of oxen, and cauſed them to be hewed in pieces, and diſpatched with the utmoſt ſpeed through all the tribes, with this threatening meſſage, that whoſoever refuſed to follow him to the relief of their brethren of *Jabeſh-gilead*, his cattle ſhould undergo the ſame fate. The people, alarmed with this news, did immediately repair to *Bezek*, to the number of three hundred thouſand, beſides thirty thouſand of the tribe of *Judah*; and *Saul* having ſent the beſieged word that he would come to their reſcue by the next morning, marched all that night; and as ſoon as he came near the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and fell upon them by break of day with ſuch fury, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege, and to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, and a very conſiderable loſs *. The people, elevated with this ſignal victory, were for putting to death all that had refuſed to acknowledge *Saul* for their king; but he generouſly withſtood it, alledging that it was not fit to ſtain the beginning of his reign with the ſlaughter of their brethren, after God had wrought ſo great a ſalvation in *Iſrael*. This moderate anſwer pleaſed the people ſtill more, and *Samuel*, who had accompanied him to the battle, invited now the people to *Gilgal*, there to confirm the kingdom unto *Saul* by an univerſal conſent, ſince he had ſhewed himſelf ſo worthy of it. This was accordingly done, and the ceremony was accompanied with joy, and acclamations, and with peace-offerings, which were there offered unto the Lord [2].

BEFORE *Samuel* diſmiſſed this numerous aſſembly, he took that opportunity to juſtify his conduct, during the whole time of his adminiſtration, as judge. This was indeed a proper time, becauſe his authority being devolved upon *Saul*, who was then preſent, could be no longer a check to any of them from exhibiting their complaint, if any ſuch they had againſt him. He therefore challenged them, as he was now old, and ready to leave the world, to accuſe him openly before their new king, if he had committed any fraud, injuſtice, or oppreſſion againſt any of them, that he might now make them reſtitution before he died; and he had the ſatisfaction of being anſwered by the general voice, that he had neither wronged nor oppreſſed them in any caſe. He was not content with this ample teſtimony, but made them take God to witneſs that they ſpoke from their heart, which

* See Vol. II. p. 103. [2] Ch. xi.

they

they readily did. *Samuel* ſeems to have had a double deſign in this expoſtulation, beſides that of clearing his own character; the firſt was, to ſhew young *Saul* a pattern to copy after, and the other, to make the people ſenſible of their ingratitude to God, in deſiring to be governed in a different way than he had hitherto appointed, and that unleſs they proved more obedient for the future, their new form of government would be of little benefit to them; ſince neither that, nor any other, could preſerve them from their enemies, without the divine bleſſing, which if they forfeited by their obſtinate wickedneſs, would bring infallible ruin upon their king and themſelves. To convince them of this, he recapitulated to them all the grievous thraldoms which their idolatry and diſobedience had drawn upon them, ſince their being ſeated in that land; and the many ſignal deliverances which God had wrought for them upon their repentance, without the help of a king; and to add a ſtill greater weight to his words, and to aſſure them that they did not proceed from any reſentment for their having been ſo preſſing for a king, even in his life-time, but becauſe God was highly diſpleaſed at it; he reminded them, that it was then the time of harveſt, when the air is generally ſerene, and free from clouds and ſtormy rains (Z); but he told them, that he would by his prayers obtain ſuch an extraordinary ſtorm of thunder and rain, as ſhould convince them, that God had been highly provoked by their ungrateful demand. He did ſo accordingly, and the people were frighted into a confeſſion of their wickedneſs, and of this particular aggravation of it, their aſking him for a king. They deſired him, that he would uſe his prayers to avert the impending ſtorm and danger; which he readily complyed with, and then aſſured them, that he would continue his good offices to them as long as he lived; and that if they and their

(Z) This *Samuel* juſtly calls *the great thing which the Lord would do before their eyes* (79); and the people could not but eſteem it ſuch, becauſe that country was obſerved to be entirely free from ſuch ſtormy weather all the time of harveſt, and to have the former and latter rain before and after it; but whether this was really miraculous, or whether the prophet, by ſome way or other, foreſaw it gathering, it anſwered his purpoſe, and wrought the deſired effect upon that incredulous and head-ſtrong people; and prevented them applauding their choice of a kingly government, or attributing their late or any future victory to that extraordinary piece of politics.

(79) 1 Sam. xii. 16.

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heavy tidings came, and at his return, found the people all in tears, and being informed of the occaſion of it, he immediately took a yoke of oxen, and cauſed them to be hewed in pieces, and diſpatched with the utmoſt ſpeed through all the tribes, with this threatening meſſage, that whoſoever refuſed to follow him to the relief of their brethren of *Jabeſh-gilead*, his cattle ſhould undergo the ſame fate. The people, alarmed with this news, did immediately repair to *Bezek*, to the number of three hundred thouſand, beſides thirty thouſand of the tribe of *Judah*; and *Saul* having ſent the beſieged word that he would come to their reſcue by the next morning, marched all that night; and as ſoon as he came near the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and fell upon them by break of day with ſuch fury, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege, and to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, and a very conſiderable loſs *. The people, elevated with this ſignal victory, were for putting to death all that had refuſed to acknowledge *Saul* for their king; but he generouſly withſtood it, alledging that it was not fit to ſtain the beginning of his reign with the ſlaughter of their brethren, after God had wrought ſo great a ſalvation in *Iſrael*. This moderate anſwer pleaſed the people ſtill more, and *Samuel*, who had accompanied him to the battle, invited now the people to *Gilgal*, there to confirm the kingdom unto *Saul* by an univerſal conſent, ſince he had ſhewed himſelf ſo worthy of it. This was accordingly done, and the ceremony was accompanied with joy, and acclamations, and with peace-offerings, which were there offered unto the Lord [a].

BEFORE *Samuel* diſmiſſed this numerous aſſembly, he took that opportunity to juſtify his conduct, during the whole time of his adminiſtration, as judge. This was indeed a proper time, becauſe his authority being devolved upon *Saul*, who was then preſent, could be no longer a check to any of them from exhibiting their complaint, if any ſuch they had againſt him. He therefore challenged them, as he was now old, and ready to leave the world, to accuſe him openly before their new king, if he had committed any fraud, injuſtice, or oppreſſion againſt any of them, that he might now make them reſtitution before he died; and he had the ſatisfaction of being anſwered by the general voice, that he had neither wronged nor oppreſſed them in any caſe. He was not content with this ample teſtimony, but made them take God to witneſs that they ſpoke from their heart, which

* See Vol. II. p. 103. [a] Ch. xi.

they

they readily did. *Samuel* ſeems to have had a double deſign in this expoſtulation, beſides that of clearing his own character; the firſt was, to ſhew young *Saul* a pattern to copy after, and the other, to make the people ſenſible of their ingratitude to God, in deſiring to be governed in a different way than he had hitherto appointed, and that unleſs they proved more obedient for the future, their new form of government would be of little benefit to them; ſince neither that, nor any other, could preſerve them from their enemies, without the divine bleſſing, which if they forfeited by their obſtinate wickedneſs, would bring infallible ruin upon their king and themſelves. To convince them of this, he recapitulated to them all the grievous thraldoms which their idolatry and diſobedience had drawn upon them, ſince their being ſeated in that land; and the many ſignal deliverances which God had wrought for them upon their repentance, without the help of a king; and to add a ſtill greater weight to his words, and to aſſure them that they did not proceed from any reſentment for their having been ſo preſſing for a king, even in his life-time, but becauſe God was highly diſpleaſed at it; he reminded them, that it was then the time of harveſt, when the air is generally ſerene, and free from clouds and ſtormy rains (Z); but he told them, that he would by his prayers obtain ſuch an extraordinary ſtorm of thunder and rain, as ſhould convince them, that God had been highly provoked by their ungrateful demand. He did ſo accordingly, and the people were frighted into a confeſſion of their wickedneſs, and of this particular aggravation of it, their aſking him for a king. They deſired him, that he would uſe his prayers to avert the impending ſtorm and danger; which he readily complyed with, and then aſſured them, that he would continue his good offices to them as long as he lived; and that if they and their

(Z) This *Samuel* juſtly calls *the great thing which the Lord would do before their eyes* (79); and the people could not but eſteem it ſuch, becauſe that country was obſerved to be entirely free from ſuch ſtormy weather all the time of harveſt, and to have the former and latter rain before and after it; but whether this was really miraculous, or whether the prophet, by ſome way or other, foreſaw it gathering, it anſwered his purpoſe, and wrought the deſired effect upon that incredulous and head-ſtrong people; and prevented them applauding their choice of a kingly government, or attributing their late or any future victory to that extraordinary piece of politics.

(79) 1 Sam. xii. 16.

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king did but continue ſtedfaſt in their obedience to God, inſtead of confiding in their vain and deceitful idols, every thing would go well with them; but that if they relapſed, both he and they muſt expect to feel the effects of the divine diſpleaſure [b].

ALL theſe things were tranſacted in the firſt year of *Saul*'s reign; on the next he diſmiſſed his numerous army, thinking perhaps, that his late victory had ſufficiently ſecured him from any attempt againſt *Iſrael*; and reſerved to himſelf only three thouſand men, two thouſand of whom he put into the gariſons of *Michmaſh* and *Bethel*, and the other thouſand he left at *Gibeah* of *Benjamin*, under his ſon *Jonathan*. But this young prince willing perhaps to atchieve ſomething worthy the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Saul*, went and ſmote a *Philiſtine* gariſon at *Geba*; the news of which having alarmed that nation, obliged his father to blow the trumpet, and to let *Iſrael* know, that the *Philiſtines* were coming againſt them with a numerous hoſt. They had indeed 30000 chariots and 6000 horſemen, beſides an innumerable multitude of foot with which they came and encamped againſt *Michmaſh*, eaſtward of *Beth-aven* (A). The ſight of ſo vaſt an army injected an univerſal terror in *Iſrael*, inſomuch that forgetting their late victory, and the valour which their new-made king had ſhewn upon that occaſion, a great part of that daſtardly people hid themſelves in caves, dens, pits, or any lurking holes; whilſt another part fled to the other ſide *Jordan* for ſafety, leaving their country open to their enemies frequent and deſtructive incurſions, and their king to make the beſt of the puſillanimous remains of the people that ſtuck cloſe unto him. One misfortune however attended them, which may in ſome meaſure excuſe their defection, which was, that the *Philiſtines* had taken care to ſtrip them of all kinds of weapons, and even of the inſtruments with which they uſed to ſharpen their rural tools, leſt they ſhould uſe them inſtead of arms. They had neither ſmith nor forge, and ſo naked were they at

[b] 1 Sam. xii.

(A) Concerning this prodigious number of chariots, we have already given our opinion in the hiſtory of that people, to which we refer the reader, where he will alſo ſee an account of the whole ſucceſs of this war, with the reflection of a late learned critic upon it †.

† *See Vol. II. p.* 217. *note* (I).

this time, that there was neither ſword nor ſpear, but thoſe which *Saul* and his ſon had c, when he came to muſter his little army (B). *Saul* however continued with them at *Gilgal*, expecting *Samuel*'s coming according to his appointment; but after he had waited ſeven whole days, and found that *Samuel* neither came nor ſent, and that his little army was almoſt dwindled away to a ſmall handful, reſolved nevertheleſs to make a brave reſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by the enemy; and afraid leſt he ſhould be ſurpriſed by them, before he had implored the protection of God in the uſual way of ſacrifices, he ventured, on the ſeventh day, to offer up ſome peace-offerings and a burnt-offering. He had ſcarce made an end of ſacrificing, when *Samuel* came, and blamed him highly for what he had done (C). *Saul* excuſed himſelf upon the preſſing neceſſity he was in;

c Ch. xiii. 19, & ſeq.

(B) The reſt of this ſmall body were armed, as one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, with ſuch weapons as they could make without the ſmith's help, ſuch as ſlings, flails, clubs, ſtaves, wooden prongs, ſtaves hardened in the fire, and other rural tools: the firſt of theſe, the ſlings, in which they were very expert, they might all uſe at the firſt onſet, and the others when they came to cloſer engagement.

(C) It is not eaſy to divine what *Saul*'s crime was, which drew upon him ſuch a ſevere ſentence from the prophet. The *Jews* indeed accuſe him, 1. Of not having waited the full time for him, and 2. Of having preſumed to infringe upon the prieſtly office, by offering up ſacrifices to God with his unhallowed hands (80). *Joſephus* ſeems to ſay much the ſame thing, though not in plain terms; but he adds, that *Saul* had ſent for *Samuel* to adviſe with him, who ſent him word back, that he ſhould continue where he was, and get ſacrifices in readineſs againſt he came to him; which would be at the end of ſeven days, when he would come and offer them up unto God.—*Saul*, adds he, waited out his time, but moſt unhappily failed in another article of his commiſſion, for the prophet he found delayed his coming, and his men perpetually deſerting him, ſo that he offered up the ſacrifice without waiting any longer for *Samuel* (81). As for the firſt of theſe, his not waiting the whole time, it appears of too ſmall a nature, conſidering the ſtreight he was in through the conſtant deſertion of his army, to have deſerved a total rejection; and as to the laſt, it is ſcarcely probable, becauſe he had the high-prieſt *Abiab* with him to perform that office for him, or to have hindered him from doing it, if he had gone a-

(80) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (81) *Ant. l. vi. c. 7.*

in; but whether the prophet took it as a preſage of his future diſobedience and want of faith, and deſigned only to intimidate and forewarn him, or whether his rejection had been already revealed to him, he told him, that he had done a very fooliſh action, and that his diſobedience to God's command, would cauſe the kingdom to be transferred from him to a more worthy and faithful perſon. As ſoon as *Samuel* was departed from him to go to *Gibeon*, or the valley of *Benjamin*, *Saul* and his ſon followed him thither with his little army, conſiſting only of ſix hundred unarmed men. There they beheld with ſorrow the *Philiſtines*, who were ſtill incamped in *Michmaſh*, making a three-fold incurſion in *Iſrael*, and committing great depredations; one detach-

bout it. Some authors think (82) therefore, that there is a tranſpoſition of chapters, and that the crime for which he was rejected, was his not deſtroying the king of *Amalek* and all the plunder, according to God's command, the ſtory of which we have in the next chapter, wherein *Samuel* reproves him in the moſt ſevere terms for his diſobedience, and tells him plainly, that the Lord had rejected him from being king (83); but it is more likely, that in the former of theſe places, the prophet only threatens him with what he muſt expect, unleſs he took more heed of what God commanded him. For it is plain, that *Saul* was ſo far from being abſolutely rejected, that he not only was bleſſed with a great and almoſt miraculous victory, immediately after *Samuel* had left him, but that he was likewiſe very ſucceſsful againſt ſeveral other nations, and above all, received that freſh command from the ſame prophet, to fight and deſtroy the *Amalekites* with a promiſe of victory. As for what is ſaid, *that the Lord hath ſought him a man after his own heart*, and——*ſhall command him to be head over his people* (84); thoſe who are acquainted with the genius of the original know, that it may as well be taken in the future tenſe, *the Lord ſhall ſeek*, and ſo on; however, as to the words of the prophet, *the Lord would have eſtabliſhed thy kingdom upon* Iſrael *for ever*; it is plain, they cannot be underſtood in a literal ſenſe, becauſe the ſceptre was promiſed to the tribe of *Judah*, and to no other (85); and accordingly was ſoon after given to *David*, who was of that tribe.

Upon the whole therefore we think, that *Saul* was only threatened here by the prophet, for having acted fooliſhly, but in the chapter following, he is abſolutely rejected for his diſobedience, in ſparing *Agag* and the beſt of the plunder, contrary to God's expreſs command; for which reaſon *Samuel* charges him not with bare folly, but with downright rebellion, which he there compares to idolatry and witchcraft (86).

(82) *Vid.* Tremel. *in loc.* (83) 1 Sam. xv. 16, *& ſeq.* (84) *Ibid.* Ch. xiii. 14. (85) Gen. xlix. 10. (86) 1 Sam. xv. 23.

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ment towards *Ophrah*, another towards *Beth-horon*, and the third towards the valley of *Zeboim* [d].

THEY were in this dimal ſituation, when *Jonathan*, moved by ſome divine impulſe, ventured, unknown to his father or to any one but his armour-bearer, who accompanied him, to climb up on his hands and feet through a couple of cragged rocks, and to fall upon one of the enemy's out-guards, where he killed twenty of their men, and put the reſt to flight, who ran into the camp and ſpread ſuch a panic terror through the hoſt, that it was eaſily perceived by *Saul* and his men; who, finding that *Jonathan* was miſſing, eaſily gueſſed him to be the author of it. *Saul* had with him the ark of God, and *Ahiah* the high-prieſt, the great grandſon of *Eli*, and was going to deſire him to enquire of the Lord whether he ſhould fall on the enemy, when the noiſe and confuſion increaſed ſo far, as to aſſure him, that they were put to the rout. He bid then *Ahiah* to hold his hand, and with his few men fell on the flying *Philiſtines*, his army ſtill increaſing, as well from a number of *Hebrew* captives, who took that opportunity to turn tail to their oppreſſors, as from a greater number of thoſe, who, obſerving from their lurking holes the ſucceſs of their brethren, came and joined themſelves to their king.

THIS victory, great as it was *, might have been more complete, had not *Saul* unadviſedly adjured his army not to ſtop their purſuit to take ſome convenient refreſhment. This raſh curſe was like to have had ſeveral fatal conſequences; for beſides, that it hindered his weary ſoldiers from making ſo great a ſlaughter of the enemy as they might have done, and put too ſpeedy an end to their purſuit, by that time it came to be evening, they were ſo famiſhed, that they fell greedily upon the ſpoil, and would have eaten ſome of the cattle with the blood, had not the king timely prevented it. But what was like to have proved worſe than all the reſt was, that *Jonathan*, knowing nothing of his father's imprecation, and being quite ſpent with that day's toil, had refreſhed himſelf with a little honey which he met with in his way, ſo that when his tranſgreſſion came to be found out by *Urim*, *Saul* would infallibly have condemned him to die, had not the whole army oppoſed it with one conſent, and ſworn that not a hair of his head ſhould be hurt, in conſideration of the ſignal deliverance which he had been the chief cauſe of. After this *Saul* returned home, and put himſelf in a condition of purſuing his conqueſt, not only againſt the *Phi-*

[d] Ibid. * See Vol. II. p. 218.

listines, but also against the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, and the kings of *Zobah* and *Amalek*. His head general was *Abner*, the son of his uncle *Ner*; he had also two sons besides the brave *Jonathan*, and next to that of his army his care was to have a guard about him, made up of the valianteſt and ſtouteſt men he could find in his dominions [e].

THE ſacred hiſtory gives us no particular account of any of theſe wars, that againſt *Amalek* excepted, of which we have ſpoken in its proper place †; neither is it eaſy to gueſs at what periods of *Saul*'s reign any of them happened. All that we can know is, that he reigned forty years [f]; that he was a valiant and ſucceſsful prince, continually at war with ſome neighbouring ſtate or other; and that he very much curbed the ſtrength of all his enemies round about. So that had he not been unmindful of God's command with reſpect to the king of *Amalek* and the plunder of his ſubjects, he might, in all likelihood, have reigned all his life without a rival [g]. But here he acted very unlike himſelf, not only in diſregarding the divine *anathema* which had been pronounced againſt that nation ever ſince their coming out of *Egypt* [h], and the prophet's charge in purſuance of it [i], but likewiſe in that poor pretence he made to *Samuel*, that he had fulfilled his command, when every thing about him ſhewed him, that he had acted quite contrary to it [k]; and next to this, in meanly excuſing his fault, by throwing one part of it upon the people's zeal to ſacrifice the beſt of the cattle to the Lord [l], and part upon his own fear of reſtraining them from it [m]. No wonder then if *Samuel* could not, without ſome indignation, hear a king of *Iſrael* betray ſo much meanneſs of ſoul to palliate an unjuſtifiable action; nor at the ſeverity with which he reproves him for it, when he was authoriſed by God to denounce unto him the loſs of his kingdom.

THIS ſentence, in which his crime was painted in the deepeſt colours, made a deep impreſſion upon *Saul*: he owned the charge, and begged of him, for decency ſake, and to prevent a defection of the people, that he would ſtill ſhew ſome regard to him, and accompany him, whilſt he went and paid his adoration to God; which the prophet complied with; and afterwards having cauſed the proud *Amalekitiſh*

[e] 1 Sam xiv. paſſ. † See Vol. II. p. 154. [f] Acts xiii. 21. [g] See what has been ſaid in the laſt note. [h] Exod. xvii. 14. [i] 1 Sam. xv. 1, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. ver. 13, 14. & 20. [l] Ver. 15. [m] Ver. 24, 30, & ſeq. to the end.

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king to be put to death (D), whoſe deſtroying ſword had bereaved ſo many mothers of their children, he returned to *Ramah*, the place of his abode; and from that time he never came more to *Saul*, but continued mourning for him [n], till he was reproved for it by God, and commanded to go to *Bethlehem*, and anoint one of the ſons of *Jeſſe* in his room.

Samuel was forced to colour his journey with the pretence of offering up a ſacrifice there; and accordingly took a young heifer with him, both to avoid giving any ſuſpicion to the jealous king, and to diſperſe the fears of the elders of *Bethlehem* at his unexpected arrival. As ſoon as he came to *Jeſſe*'s houſe, he ordered all his ſons to paſs before him in order, and when he beheld the eldeſt of them, whom the hiſtory ſhews to have been a man of valour, he preſently ſuppoſed him to be the perſon choſen to be *Saul*'s ſucceſſor; but God did ſoon let him ſee, that he judged quite otherwiſe, by rejecting him, as he did alſo the other ſix in their turns. *Samuel*, being ſurpriſed at it, aſked their father, whether theſe were all the ſons he had? who anſwered, that he had one more, a ſtripling, who was then keeping his ſheep, and was the youngeſt of all. He was bid to ſend for him; and as ſoon as *David* came in, *Samuel* was ordered to anoint him in the preſence of his brethren; and from that minute the ſpirit of the Lord came upon him (E). *Samuel* then made a feaſt to

[n] Ch. xv. 34, 35.

(D) The text ſays, that *Samuel* himſelf put him to death (87); but the *Hebrew* idiom imports no more than his commanding it to be done. And indeed, beſides that *Samuel* is not recorded to have been a ſwords-man, he was then too old to perform ſuch an execution. An antient author (88) tells us that *Agag* having been reprieved, at his deſire, till the next morning, his wife, who came to ſee him that night, conceived by him that very *Amalekite* who did afterwards kill *Saul*, as a juſt puniſhment for his ſparing that monarch's life; but it is plain, that *Saul* was not ſo much as wounded, till he fell upon his own ſword and killed himſelf, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place; and that the young *Amalekite*, who brought the news of his death to *David*, did only pretend that he had killed him, in hopes to ingratiate himſelf to him, though it fell out otherwiſe.

(E) It is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that *Samuel* did then explain the whole myſtery of his anointing of *David*, which might have had ſome fatal conſequence, had it come to *Saul*'s ears: but as it

(87) *Ibid. ver.* 33. (88) Phil. Bibl. *vid. St.* Phil. *Monarch. Hebr. in vit. Saul.*

was

to *Jesse*'s family, and to the elders of the city, and returned to *Ramah*, and *David* to his flocks.

NOT long after this, the spirit of the Lord having forsaken *Saul*, he began to feel himself tormented by an evil one, or by a deep melancholy; to dispel which, he was advised to get young *David* to play on the harp before him, who by this time had gained the reputation, not only of an expert musician, but of a sober, discreet, and valiant youth. He was sent for accordingly, and the ruddiness of his complexion, and comeliness of his person, joined with the sweetness of his music, won *Saul*'s heart so far, that he made him his armour-bearer, and obtained of his father that he might still continue near his person. Whenever therefore *Saul*'s distemper came upon him, *David* was ordered to divert him with his music, which never failed to give him ease; after which he returned home and went about his usual occupation. At least it appears by the sequel [o], that he stayed at *Bethlehem* during *Saul*'s lucid intervals, one of which seems to have been so long, that when he came back to court, neither *Saul*, nor *Abner* his general, could tell who he was, as we read in the very next chapter [p] *(F)*.

SAUL

[o] Ib. xvii. 15. [p] Ib. ver. 55. to the end.

was usual to anoint men to the office of prophet, as well as to the regal dignity, it is more likely, that he left them to suppose the former; which they might naturally enough do, both because *David* was but a stripling, not much above fifteen years of age, and too smug and tender to be taken for a promising warriour; and because the spirit of the Lord is said to have come upon him, as it used to do upon the prophets, after they were anointed. *Josephus* says, that *Samuel* only whispered the secret into *David*'s and his father's ear, and concealed it from the rest. And indeed had his brethren known, or even suspected, that he had been anointed to the regal dignity, though we dare not say how far their envy might have induced some of them to have betrayed the secret to *Saul*, it is scarce credible, they would have used him with such roughness and ill manners as they did, when their father sent him to them to *Saul*'s camp (89).

(F) This circumstance has given interpreters some difficulty to reconcile; some have thought this interval to have been so long, that *David* was quite altered, his beard grown, features and shape become more manly, so that he might not be easily known again (90). Some think that *Saul* not having seen him, but when he

(89) 1 *Sam.* xvii. 28. (90) Tornel. Cajet. &c. *al.*

was

SAUL and his army were then encamped by the valley of *Elah*, in order to make head againſt the *Philiſtines*, who had by this time recovered themſelves from their defeat, and had perhaps alſo taken freſh courage at the news of *Saul*'s diſtemper. They had pitched their camp at *Ephes-dammim* over-againſt them, which place was between *Shochoh* and *Azekah* in the tribe of *Judah*. A valley parted the two armies, which had contented themſelves with looking upon one another, without ſtriking a blow, during the ſpace of forty days, ſaving the daily challenges of the vapouring *Goliath*. But that which had chilled the hearts of all the *Iſraelites* did work a contrary effect upon young *David*, who was juſt

was in his melancholy moods, and as it were out of his ſenſes, could retain no idea of him (91). but this is by no means probable, becauſe *Saul* is ſaid to have loved him exceedingly, when he was recovered from his paroxyſms. Some others, and among them *Junius*, think, that there is alſo a tranſpoſition of chapters, and that *David* had killed *Goliath* ſome time before he was ſent for to play before *Saul*, becauſe he is recommended to him as a man of valour, as well as a muſician (92). But we can by no means come into that notion upon ſuch ſlight grounds. *David* might have acquired the character of a valiant youth upon ſome other account, particularly, for reſcuing ſome of his flock out of the jaws of wild beaſts (93). And as to his being forgot at court, it may be eaſily accounted for, if to the growth of his ſhape, beard, *&c.* mentioned under the firſt head, we add, that when he played before *Saul*, he appeared in a dreſs ſuitable, and that he was now in his plain ſhepherd's habit, and juſt come from a journey; ſo that the king and his court, who had ſeen ſuch variety of faces ſince his departure, might not eaſily call him to mind.

As for the wonderful effects which his muſic had upon *Saul*, we need not have recourſe to miracles to account for it, as ſome commentators have done (94), who think, that he joined ſome pſalms or prayers with the melody of his harp, which were a kind of exorciſm againſt the evil ſpirit that troubled him. Every one may be ſenſible of the power of good muſic upon a melancholy perſon; which we take to be *Saul*'s caſe. And as for it's being called an evil ſpirit ſent from the Lord, we take it to mean no more, than that God ſuffered him to fall into that diſmal diſtemper, as a puniſhment for his diſobedience. And this is ſo far from being our particular opinion, that it is at preſent the moſt received, and, as we think, the moſt agreeable to the genius of the original (95).

(91) Theodoret. Procop. *in loc.* (92) *Vid.* Jun. & Tremel. *in loc.* (93) 1 *Sam. xvii.* 34, *& ſeq.* (94) De Lyr. Toſtat. Ferrar. Cornel. a Lapid. *& al.* (95) *Vid.* Grot. Cajetan. Genebr. Le Clerc *& al. mult.*

arrived

arrived in the camp, being ſent thither by old *Jeſſe* with proviſions for his three elder brothers, who were then in *Saul*'s army. As ſoon as he heard the news of this gigantic champion's having defied the army of the God of *Iſrael*, he drew a ſure omen from it, that God would deliver him into his hands; and though *Saul*'s promiſing his daughter, as a reward to the man that ſhould ſlay him, had not been able to induce one *Iſraelite* to engage him, during that whole time, yet was not this young ſhepherd at all diſcouraged from offering himſelf to the combat. At his firſt preſenting himſelf to the king, all that beheld him did indeed judge him altogether unequal to ſuch an exploit; but he gave them ſuch proofs both of his valour and conduct, but eſpecially of his faith in God, that *Saul* ordered him to be armed cap-a-pee with his own armour. But *David* was ſoon forced to put it off, not being able to ſtir himſelf under the weight of it; and, with no other weapon than his ſling and a few pebble ſtones in his ſhepherd's pouch, ſallied forth againſt this mighty enemy; and in a few minutes after, brought his head and ſword, and laid it at the feet of *Saul*, who had by that time ſo far forgot him, that he was forced to inform him afreſh, that he was *David* the youngeſt ſon of *Jeſſe* [q].

WHAT effect this victory had over the amazed *Philiſtines*, we need not repeat here †. But *David*'s behaviour wrought ſo much on the generous *Jonathan*, *Saul*'s eldeſt ſon, that it gave birth to the moſt intimate friendſhip between them, inſomuch that the text ſays, their ſouls were knit together [r]; and *David* elſewhere tells us that it exceeded by far the love of women [s]. But it ſoon after made a much different impreſſion upon *Saul*, though at firſt he ſeemed charmed with his conduct, and gave him a conſiderable poſt in his army. What inſpired that prince with the firſt ſentiments of jealouſy againſt him, was the indiſcretion of a company of women, who came to meet them at their return from the battle, with vocal and inſtrumental muſic, and in their ſongs compared *David* to him, and ſaid, that *Saul* had killed his thouſands, and *David* his ten thouſands; which made him complain, that they would give him the kingdom next. From that time he looked upon him as a dangerous enemy, and himſelf unſafe till he had cut him off. His diſeaſe encreaſed his fear of him, or rather ſeemed to be wholly turned into jealouſy, of which *David* became the ſole object, and often narrowly eſcaped becoming the victim of it: for even on the very day

[q] 1 Sam. xvii. † See Vol. II. p. 221. [r] 1 Sam. xviii. 1. [s] 2 Sam. i. 26.

after

after this noble exploit, whilſt *David* was endeavouring to eaſe his preſent fit, he threw a javelin at him with ſuch force, that it ſtuck againſt the wall. He attempted the ſame a ſecond time, but *David* eſcaped them both.

AT length, *Saul* obſerving how well *David* behaved, and was beloved by all the people, though he dreaded him the more for it, he ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of acting more cloſely againſt him, by raiſing him to a higher poſt, and expoſing him to freſh dangers, in hopes to ſee him fall by the hand of the enemy. He promiſed him, at the ſame time, his eldeſt daughter, as a reward of his next victory; but *David* had the mortification to ſee her given to another preſently after. The next trap *Saul* laid for him was, to get ſome of his ſervants to tell him, that the king, who deſigned in earneſt to give him his ſecond daughter, would accept of a 100 *Philiſtines* foreſkins inſtead of a dowry. But here *David* came off again victorious, and brought him double that number; ſo that *Saul*, having no pretence left to excuſe himſelf from his promiſe, gave him *Michal* in marriage, whoſe ſincere affection, joined to that of her brother *Jonathan*, proved afterwards very ſerviceable to him, by defeating their father's bloody attempts againſt his life, even at the hazard of their own. *David* had again gained a ſignal victory over the *Philiſtines*, and was ſcarce returned to court, before he was in danger of being ſtuck to the wall with another javelin. This made him retire to his own houſe, whither *Saul* purſued him, cauſing the houſe to be beſet by ſome of his ſervants, where he would have been infallibly murdered by the next morning, had not his faithful wife contrived his eſcape, by conveying him privily out at a window in the dead of night, reſolved to give her huſband time to go far enough before he was purſued, and at any rate to bear the brunt of her father's reſentment, rather than be wanting in conjugal affection. When therefore the men came on the next morning to kill him, ſhe ſent them away, and told them, that he was very ill, and confined to his bed; ſhewing them at the ſame time the figure of a man, which ſhe had conveyed into it, and covered up with bed-cloths to prevent diſcovery (G). As ſoon as *Saul* heard of his being ſick, he ſent back the men,

(G) *Joſephus* gives a more refined account of this ſtratagem, and carefully avoids the teraphim mentioned in the text: but we have already confuted that ſubtle evaſion in another place (96), and we need no freſh proofs here of the author's partiality to his nation.

(96) *See Vol. II. p.* 401. *not.* (B).

with orders to bring him alive in his bed, that he might have the pleasure of stabbing him with his own hand; and it was then that *Michal*'s stratagem being discovered, so exasperated her angry father, that she was forced to make him believe, that it was to save her own life, that she had consented to it.

David, thus happily escaped, went to *Ramah* to acquaint *Samuel* with the unwelcome news; and both of them went down to *Naioth*, which was not far from *Ramah*, and where was a school of prophets. It was not long before *Saul* heard of it, who sent immediately some messengers to fetch him. But they were no sooner come within sight of *Samuel* and the prophets, than they fell a prophesying likewise, and so returned without him. He sent others a second and a third time, with the same success, and at length resolved to go himself; and when he came, he prophesied likewise, till he came to the place, and there he cast off his cloaths, and laid down uncovered (H) all that day and night, and gave thereby an opportunity to *David* to get off [t], and to have a private interview with *Jonathan*, wherein they swore to each other a perpetual friendship. In this interview *David* obtained likewise a promise from him, that he would excuse him to his father, on the two following days, which were the feast of the new moon, and in which he was to have sat at the king's table, when he should be observed to be missing, and to let him know, whether he resented his absence, or was satisfied with the excuse. Accordingly, *Saul* missed him on the very first day, but imputed it to some accidental pollution, which made him unfit to appear; but when he saw him not on the next day, and was told by *Jonathan*, that he had begged leave to

[t] Ch. xix. pass.

(H) The words in the original say, that he lay naked; but it were absurd to understand it in a literal sense, God having strictly forbidden all such indecencies (97), in opposition to the heathen priests, who were not ashamed to appear naked at some of their feasts (98). It is more than probable, therefore, that the words mean no more than the casting off that loose upper garment, which they used to throw over them when they went abroad *, and having nothing upon him but the tunic that was next the skin. Which manner of speaking was also common to the *Greeks* and *Latins* (99).

(97) Exod. xx. *ver. ult. & alib.* (98) *Vid.* Tit. Liv. & *al. de Lupercal, &c.* * *See before p.* 380. not. (H). (99) *Vid.* Gisbert. Cuper. *Observ. lib.* i. *cap.* 7. Ant. Barreman. *Dialog. lit. de poet. & proph.* Fuller. *Miscel. Theol.* Heins. Grot. Hammond. Le Clerc. Le. Scene. *Ess. on a new ver. pt.* ii. *c.* 9. § 1.

go

go to a feaſt which was held in his family at *Bethlehem*, *Saul* was ſo enraged, that he upbraided him in the bittereſt terms with puſillanimous treachery; alledging, that he muſt never expect to ſit on his throne, till *David* was dead, and therefore ordered him to be immediately fetched to him. Here *Jonathan* ventured to plead for him, but he alſo narrowly eſcaped being killed by his father. Seeing then that his friend's death was reſolved, he went to the ſtone *Ezel*, a place appointed by them, and, at a ſignal given, *David* came out to him, and being fully informed how dangerous it was for him to ſtay any longer within the reach of his implacable enemy, they took a melancholy farewel of one another [u], and *David* haſted to the land of *Nob*, where *Abimelech*, the then high-prieſt, had his reſidence.

David was forced to diſpel the ſurpriſe the high-prieſt was in at his unexpected arrival, with a pretence of being ſent by the king upon ſome private buſineſs of importance; but having obſerved there one *Doeg* an *Edomite*, and one of *Saul*'s ſhepherds, by whom he foreſaw he ſhould certainly be betrayed, if he made any ſtay, he told *Abimelech*, that his buſineſs was urgent, and begged that he would give him ſome refreſhment for himſelf and the young men that were with him. There was then none but the ſhew-bread that came off the holy table, which the prieſts alone were allowed to eat; but *David*, being afraid to ſtay the baking of ſome of the common ſort, prevailed upon him to overlook that ſcruple, aſſuring him, that both he and they were free from carnal defilement, and had been abſent from their wives above three days. As ſoon as they had refreſhed themſelves, *David* aſked him whether he could not furniſh him with ſome ſwords, or ſpears; and was anſwered, that there was no weapon there but the ſword which he took from *Goliath*, which he deſired might be brought to him; and having girt it on, he took his leave of the high-prieſt, and fled to *Achiſh* king of *Gath*. He made but a ſhort ſtay with that prince; for his ſervants who had not forgot what had been ſo lately ſung by the *Iſraelitiſh* women, *that* Saul *had ſlain his thouſands*, *and* David *his ten thouſands*, did not fail to remind him of it; which when *David* underſtood, the fear he was in of *Achiſh*, made him reſolve, if poſſible, to change his hatred either into pity or contempt. His ſtratagem ſucceeded according to his wiſh, and he acted the madman ſo well, that *Achiſh*, thinking him to be really ſo, was glad to be rid of him [w]; and *David* went and hid himſelf in the cave of *Adullam*.

[u] Ch. xx. paſſ. [w] Ch. xxi. paſſ. See Vol. II p. 222.

IN the mean time *Saul*, vexed at his heart to find that he was gone out of his reach, was ſtorming at *Jonathan* and at his own ſervants, as if they had all conſpired with the ſon of *Jeſſe* againſt him; when *Doeg* the *Edomite* came and acquainted him with what had paſſed at *Nob*, and how *Abimelech* had furniſhed *David* with proviſions and weapons, and had enquired of the Lord for him. This news put him into ſuch a rage, that, without giving himſelf leave to conſider, how far that high-prieſt might be ignorant of this unhappy difference between *David* and him, as it is plain from the text he really was; he ordered him and all his kindred to be brought immediately to him; and after many bitter invectives againſt them, for having leagued themſelves with his treacherous ſon-in-law, as he expreſſed it, he ſwore they ſhould all be put to death. *Abimelech* ſtrove in vain to convince him, that they were all really ignorant of *David*'s having any ſiniſter deſign, whoſe behaviour had always been ſo commendable and upright, that they really believed him to have been ſent upon ſome important deſign by him. The exaſperated king would give no credit to them, but ordered his ſervants that ſtood about him to cut them all in pieces. However, as he ſaw that they expreſſed an uncommon reluctancy againſt ſtaining their hands with the blood of ſo many helpleſs prieſts, he commanded *Doeg* to perform that cruel office, which he immediately did. *Saul*, not contented to ſee fourſcore and five innocent perſons butchered at his feet, ordered a detachment to go and put the whole city of *Nob* to the ſword, men, women, children, and cattle; and this was alſo executed with ſuch barbarous ſpeed, that none but *Abiathar*, one of *Abimelech*'s ſons, had the good fortune to eſcape. He went immediately to *David*, and acquainted him with the diſmal news; which was no more, he told him, than he foreſaw would happen, when he obſerved the *Edomitiſh Doeg* there. He ſaid all he could to comfort him, and deſired him to ſhare his fortune; promiſing that as ſoon as he was in a condition, he would raiſe him to the high-prieſthood; till when, he would be his ſafeguard, as long as he was able to defend his own life.

AMONG thoſe who followed *David*, were his father, mother, brethren, and other relations, with the prophet *Gad*, who were probably forced to fly to him for ſhelter from *Saul*'s fury. Beſides theſe, there joined themſelves to him multitudes of debtors, and diſtreſſed and diſcontented perſons, to the number of 400. But the prophet *Gad* having told him, that it was no longer ſafe for him to abide in that place, he took his parents into the land of *Moab*, and left them under the protection of the king, whilſt his affairs continued in that deſperate

perate condition †; and himſelf and his men went into the foreſt of *Hareth* in the land of *Judah*. However, he ſtayed no longer there than he reſcued the city of *Keilah* from the *Philiſtines*; for he heard ſoon after, that *Saul*, thinking himſelf ſure of him there, was coming againſt him with all ſpeed; and being afraid leſt the inhabitants of that place ſhould deliver him into his hands, and having had his fears confirmed by the high-prieſt, he removed from thence into the wilderneſs of *Ziph* with his own men, who were by this time increaſed to 600. Whilſt he was lurking about the rocks and caves of this place, *Jonathan* heard of it, and came to ſee him there. The deſign of this dangerous interview was to make ſtill ſurer of *David*'s friendſhip, and to obtain a promiſe from him, that when he had gained the kingdom from his father, which he frankly told him he was well aſſured he would, himſelf might be the next in dignity to him; and that in caſe he died before that time, *David* ſhould ſhew the ſame friendly regard to his children, as he had done to him. This covenant was ratified with a freſh oath on both ſides, and *Jonathan* returned to his own houſe.

NOT long after this, *Saul* was informed by the *Ziphites*, that *David* lay concealed in their neighbourhood; and was ſo tranſported with joy at the news, that he could not forbear bleſſing them, as the only people that ſhewed any compaſſion for him. He deſired that they would go and watch him as narrowly as they could; for he told them, that he was a ſubtle enemy, and aſſured them, that he himſelf would come, with ſufficent force, to fetch him out of his lurking holes. But *David*, having got ſome intelligence of it, was by that time removed to the wilderneſs of *Maon*, on the ſouth of the plain of *Jeſſimon*. *Saul* was ſoon told of it, and purſued him thither, and pitched over againſt him, with a deſign to ſurround him; but as he was about it, news was brought him, that the *Philiſtines* had made a freſh incurſion into the land, ſo that he was forced to go back to put a ſtop to their progreſs *; leaving his enemy to recover himſelf of his fright, and to provide for his own ſafety. In memory of this deliverance, *David* called the rock where he then was, *Selahamma-lekoth* or *the rock of diviſions*; and preſently after removed with his little army to *Engedi*, and concealed himſelf among the ſtrong holds of that place ‡. Here *Saul*, who had ſoon driven away the *Philiſtines*, found him out again, and came againſt him with 3000 men; but, whilſt he was in ſearch of him, an ur-

† See Vol. II. p. 92. * See Vol. II. p. 223. ‡ 1 Sam. xxiii. paſſ.

gent

gent occaſion obliged him to retire, for decency ſake, into the cave where *David* lay concealed (I). *David* was immediately ſurrounded by his men, who told him that this was now the time, in which God had promiſed to deliver his enemy into his hand, and that he had it now in his power to put a final end, with one blow, to this unnatural war, and to free himſelf and them from all their miſery. *David* made as if he had liſtened to their advice, and, without telling them what he deſigned to do, roſe up, and ſtole ſoftly near *Saul*, and cut off the ſkirt of his robe (K), and gave him thereby an opportunity of eſcaping alive, whilſt he appeaſed his men's reſentment, with repreſenting to them, how heinous a crime it was to ſtretch forth a hand againſt their lawful prince and the Lord's anointed. He expreſſed even an uncommon remorſe at that which he had done, eſteeming it an indignity, or at leaſt a want of reſpect to the regal dignity; though he meant no more by it, than to give his father an irrefragable proof of his innocency and filial duty [y]. As ſoon therefore as *Saul* was got out of the cave, he called after him in the tendereſt manner, begged of him not to entertain ſuch unworthy

David's *generoſity to* Saul.

[y] Ch. xxiv. 5.

(I) עין גדי *Hen gedi*, ſignifies the fountain of wild goats, and the city of that name was ſo called, from the multitude of goats and ſheep which were kept in the rocky parts that were in the neighbourhood of it. Theſe abounded with ſheep-cotes, and caverns, in which the cattle uſed to ſhelter themſelves during the heat of the day. It was into one of them that providence ſeems to have conducted *Saul*, to give *David* an opportunity, both of clearing himſelf from any treacherous deſign againſt him, and to give an inſtance of the greateſt generoſity that is to be met with in hiſtory, though at the hazard of becoming the victim of his men's reſentment, for refuſing the only opportunity of ridding himſelf of his enemy, and putting himſelf in a condition of rewarding their ſervices; for which he had all the cauſe in the world to fear, either being forſaken, or perhaps even betrayed by them into *Saul*'s hands.

(K) the text ſays, that *David* and his men harboured in the ſides of the cave (100); or, as the original imports, in crags and holes of it, ſo that *Saul* coming into it from the broad day-light, could not perceive them; whilſt they, who had been there ſome time, might eaſily diſcover him, and know who he was, from his firſt entering into the place; ſo that it was eaſy for *David* to cut off a piece of his robe unperceived, eſpecially if we ſuppoſe it to have been the ſkirt of his upper garment, which, it is likely, they uſed to throw by, at a ſmall diſtance, upon ſuch occaſions.

(100) 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

ſuſpicions

ſuſpicions of him, nor to liſten to the whiſpers of ſlandering tongues, ſince he had now given him ſo ſignal a proof, how much his heart abhorred the crimes for which he was ſo unjuſtly perſecuted. This humble and affecting ſpeech, backed with the infallible teſtimony of the piece of his robe, melted *Saul* into tears of tenderneſs and ſorrow: he acknowledged his ſon's ſuperior virtue and merit in ſparing his life, and in the concluſion owned, *that he alone was worthy to ſit on the* throne of *Iſrael*, which, he told him, he was now ſatisfied he would ſhortly do; and therefore, as a further proof of his unexampled generoſity and filial affection, he deſired him to ſwear to him, that he would not revenge the father's injuries upon any of his children, but that he would ſhew the ſame pity to the one, as he had now done to the other. *David* did readily give him that ſatisfaction, and after mutual embraces, *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, and *David* and his men to their ſtrong hold [z] (L).

ABOUT this time the good old prophet *Samuel* died [a], in the ninety ſeventh or ninety eighth year of his age, greatly lamented by all true *Iſraelites*, and was buried at *Ramah* in his own houſe, or rather perhaps in his garden. He had judged *Iſrael* twenty years from *Eli*'s death, and had lived about forty eight more from his anointing *Saul* to the regal dignity. As for *David*, whether he had any intelligence of *Saul*'s relapſe, or whether his own fear ſuggeſted it to him, he removed further from the neighbourhood of *Engedi* towards the wilderneſs of *Paran* near to *Maon*, or *Carmel*, which was alſo in the tribe of *Judah*. It ſeems that *David* kept his men under ſuch ſtrict diſcipline, that inſtead of plundering the neighbouring places, as was generally done by ſuch men, they were rather a ſafe-guard to them, ſo that it was uſual for them

Samuel's *death.*

Year of the Flood, 1940. Year before Chriſt 1059.

[z] Ibid. paſſ. [a] Ch. xxv. 1. & ſeq.

(L) It appears by this ſpeech of *Saul*, that he had by that time ſome certain knowledge, that *David* was the perſon whom God had choſen to be king in his ſtead, and perhaps alſo of his having been anointed by *Samuel*. So then his crime was not the bare perſecuting of an innocent perſon, or hunting after a flea, as *David* words it (1), but an impious deſire of fruſtrating the deſign of providence by cutting him off, in order to ſecure the crown to his own poſterity. It was therefore natural for him to intreat him for the ſafety of his own children, when he ſaw into what dangers his prepoſterous folly brought him, and that nothing but *David*'s virtue could ſecure them from total exciſion.

(1) *Ibid. ver.* 14. & *ſeq.*

to

to expect ſome refeſhments from the inhabitants, as a gratification for their watchfulneſs and forbearance. Here then *David*, according to cuſtom, ſent a civil meſſage to a wealthy *Carmelite* named *Nabal*, who was then making a feaſt to his ſheep-ſhearers, and deſired him to ſend him and his men ſome portion of his good chear; but the man, who was rightly called *Nabal*, being naturally proud and brutiſh, ſent them away with a churliſh anſwer, that he had ſomething elſe to do with his proviſion, than to ſend it to ſuch a company of vagabonds. *David*, who could not but reſent ſuch ingratitude, was juſt upon the point of making ſome dreadful havock in *Nabal*'s family, but by good fortune his prudent wife hearing of it, made ſuch haſte to bring him an elegant ſupply of refreſhment, that ſhe prevented all further miſchief; and *David* was ſo charmed with her prudent and modeſt behaviour, that he conceived a real affection for her. *Abigail* returned to her huſband, and on the next day, when ſleep had diſſipated the fumes of his wine, acquainted him with the danger which his brutiſhneſs was like to have brought upon him; and as he was of too baſe a nature to think *David* generous enough to forgive him, the dread which then ſeized him, did, in a few days, break his heart; which as ſoon as *David* heard of, he ſent for her and married her. As for *Michal*, *Saul*'s daughter, ſhe had been given to another during his exile [b].

HE was forced ſoon after to retire from *Maon* into the deſert of *Ziph*, and the *Ziphites* failed not to acquaint *Saul* with it; who, having by that time forgot all that paſſed at their laſt interview, came out againſt him with three thouſand choſen men, and gave him a freſh opportunity of evidencing his innocency. The two armies were encamped, the one by the ſide of the hills of *Hachilah*, and the other in the wilderneſs over againſt it. *David* therefore ſent out ſome ſpies, to know whether *Saul* was come in perſon, and being informed that he was, he took *Abiſhai* with him, and came in the dead of the night into *Saul*'s camp, where they found them all faſt aſleep; *Saul* in his tent, with his ſpear ſtuck into the ground by his bolſter, and *Abner* his general, with the reſt of his officers, encamped round his tent. *Abiſhai* began then to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly that providence had brought his enemy once more into his hand as a victim to the ſlaughter, and that if he miſſed ſo fair an opportunity of ſticking him to the ground with his own ſpear, he might in vain bewail his folly; but *David* ſoon ſtopped his hand, and contented himſelf with carrying away his ſpear, and the pitcher of water that lay under

A ſecond inſtance of David's mercy.

[b] Ibid.

his head, which he did unperceived by any of *Saul*'s men; God having thrown them all, as the text expreſſes it, into a deep ſleep[c], and ſoon after reached his own camp. Early on the next morning, he got up on the top of a high hill over againſt them, and having called *Saul*'s general to him, he rebuked him ſharply for being ſo negligent of his maſter's perſon, as to ſuffer his ſpear and cruſe to be taken away by thoſe, who might with the ſame eaſe have taken away his life. *Saul*, who was ſoon appriſed of it, came out, and in the mildeſt terms acknowledged himſelf indebted a ſecond time for his life, to his generous, though much injured, ſon-in-law. *David* had then a fair occaſion to upbraid him with his injuſtice and cruelty, which he did, however, with expreſſions full of duty and humility; he repreſented unto him, how much beneath a king of *Iſrael* it was, to hunt after a poor harmleſs flea, or a partridge, who meant not the leaſt harm againſt him, and begged of him to deſiſt from perſecuting a man to death, who was not only innocent, but who ſhewed ſuch a tender regard for his life, when it was in his power. *Saul* could not reſiſt ſo ſtrong an evidence of his ſon's ſuperior virtue, which he muſt have admired even in an enemy. But though he ſhewed, at that juncture, all the tokens of remorſe, acknowledged his folly and injuſtice, and promiſed never to ſeek his life any more, yet *David* had ſo little reaſon to truſt to ſuch forced repentance, that as ſoon as they were parted, though with ſeeming tokens of the ſincereſt love and friendſhip, he reſolved to go far enough out of his reach[d]. He retired therefore once more to *Achiſh* king of *Gath*, deſigning to abide with him, till providence ſhould give a better turn to his affairs. The hoſpitable reception he met with from that prince has been ſeen before †; but here, though he found ſo generous a friend and protector, yet an unexpected misfortune befel him from another quarter, which was like to have proved as fatal to him, as if he had fallen into his enemy's hand.

DURING his abode at *Ziklag*, the place which the *Gathiſh* king had allotted him, which was a year and four months, there repaired unto him ſome of *Saul*'s kindred, and multitudes of valiant men and commanders out of the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, and ſome from that of *Gad*, which ventured to paſs the *Jordan* to come to him, even at the time when it overflowed its banks (M), beſides ſome of the tribe of

[c] Ch. xvi. 12. [d] Ch. xxii. 1, & ſeq. † See Vol. II. p. 223.

(M) The book of *Chronicles* obſerves of theſe *Gadites*, that they could handle the ſhield and the buckler, that their faces were as the

of *Manaſſeh* [c]. With theſe he uſed to make incurſions into the countries of the *Geſhurites*, *Gerzites*, and *Amalekites* (N) unknown to the king *, who was made to believe, that he made them into the land of *Judah*; and this gained him ſuch confidence, that he had taken him and his army to go with him againſt *Saul* [f]; but whilſt they were gone, the *Amalekites* came and took *Ziklag*, and burnt it, and carried away all their women, children, cattle, and all the plunder of the place. When therefore they were returned from the *Philiſtine* camp, from which they had been diſmiſſed by the jealous princes of that nation, and found what a terrible deſtruction had been

[c] See 1 Chron. xii. 1, 15, & ſeq. * See Vol. II. p. 224.
[f] 1 Sam. xxviii. 1.

as thoſe of lions, and that they were as ſwift of foot as the wild roes (2). The ſame author takes notice, that when *David* ſaw ſuch numbers of the *Benjamites*, eſpecially of *Saul*'s kindred, come to him, he was apprehenſive they came with a deſign to ſurpriſe and carry him off. It ſeems even by what he ſaid to them, that in ſuch a caſe he was not able to oppoſe them with his ſix hundred men. *For*, ſays he, *if you are come with a friendly deſign to ſuccour me, my heart ſhall be knit with yours; but if your intent be to betray me to my enemies, I leave it to God to puniſh you for your treachery* (3). But they ſoon diſpelled his fears, by aſſuring him, that they were intirely in his intereſt, and reſolved to ſhare his fortune, and to be under his command.

As to the time of *David*'s abode at *Ziklag*, though we have followed our *Engliſh* verſion and archbiſhop *Uſher*, the original ſays only, that he continued there ימים וארבעה חדשים, *days and four months*, which ſome think to imply ſome days above, rather than a year and four months; becauſe *David* came thither after *Samuel*'s death, and left it immediately after that of *Saul*, and they reckon but ſeven months between the death of thoſe two perſons (4).

(N) We beg leave to obſerve here, againſt thoſe who condemn *David* as guilty of a great breach of hoſpitality, that none of theſe three nations were *Philiſtines*. The two former were the remains of the old *Canaanites* (5), and the *Amalekites* the deſcendants of *Eſau* (6), and all the three under the divine anathema. Notwithſtanding which, *David* might think it proper to tell the king, that he made his inroads into the land of *Iſrael*, that he might think himſelf the more ſure of him; and this is the very reaſon aſſigned in the text for his uſing that pretence (7).

(2) 1 *Chron xii.* 8. (3) 1 *Chron. xii.* 17. (4) *See Vol. II. p.* 155, *note* (I). 2 *Sam. i.* 1. & 1 *Sam. xxvii.* 7. & Munſt. *in Sam. xxvii. ſub not.* 6. (5) *Vid Joſh. xii.* 5. & *xxvi.* 3. (6) *See Vol. II. p.* 148. (7) 1 *Sam. xxvii. ult.*

made

made of their city. they filled the air with their cries, Their deſtroying of men, women, and children, in all their former incurſions, gave them no room to doubt, that their own had undergone the ſame fate; ſo that their grief and deſpair roſe to ſuch a height, that *David* was like to have become the victim of it. The men began to talk of ſtoning him, as the cauſe of this miſchief; when he, ſtill confiding in God, called *Abiathar* to conſult the Lord for him, whether he had beſt purſue after that troop; and upon his being anſwered that he ſhould do it with ſucceſs, he took ſix hundred men with him, overtook and deſtroyed the *Amalekitiſh* band, and recovered all that had been taken from them, as we have ſeen elſewhere †.

AFTER this ſignal deliverance *David*'s affairs began to take a better turn, and the death of *Saul*, which happened immediately after, not only rid him of an inveterate enemy, the cauſe of all theſe troubles, but opened a fair and eaſy way to the crown, at leaſt over his own tribe. The particulars of this ſignal defeat, which coſt *Saul* and his three Sons their lives, and among them the brave and generous *Jonathan*, need not be repeated here ‡. One or two circumſtances however preceded it, with relation to that unhappy monarch, which made his condition ſo deplorable and deſperate, that we could not with juſtice omit them. He ſaw himſelf on the eve of being attacked by a powerful army, whilſt a great number of his own, eſpecially the chiefs, were gone over to *David*, and perhaps he had alſo intelligence of his being come with the *Philiſtines* againſt him: he had killed all the prieſts except *Abiathar*, who was alſo fled to *David*, ſo that he could not conſult the Lord by *Urim*: *Samuel* was dead, and not a prophet left to adviſe him. In this ſtreight, he would gladly have ſought for counſel from witches or wizards, but he had long ago baniſhed them all out of his dominions. At length, with much enquiring, they found him out a woman at *Endor*, who had a familiar ſpirit, to whom he went diſguiſed in the night; and, having promiſed her ſecrecy, prevailed upon her to raiſe him up *Samuel*. She did ſo accordingly; but when ſhe ſaw him appear, either in a different manner than ſhe had been uſed to (O), or in ſuch a manner as gave her to underſtand, that it was *Saul*

† See Vol. II. p. 155, & ſeq. ‡ See Vol. II. p. 225.

(O) It is not eaſy to ſay, whether her fright proceeded from the extraordinarineſs of the apparition, or from the fear ſhe was in, that *Saul* had only ſet her to work that he might have occaſion to puniſh her for it. The latter ſeems the moſt probable, by what

Saul *consults the witch of* Endor.

Saul himself that had set her on work; she gave a shriek, and complained, that she had been imposed upon. *Saul* bid her go on, assuring her she should be safe, and asked what she had seen; she answered, Gods, angels, or judges, (for the word may signify any of these) ascending out of the earth. She described one, who was an old man covered with a mantle, whom *Saul* understood to be *Samuel*, and to whom he bowed himself to the ground. Here the apparition, or, as the text expresses it, *Samuel* asked him the reason why he had disturbed and called him up; and *Saul* owned to him that the distress he was in from the *Philistine* army, being destitute of counsel from God, had obliged him to take that way to obtain his advice what he should do under those difficulties. But *Samuel* answered, *Why dost thou ask my advice, seeing thy disobedience to God's commands hath alienated him from thee, and that thy kingdom is given to* David? *And now*, continued the vision, *the Lord is going to give up the* Israelites *into the hands of their enemies, and thou and thy sons shall be with me to-morrow* (P). At these last words the frighted king, who had eaten nothing she said to him in her fright; and yet it is not impossible, that she was also surprised at the strangeness of the sight. The text doth not say how she came to know the king by it; and the notion of the *Jews*, that the spirits, which she raised by enchantment, used to rise out of the earth with their heels uppermost, and that *Samuel* came up upon his feet, by which she knew that it was *Saul* that wanted to consult him (8), is altogether ludicrous; but if it was the real apparition of that prophet that she saw, as we shall at least make it probable in the next note that it was, she might easily suppose, that he would not have appeared in that extraordinary manner to any but to the king of *Israel*. For as to the notion that it was all done by *legerdemain* and *ventriloqui* on the woman's part, and by strength of fancy and fear in *Saul*'s, we cannot by any means come into it, and shall give our reasons for dissenting from it in its proper place.

(P) There is hardly a passage in the Old Testament that has been more canvassed and tortured, by authors of all ages, than this we are upon; and when a man has read them all, he will be forced to own, that there are difficulties in whatever sense he takes the history of *Samuel*'s apparition. We have therefore taken that which seems the most natural and obvious, and shall now give our reasons for preferring it to the rest.

First then, as to the notion of its being performed by *ventriloqui*, juggle, or confederacy; besides that it doth too great a violence

(8) *Vid.* Munst. *in loc.*

nothing all that day, fainted away, and fell flat on the ground, and remained ſpeechleſs for ſome time. His men, at length,

to the text, and would be a kind of burleſque upon its author; it is not likely, that a woman, cunning enough to carry on a trade of this nature, would have been ſo impolitic as to give *Saul* ſuch a dreadful anſwer; though we ſhould grant that ſhe was ſo well acquainted with the bad circumſtances of that prince, that ſhe might foreſee that it was likely to prove the caſe; ſuch people are rather apt to flatter thoſe that conſult them, and the fear ſhe was in, when ſhe knew *Saul*, would no doubt have put her upon this rather than upon the former. Add to this, that ſuch a terrible denunciation, would only have proved the moſt effectual means of putting *Saul* upon any expedient to avoid it, whether by flight, or by any other way, rather than by engaging the enemy.

This laſt argument is equally ſtrong againſt thoſe who think, that the devil took the ſhape, and acted the part of *Samuel*; unleſs we could ſuppoſe him ſo well acquainted with futurity, that he was ſure *Saul* would ruſh into his own deſtruction, notwithſtanding he was ſo ſignally forewarned of it Again, though we grant that he might foreſee, that the enemy would be too ſtrong for *Saul* and his army, yet he could neither be ſure that he would engage them, eſpecially after ſuch a dreadful diſſuaſive, nor, if he did, that he would certainly be killed, he and his three ſons. The *Iſraelites* had won many a more unlikely victory, and, at the worſt, they might have eſcaped by flight. We need not obſerve farther, how unnatural and abſurd it is to ſuppoſe, that the inſpired writer would have expreſſed himſelf as he doth, and have introduced the dead prophet as raiſed from the dead and ſpeaking to *Saul*, if the devil had been the ſole actor in his ſhape; neither do we think it at all probable, that the devil if it had been he that ſpoke to *Saul*, would have played the ſaint ſo far, as to reprove him for his wickedneſs and diſobedience, but eſpecially for making uſe of an art to raiſe him up, which he was too fond of to diſcountenance in ſuch a ſevere manner.

It is indeed urged here, that there were two falſities in this pretended prophecy, which none therefore but either the father of lies, or a juggling old woman, could be the author of. The firſt is, that the viſion ſays to *Saul*, *thou and thy ſons ſhall be with me* — Now ſay they, *Saul* died like a reprobate by his own hands, and could *not be where* Samuel *was*, in the manſions of the bleſſed. But who doth not ſee that it meant no more than, *thou ſhalt be dead*, or, *in the other world as I now am*. The other is, that the viſion ſays *to-morrow*, whereas the battle was not fought on the next day, but a day or two after. But though this were granted, it doth not follow, that the word מָחָר *Mahar* doth poſitively imply here, *that very next day following*; it doth often ſignify *ſhortly*, and ſometimes *hereafter, in proceſs of time*; as when *Moſes* ſays, *when thy children*

ſhall

length, came and raiſed him up, and the old woman beſought him, in the humbleſt terms, that he would take ſome ſuſte-
nance

ſhall ask thee, Mahar, *hereafter, what meaneth ſuch a ceremony or feſtival*, and ſo on—We ſhall for once diſpenſe with mentioning the numerous authors of theſe two laſt opinions, to avoid filling up near a whole page with quotations.

Upon the whole then, we think, with the far greater number of authors, antient and modern, that it was really *Samuel* that appeared to the woman, and foretold *Saul*'s death and *Iſrael*'s defeat. This appears likewiſe to have been the opinion of the antient *Jews*, from what we read in the book of *Eccleſiaſticus* (9), where it is ſaid, that after his death he [*Samuel*] prophefied, and ſhewed the king his end; that he lift up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedneſs of the people. This, we have already obſerved, is the moſt obvious and natural ſenſe of the text. We can ſee but two objections that can be made againſt it, and though we have premiſed, at the beginning of this note, that every opinion hath its difficulties, yet we hope we ſhall leſſen theſe ſo far, that they will appear inconſiderable, in compariſon of thoſe we have urged againſt the other two,

The firſt objection is, that it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the devil has ſo much power over the ſouls of the dead, eſpecially of the ſaints, as to make them appear viſibly at the deſire of a conjurer; to which it may be anſwered, that there is no neceſſity for ſuppoſing here any ſuch extraordinary power in the devil; but rather that God did cauſe *Samuel* to appear to *Saul*, to reprove him for his former, and for this laſt ſin in particular, of ſeeking for helps from wizards, contrary to his expreſs commands; and to bring him thereby, if poſſible, to ſuch a ſenſe of his faults, as might prevent his making ſuch a deſperate exit; and that all this happened contrary to the woman's expectation, who could not be ignorant that it was above the power of her art to evocate the ſouls of the bleſſed, and wanted only to impoſe one of her familiar ſpirits upon him, and to ſupply the reſt by policy. It is therefore no wonder that ſhe was ſo terribly ſurpriſed, when, inſtead of one of her imps, ſhe beheld the real apparition of that venerable prophet.

But here it will be objected again, that it is very improbable, that God, who had refuſed to anſwer *Saul*, either by *Urim* or by prophets, ſhould now do it, at leaſt ſeemingly, by the miniſtry of a wicked woman. But here it muſt be obſerved; 1. That the text doth not imply, that the Lord refuſed to anſwer him by *Urim* or by prophets, but that he had not the means of conſulting by them; for how could he conſult by *Urim*, when the high-prieſt was with *David* in the *Philiſtine* army? 2. Were it true that

(9) *xl-vi. ver. ult.*

God

nance before he went away, to which after long importunity he conſented. She then went and dreſſed a fatted calf, and ſet it before them, and as ſoon as they had refreſhed themſelves they went their way, and reached their army before break of day [s]. A dreadful battle ſoon enſued, which fulfilled all that had been foretold to *Saul*, whoſe fear of being taken alive, and ill uſed by his enemies, rather than the wounds he received from them (Q), made him ruſh upon his own ſword, to put an end to his unfortunate life. Here the victorious *Philiſtines* could not forbear venting their reſentment on his dead body and thoſe of his ſons; they mangled and hung them upon the walls of *Bethſhan*; which being near

His death.

Year of the Flood, 1944. Year before Chriſt 1055.

[s] 1 Sam. xxviii. paſſ.

God had refuſed to anſwer him in the ordinary ways of *Urim* and the like, yet it doth not follow, that he might not do it in an extraordinary one, in order to make the greater impreſſion upon him, whoſe character is to have been but too regardleſs of God's commands, when communicated to him by the prophet: he might likewiſe be ſuffered to ſeek for counſel from a witch, to make him ſenſible what degree of impiety he had brought himſelf into; ſo that God's ſending *Samuel* to reprove him for it, was a ſignal way of diſcountenancing ſuch a wicked and forbidden practice.

However, we do not pretend to remove all difficulties that can be raiſed againſt this opinion, but only to ſhew, that it is attended with fewer, and leſs, than the other two. For this reaſon we ſhall carry our enquiry no farther: whether it were the real ſoul of *Samuel*, or an angel aſſuming his ſhape: whether *Saul* ſaw, or only heard him ſpeak; and many others, concerning which we ſhould loſe ourſelves in a labyrinth, almoſt as dark and intricate, as thoſe do, who ſuppoſe that two ſuch remarkable events, as the death of *Saul* and his three ſons, and the total defeat of the *Iſraelitiſh* army, could be foretold ſo poſitively and exactly, either by a juggling woman, or by the devil, or indeed by any but an omniſcient power.

(Q) Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid elſewhere †, of *Saul*'s receiving ſeveral wounds before he fell upon his ſword, for want of attending more to the original than to ours and other verſions; we beg leave to obſerve here, that in this place and in the *Chronicles*, where the account of *Saul*'s death is repeated, the root of the verb is חוּל *Chull*, which ſignifies to be in dread, in pangs, and alludes to the travail of a woman, *&c.* and not חָלַל *Challal*, to wound. So that it doth not appear, that he was at all wounded, but only in the extremity of fear, when he ſaw himſelf ſo thick beſet with enemies, that there was no way to eſcape (10).

† See Vol. II. p. 225.

(10) *Vid. chald paraphr.* Munſt. *& al. in loc.*

the

the field of battle, had been probably abandoned by the inhabitants, as many others were after this defeat. But the grateful *Jabeſhites*, remembering how *Saul* had ſaved them formerly from loſing their eyes and liberty, did ſoon after ſend ſome of their braveſt men to reſcue them; which was no ſooner done than they gave them an honourable burial, and kept a ſeven days faſt in memory of their deaths [h].

David had been returned from the ſlaughter of the plunderers of *Ziklag* about two or three days, when he received the news of *Saul*'s and *Jonathan*'s death by an *Amalekite*, who alſo brought him *Saul*'s crown and bracelets. How glad ſoever *David* might be to hear of his enemy's death, yet that of his beloved *Jonathan* touched him to the heart, and the great defeat of the *Iſraelites* cauſed a general mourning and faſting in his whole army. As for the meſſenger, he, having unadviſedly pretended to have given *Saul* his laſt wound at his deſire, was ordered to immediate death, for having lifted up his hand againſt the Lord's anointed. *David* did greatly mourn the unhappy fate of the father and ſon, and their deaths inſpired his poetic genius with one of the fineſt elegies that ever were penned, which he cauſed to be tranſmitted to future ages [i].

As ſoon as they had done mourning for *Saul*, he conſulted the Lord which way he ſhould ſteer his courſe next; and being commanded to remove to *Hebron*, he brought thither his two wives, his relations, and army. Here he was again anointed king over *Judah* by thoſe of that tribe, who came to him in multitudes; whilſt *Abner*, *Saul*'s general, took his ſon *Iſh-boſheth*, who was then forty years old, and proclaimed him king of *Iſrael* at *Mahanaim*. Thus was the kingdom divided between theſe two, each enjoying his own ſhare quietly, without moleſting the other, during the ſpace of two years (R), the tribe of *Judah* cleaving to *David*, and the

Iſh-boſheth *ſucceeds him.*

[h] Ibid. cap. ult. ver. 4. See Vol. II. p. 225. [i] 2 Sam. i. ver. 17. & ſeq.

(R) At leaſt this ſeems to be the ſenſe of thoſe words, and *Iſh-boſheth reigned two years* (11); for it is plain he reigned much longer, but not peaceably. Much the ſame was ſaid of the beginning of *Saul*'s reign (12). *Abner* alſo might think it proper to take him to *Mahanaim*, which was beyond *Jordan*, that, being free from the *Philiſtines*, he might have time to recruit his ſhattered army.

(11) 2 *Sam.* ij. 10. (12) 1 *Sam.* xiii. 1. Uſſer. *Ann. p.* 35.

reſt, at leaſt the moſt part, to *Iſh-boſheth.* The firſt popular thing *David* did after this, was to ſend a meſſage of thanks to the inhabitants of *Jabeſh-gilead*, for the regard they had paid to the bodies of the deceaſed king and his ſons. After which he married *Maacah*, the daughter of *Talmai*, king of *Geſhur* [k], by whom he had afterwards *Abſalom* and *Tamar* [l]. But we cannot think, with our learned *Uſher*, that he contracted an affinity with that prince to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his rival *; that being expreſly forbid by the law of *Moſes*. It is more probable, that he took her priſoner in one of his excurſions againſt that country, as we ſhall ſhew in a following note. At the end of two years, *Abner*, having repaſſed the *Jordan* with his army, came and incamped on one ſide of the pool of *Gibeon*; and *Joab*, the ſon of *Zeruiah*, *David*'s general, came and incamped over againſt him on the other ſide.

HITHERTO there had paſſed no hoſtilities, nor any war been declared between the two monarchs; and their ſubjects on both ſides being all *Iſraelites*, there was a neceſſity of making ſome kind of hoſtile overture, which might bring on an engagement; the two generals therefore bethought themſelves of the following ſtrange one. They agreed to ſend twelve brave men out of each army, to meet in a proper place between them, under pretence of performing ſome warlike exerciſe; but they were no ſooner come within reach of one another, than each man took his antagoniſt by the head, and ſheathed his ſword in his body; ſo that they were all killed upon the ſpot. In memory of this bloody feat, the place was called *Helkath-hazzurim*, *the field of the ſtrong men.* There needed no more to ſet the two armies on fighting, and a dreadful battle immediately enſued, in which *Abner*'s army was totally routed, and himſelf forced to fly for his life. *Joab* had two brave brothers with him, one of whom, named *Aſahel*, was exceeding ſwift of foot, and he purſued after him with uncommon ſpeed, with a deſign to take him priſoner. *Abner* was ſoon aware of it, and, turning about, adviſed him once and again to deſiſt from his purſuit, and to content himſelf with a priſoner of leſs note; but *Aſahel* ſtill perſiſting, *Abner* was forced to run him through the body with the hinder part of his ſpear. The ſight of his dead body cauſed ſuch a general ſtop in the flying remains of his army, that he was forced to cauſe it to be removed out of the road, and covered with a garment, that his men might have time to ſhun *Joab*'s victorious hoſt, who were following cloſe at their heels. The

[k] 2 Sam. iii. 3. [l] Ib. ch. xiii. 1. * Annal p. 35.

purſuit laſted till ſun-ſet, by which time they were got as far as the hill of *Ammah*, within ſight of *Giah*, along the wilderneſs of *Gibeon*. Here the *Benjamites* rallied themſelves again under *Abner*, and poſted themſelves on the riſing of the hill, reſolved to make a ſtout defence; but their general, who was weary of fighting, called to *Joab*, and deſired him to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter of his brethren, whoſe deſtruction could not but cauſe bitterneſs in the end. *Joab* hearkened to him, and cauſed the trumpet to ſound a retreat; after which, *Abner* and his men took the way of *Mahanaim*, and *Joab* returned to *Hebron*. There were but nineteen men killed on *David*'s ſide, beſides *Aſahel*, but *Benjamin* loſt 360. *Aſahel*'s body was carried to *Bethlehem*, and buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors[m]; and from that time *David* grew ſtronger every day, and *Iſh-boſheth* weaker and weaker; but the war between thoſe two did not end but with the death of the latter, which happened ſhortly after.

IN the mean time, *Abner*, who had uſed all his endeavours to ſtrengthen his maſter's party, did ſet ſuch value upon his own ſervices, that he made no ſcruple to have a criminal intercourſe with one of *Saul*'s concubines, named *Rizpah*; and when he was reprimanded for it by *Iſh-boſheth* (S), he reſented it ſo highly, that he ſwore, that he would from that minute become a friend to *David*, and bring all the tribes under his obedience. He delayed not to make his words good, by ſending meſſengers privately, firſt to *David*, and then to the elders of *Iſrael*, to contrive a revolt; after which, he found out the following pretence for going to *David* unſuſpected. That monarch had ſent to *Iſh-boſheth*, to deſire of him to ſend him his wife *Michal*, whom *Saul*, during his exile, had married to another; and *Abner*, having obtained an order from him to demand her of her huſband, took upon him to convey her ſafe to *David*. Whether *Iſh-boſheth* had any ſuſpicion of him or not, yet his circumſtances were ſo

[m] 2 Sam. ii. paſſ.

(S) It appears by the ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, that it was a very high crime, amounting to no leſs than treaſon, to marry a king's widow (13); much more muſt it have been ſo to debauch her, as *Abner* did *Rizpah*. So that *Iſh-boſheth*, notwithſtanding his obligations to that general, could not well avoid reſenting ſuch an affront being offered to the royal dignity, as came little ſhort of an attempt upon his crown.

(13) *Vid.* 1 *Kings* ii. 13, *& ſeq.*

tottering

tottering, that he dared not refuſe him any thing; ſo *Abner* went accompanied with twenty men, and preſented *Michal* to *David*, and was graciouſly received by him. But as he was returning home, *Joab*, unknown to *David*, ſent for him back to *Hebron*, under ſome friendly pretence, and killed him as ſoon as he was come to the gate of the city, under pretence indeed of revenging his brother *Aſahel*'s death; but much more likely to rid himſelf of ſo powerful a rival. As ſoon as *David* heard of it, he proteſted his innocence of that bloody deed, and vented his reſentment in imprecations againſt the author of it; after which he cauſed *Abner* to be decently buried, and accompanied his corpſe to the grave, with all the tokens of ſorrow and reſpect[n]. However, as he knew himſelf as yet too weak to diſoblige *Joab*, whoſe power among the people might eaſily have turned the ſcale againſt him, he was forced to ſuppreſs his grief and reſentment for the treacherous murder of ſo conſiderable a perſon.

Iſh-boſheth did ſoon hear of his death; and, as he had been the main ſupport of his kingdom, both he and his men began to fear, that *David* would ſoon be too ſtrong for him. This inſpired two of his captains, brethren of the family of the *Beerothites*, *Baanah* and *Rechab*, to conſpire againſt his life, in hopes of recommending themſelves to *David* by it. They took the opportunity of the heat of the day, when he was lain down on his bed, to come into his houſe, under pretence of fetching their allowance of corn, and to enter into his chamber, where they barbarouſly murdered him; and having cut off his head fled away with it unperceived to *Hebron*, and preſented it to *David*, congratulating him upon the death of his competitor. It was hardly to be expected, that *David*, who had puniſhed the young *Amalekite* with death, for barely pretending to have killed *Saul*, could forbear expreſſing a much greater horror at this more inhuman regicide, or inflict a milder puniſhment upon the authors of it, whatever advantage his affairs might reap from it. Accordingly he commanded them to be immediately put to death, and their hands and feet to be cut off, and hung up over the pool of *Hebron*. As for the head of *Iſh-boſheth*, he cauſed it to be buried in the ſepulchre of *Abner*, which was alſo in the ſame city [o].

Iſh-boſheth *murdered.*

David by this time had reigned over *Judah* in *Hebron* about ſeven years and half; and when the reſt of the tribes heard of *Iſh-boſheth*'s death they aſſembled themſelves, and came to anoint him king over all *Iſrael*, and to pay their ho-

David *reigns over all the 12 tribes.*

[n] 2 Sam. iii. See before, p. 363.

[o] Ch. iv. paſſ.

mage to him. These are reckoned, in another place [p], to have amounted to the number of 320,000 men and upwards, all ready armed, and expert warriors, out of all the twelve tribes, except part of that of *Benjamin*, which did still stick to the house of *Saul*. *David* received them with joy, and feasted them at *Hebron* during three days; all that time, not only his own and the neighbouring tribes, but even some of the more distant ones, pouring in plenty of provisions upon them [q].

ON the next year, *David* went and besieged *Jerusalem*, a place of such strength, that it had stood out till that time against the united force of *Judah* and *Simeon*. Here *Joab* shewed so much bravery and conduct, that he was made head general of *Israel* [r]: he beat the *Jebusites* that defended it, and carried the fortress of *Sion*, or *Zion*, by assault †, which *David* made his residence from that time. He inlarged and fortified it from *Millo* inward round about, and called it *the city of David*, whilst *Joab* rebuilt the rest of the city, and surrounded it with a strong wall [s]; and from that time it became the metropolis of *Judæa*.

BUT it was impossible for him to carry on such a work, without alarming the jealous *Philistines*, who could not be ignorant either of the strength of his army, or of his now reigning over all *Israel* without a competitor. They came therefore so suddenly upon him, that they took *Bethlehem*, and put a garison into it, before he could make any resistance, whilst he was forced to retire to the cave of *Adullam* for present safety [t]. It was here, that having expressed a longing desire for some of the water of the well of *Bethlehem*, three of his chief worthies ventured through the enemy's host, which was encamped along the valley of *Rephaim*, and fetched him some water from thence. However, when they brought it to him, he chose rather to spill it upon the ground than to drink it, seeing, as he said, they had procured it at the hazard of their lives [u]. He then enquired of the Lord, whether he should fall upon the *Philistines*; and having received a favourable answer, he discomfited them so effectually, both at this time, and upon a second attempt of theirs, that they were never more able to make head against him, or any of his successors [w]. *David* finding himself thus

[p] Comp. 1 Chron. xii. 23, & seq. with xi. 1, 2, & seq. [q] Ibid. xii. ver. ult. [r] 2 Sam. v. 8. 1 Chr. xi. 6. † See Vol. II. p. 186. [s] Comp. 2 Sam. v. 9. & 1 Chron. xi. 7, & seq. [t] Ibid. xi. 15, & seq. [u] Ibid. xi. 17, & seq. [w] Ibid. xiv. 10, & seq. See Vol. II. p. 188.

strengthened,

ſtrengthened, his army numerous and well diſciplined, under the conduct of more than thirty worthies, who had all ſignalized themſelves by ſome extraordinary exploits, and his enemies ſo thoroughly weakened, made a firm alliance with *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, by whom he was furniſhed with cedars and other woods, and with expert workmen, to build him a palace in his own city. He likewiſe increaſed the number of his wives and concubines, by whom he had a conſiderable number of children born at *Jeruſalem*, beſides thoſe that were born to him in *Hebron* (T); all which did not a little contribute to his grandeur as well as happineſs.

SUCH a ſeries of ſucceſſes, and the univerſal peace which then reigned through the whole kingdom, inſpired that pious prince with the higheſt ſentiments of gratitude and religion, and with a deſire of making his city the centre, as it were, of God's worſhip, by tranſporting the ſacred ark *His gratitude.*

(T) *David* is recorded to have had ſix wives in *Hebron*, beſides *Saul*'s daughter, who was then with another huſband. He is ſaid to have had a ſon by every one of the ſix former; by which is hardly meant that he had but one by each, but that the text mentions only their firſt-born (14). As for *Maacah* the daughter of the king of *Geſhur*, the *Jews* affirm, that *David* had taken her captive, and forced her to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion; becauſe it was forbid by the law of *Moſes* to contract any affinity with the heathens. Either of theſe is far from improbable, becauſe we read of his making ſome excurſions againſt the *Geſhurites* during his abode at *Ziklag* (15); but nothing of his contracting ſuch a forbidden affinity with their king. Neither indeed is it likely, that ſo zealous a man as *David* was, would have married her before ſhe had renounced her idolatry. But as to what they add, of his forcing her to turn *Jew* againſt her will, and that the ill hap of her two children, *Abſalom* and *Tamar*, the former of whom turned rebel againſt his father, and the latter was raviſhed by *David*'s eldeſt ſon, was inflicted on him as a puniſhment for that violence (16), we ſhall not venture to affirm any thing about it.

How many wives and concubines he took, after he came from *Hebron*, the text doth not ſay, but mentions only, that he had ten ſons by them; by which the *Talmudiſts* gather, that he had ſixteen in all, beſides *Michal*, who being barren, was to be excepted out of that number. Hence they have paſſed it into a law, that a king ought to have no more wives than eighteen (17); and they believe, that all *Solomon*'s miſcarriages were owing to his venturing to exceed that number †.

(14) 2 *Sam.* iii. 2. *& ſeq.* (15) 1 *Sam.* xxvii 7, 8. (16) *Vid.* Munſt. 2 *Sam.* iii. *ſub. not.* 6. (17) *Vid. Præc. Negat.* ccxxii. † *See before p.* 299. *not.* (R)

thither,

thither, which had continued almoſt fifty years at *Kirjath-jearim* (V), and placing it in one of the beſt apartments of his new palace. He conſulted the elders and chiefs of *Iſrael* upon it, and being anſwered with the univerſal approbation of the aſſembly, he diſpatched meſſengers through the whole kingdom to invite all the prieſts and *Levites*, and as many of the people as were ſo diſpoſed, to come to the ſolemnity. The ark was accordingly ſet upon a new cart, and brought from *Abinadab*'s houſe to *Jeruſalem*, accompanied by *David* and his court, by multitudes of prieſts and *Levites*, who ſang and played upon various inſtruments, and by a numerous concourſe of people from all parts of the kingdom. But their joy was ſuſpended by an accident, which filled the king and aſſembly with wonder and fear. The ark was come to *Nachon*'s threſhing-floor (W), when the oxen that drew it, ſtarting at ſomething, were like to have overſet the cart; to prevent which, *Uzzah*, one of *Abinadab*'s ſons, who drove it, clapt his hand upon the ark in a ſurpriſe, and was for his preſumption ſmitten with immediate death (X). *David* could not

(V) Archbiſhop *Uſher* reckons, that it was on the firſt ſabbatical year that it was brought from *Gilgal* to *Shiloh*, and that it was likewiſe upon ſuch another year that it was removed from *Kirjath-jearim* to the city of *David*; and that the 68th pſalm was ſung by the people who accompanied this ſolemn proceſſion (18).

(W) Though we have followed our verſion, it ſeems to us more probable, that the word נכון *Nachon*, is rather a participle than a proper name, and ſignifies *ready fitted*, or *proper*, becauſe we find that *David* ſtopped at proper diſtances to offer ſacrifices; and this ſeems to be one of them; and perhaps alſo it might be either the killing of the victims, or ſomething relating to thoſe ſacrifices, that made the oxen to ſtart. There was moreover a very great irregularity in placing the ark upon a cart; which according to the law of *Moſes*, ought to have been carried by the prieſts upon their ſhoulders. This accident therefore made him ſo ſenſible of his error, that the author of the book of the *Chronicles* obſerves, that he acknowledged it to the prieſts at the next removal of the ark, and cauſed them to bear it upon their ſhoulders to his houſe (19).

(X) This ſudden and ſevere puniſhment upon *Uzzah* for his indiſcreet zeal, which *David* himſelf could not forbear being much ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed at (20), has given ſo much offence to ſome interpreters, that they have ſought for a quite different ſenſe of the

(18) *Ann. p.* 36. (19) 1 *Chron.* xv. 11, *& ſeq.* (20) 2 *Sam.* vi. 6.

words

not forbear expreſſing a more than ordinary grief at this ſeverity, which made him call the place *Perez-uzzah*, that is the *breach* or *puniſhment* of *Uzzah*, and reſolve to have the ark depoſited in the houſe of *Obed-edom*, the ſon of *Jeduthun*[x], ſurnamed the *Gittite*, probably, becauſe he was a native of *Gath-rimmon*, a city allotted to the tribe of *Levi*[y], where it continued about three months. *David* finding ſoon after that God had bleſſed that *Levite* in an extraordinary manner, ever ſince the ark had been under his roof, reſolved to procure a ſhare of thoſe divine bleſſings by removing it to his own houſe. However, he took care to have it performed in a more regular manner, by preparing a ſumptuous tabernacle for it, by aſſembling the prieſts, and cauſing them to bear it according to God's command, by offering ſacrifices at every ſix paces (Y), and by ſhewing an uncommon joy upon that ſolemn occaſion.

[x] 1 Chron. xiii. [y] See Joſh. xxi. 24, 25.

words in order to make his crime greater than is commonly apprehended. It is true, that the original runs literally thus, *and* Uzzah *ſent and ſeized the ark, for the cattle ſhook.* From which they would conclude, that he rather offered ſome indignity to it, than endeavoured to prevent its falling. But, beſides that this is contrary to all the antient verſions and to the book of the *Chronicles*, where this fact is more clearly related, it is certain, that if that had been the caſe, *David* would have expreſſed his reſentment againſt him, and not againſt God for puniſhing him. *Uzzah*, being a *Levite*, ought to have remembered, that it was forbid, under pain of death (21), to any, but the prieſts, to touch the ark; and even theſe were only to touch the ſtaves by which it was carried, which for that reaſon were never to be taken from it. It may alſo be, that *Uzzah* was the contriver of this new way of carrying the ark upon a cart, inſtead of the prieſts ſhoulders. However, if his puniſhment ſhould ſtill ſeem too ſevere, one may ſuppoſe, that God ſuffered it to be ſo, in order to inſpire the people with a greater reſpect and awe for that ſacred ſymbol of his preſence, than they were naturally inclined to.

(Y) This we take to be the meaning of the text here (22), though it only ſays, that when the bearers had proceeded ſix ſteps, he offered a bullock, &c. But ſome think, that *Uzzah* having been ſtruck dead within ſix yards of his own houſe, *David* cauſed theſe ſacrifices to be made at the firſt ſix ſteps of the prieſts, to intreat the Lord to be more favourable this time (23). But we find in

(21) *Vid. Num.* iv. *paſſ.* & *ver.* 15. (22) 2 *Sam.* vi. ver. 13.
(23) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.*

the

His zeal. casion. For he put on a linen ephod, and danced before the ark at the ſound of a great number of inſtruments, inſomuch that *Michal*, who ſaw the proceſſion through a window, could not forbear deſpiſing and reflecting upon him, for acting, as ſhe thought, ſo far beneath a king of *Iſrael*. As ſoon as the ark was depoſited in the tabernacle, he offered a large quantity of burnt and peace-offerings; and having feaſted the great concourſe of people who came to the city, he diſmiſſed them to their own homes [z].

THE ark being thus fixed in its repoſitory, his next care was to appoint the claſſes of prieſts and *Levites* to officiate before it, according to their ſeveral functions. He alſo choſe a number of ſingers and players upon muſical inſtruments, to celebrate the praiſes of God in their turns, to ſet ſuch pſalms and hymns as he, or any other inſpired perſon, compoſed, in order to have them ſung upon feſtivals and other ſolemn occaſions. The author of the *Chronicles* has preſerved us one of them in words at length, which he then compoſed as an euchariſtical canticle, and delivered to the muſicians, to be ſung upon the removal of the ark to his houſe [a]; which may be juſtly eſteemed one of the ſublimeſt pieces of poetry extant, whether for its elegancy, or for the ſtrain of piety and gratitude that runs through the whole.

SOON after this, he ſent for the prophet *Nathan*, to conſult with him about the building of a temple to the Lord, telling him, that he could not, with any eaſe, dwell in a ſumptuous palace, whilſt the ark was only under a tabernacle. *Piety.* The prophet applauded his pious deſign, not doubting but God would ratify and proſper it; but God who appeared to him that night, directed him to go to the king, and

[z] 2 Sam. vi. [a] 1 Chron. xvi. paſſ.

the *Chronicles* *, that they repeated the ſame ſacrifices when they came near *David*'s houſe, in thankfulneſs that God had helped the *Levites* to bring the ark to the place appointed for it, without any accident.

It may be wondered at, that *David* choſe to erect a new tabernacle for the ark, inſtead of ſending for that which *Moſes* had cauſed to be made in the wilderneſs. It may be ſuppoſed indeed that the precincture of his palace was not capacious enough for it; but whatever the reaſon be, it is certain, that it continued ſtill, with the altar and all its other ſacred utenſils, at *Gibeon*, till *Solomon* having built his temple, cauſed them to be brought and depoſited in it, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

* 1 *Chron.* xv. 26.

to

to tell him, that though his intentions were highly acceptable to him, yet, foraſmuch as he had ſo often defiled his hands with blood, he did not think him a proper perſon for ſuch a work, but that he would raiſe him up a ſon and ſucceſſor (Z), whoſe reign he would bleſs with a profound peace, with extraordinary wiſdom, affluence, and proſperity, and that he ſhould build him a temple. He added, that it was upon him that he would ſettle the throne of *Iſrael* unto the end, and proſper him and his ſucceſſors in proportion to their obedience to him; and that even the moſt ſtubborn diſobedience ſhould not bring upon them a total dereliction, but only ſuch fatherly chaſtiſements as might bring them to a filial repentance. *David*, full of the ſenſe of all theſe gracious promiſes, went and proſtrated himſelf before the Lord, and in the humbleſt and moſt pathetic terms, acknowledged his extreme unworthineſs of all theſe promiſed mercies, and his reliance on his omnipotent goodneſs for the fulfilling of them in his own good time [b].

FROM that time, he applied part of his care in making preparations for that ſumptuous building, and in laying up for it immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, copper, precious ſtones, woods, and other materials. For in thoſe ſucceſsful wars which he had againſt the *Philiſtines* [c], *Moabites* [d], *Amalekites* [e], the kings of *Zobah*, *Syria* [f], and *Edom* [g], of which the beſt account has been given in their ſeveral hiſtories that could be got out of the ſacred records, he got ſuch a prodigious quantity of the richeſt ſpoil, part of which he

[b] 2 Sam. vii. paſſ. 1 Chron. xvii. paſſ. & alib. [c] See Vol. II. p. 227. [d] Ibid. p. 92. [e] Ibid. p. 155. [f] Ibid. 273. [g] Ibid. p. 142. See 2 Sam. viii. paſſ.

(Z) From the words in the text, the *ſeed*, or *ſon that ſhall proceed out of thy bowels* (24), the *Jews* infer, that the crown could devolve neither to *Amnon*, *Abſalom*, *Adonijah*, nor to any of thoſe ſons that were born before this promiſe (25); but as the future is often uſed for the perfect tenſe, according to the genius of the original, the argument is no way concluſive, unleſs we throw into the ſcale the objection which is urged againſt the father, being equally ſtrong againſt thoſe ſons, who, being all warriors, had no doubt, imbrued their hands in blood; from which *Solomon* was to be altogether free. This exception is not indeed mentioned in the book of *Kings*, but we find it urged in the book of *Chronicles*, as an argument why God did not think *David* pure enough to erect ſo ſacred an edifice to him (26).

(24) 2 *Sam. vii.* 12. (25) *Vid.* Munſt. Jun. & *al. in loc.* (26) 1 *Chr. xxii.* 8. *xxviii.* 3.

never failed to dedicate to this design, that the wealth which he left his son at his death is almost beyond belief. His œconomy was not inferior to his success; he found that the keeping of a numerous army would either exhaust his treasury too much, or cause too great a share of his subjects lands to lie uncultivated; to prevent which he appointed twelve bands, each of 24,000 men, with proper officers over them, to serve each their respective month in the year; after which they were dismissed to their own private affairs during the other eleven months. He likewise appointed twelve expert persons over his finances (A), under *Azmaveth* and *Adoram*; and judges in every tribe, to administer justice to the people; besides those of his great council, who had the affairs of religion and state under their care; the former under the two high-priests, *Zadok* the son of *Abitub*, and *Abimelech* the son of *Abiathar* (B); and the latter under proper officers, among which *Joab* was general of the army; *Jehoshaphat* was chief secretary, *Serajah* recorder, *Benaiah* over the *Che-*

(A) These are supposed to have been of two kinds; either such as were exacted from his subjects, or those that accrued from his own hereditary lands or conquered dominions. Each kind of tribute, whether paid in money, grain, or other produce, were collected by their particular officers (27).

(B) We have already taken notice, that these two were, the one, namely *Zadok*, of the eldest, and *Abimelech* of the youngest branch of *Aaron*'s family, and that the high-priesthood had shifted from the one to the other †; but that one of each branch should exercise that function at the same time, is what is not to be met with either before or since. It is probable, that *Saul* after he had killed all the priests in *Nob*, except *Abiathar* who fled to *David*, might set up *Zadok* to officiate in that dignity in *Israel*, as *Eleazar* did in *Judah*, and that when *David* came to be king of all the twelve tribes, he did not think fit to deprive either of their office, but suffered them both to continue in it; but whether alternately, or subordinately, whether the one at *Gibeon*, where the tabernacle stood, and the other at *Jerusalem*, where the ark was; or lastly, whether the one in the tribe of *Judah*, and the other over the other tribes, we will not venture to determine. Certain it is, that they are still mentioned together upon several other occasions (28) till the beginning of *Solomon*'s reign, when *Zadok*'s competitor was divested of his dignity, for having gone over to the party of *Adonijah* (29).

(27) *Ibid. xxvii.* 25, & *seq.* 2 *Sam. xx.* 24, & *seq.* † *See before p.* 234 *not.* S. (28) *Vid. int. al.* 2 *Sam. xv.* 29, & 35. *xix.* 11, & 12, & *alib.* (29) 1 *King. i.* 7, 8. *ii.* 35, & *alib.*

rathites

rethites and *Pelethites* (C); whilſt ſome of the king's ſons were ſet over all theſe officers [h] (D).

But

[h] See 1 Chron, xxvii. paſſ.

(C) It is not eaſy to gueſs who theſe were. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt renders theſe words by archers and ſlingers; and the *Rabbies* underſtand by them, abſurdly enough, ſome the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and others the grand *Sanhedrin*, deriving the firſt word from כרת *Careth*, to *break ſhort*, as if they had been גורתים דבריהם men that broke their ſentences ſhort, or ſpoke ſuccinctly and with authority, and the other from פלא *Phele*, *wonderful* (30); and if we have no better helps, we may remain in the dark long enough. But we have already obſerved elſewhere, that the *Cherethites* were *Philiſtines* *, and we ſhall now give ſome further proofs of it.

When the *Amalekites* had burnt *Ziklag*, and *David* in purſuit of them, met with an *Egyptian*, that youth informed him, that they had made an incurſion into the ſouth of the *Cherethites* and ſo on (31); from which it is plain, that they muſt have been either *Philiſtines*, or ſome people that dwelt among them, as the *Geſhurites* did; unleſs we will ſuppoſe with *Tremellius*, that they were a colony of *Iſraelites* that took poſſeſſion of that country, after the *Philiſtines* had been driven out of it, which we ſee no grounds for admitting. For we find the prophet *Ezekiel* joining the *Cherethites* and *Philiſtines* together, either as ſynonymous, or at leaſt cohabiters, in theſe words, *Behold I will ſtretch out mine hand upon the* Philiſtines, *and I will cut off the* Cherethims, *and deſtroy the remnant of the ſea-coaſt* (32). Another prophet expreſſes himſelf much after the ſame manner, *Wo unto the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, the nation of the* Cherethites, *the word of the Lord is againſt you, O* Canaan *the land of the* Philiſtines (33). Thus far concerning the *Cherethites*.

As for the *Pelethites*, we meet with nothing concerning them, except their being joined with them in this place, and in ſome chapters after, where they are both mentioned as accompanying *David* when he fled from his ſon *Abſalom* (34). But whether theſe two people were captives of war, auxiliary troops, or a kind of life-guard, we will not venture to determine.

(D) The text ſays here, that they were כהנים *Cohanim*, which properly ſignifies *Prieſts*, but which our verſion doth rightly render, *Chief Rulers* and *Princes*, in the margin, according to a parallel text in the *Chronicles*, where they are ſaid to have been הראשונים ליד המלך *The chief about the king* And it is plain, that in ſeveral other places, particularly thoſe quoted in the

(30) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* * *See Vol. II. p.* 200. *not.* I. (31) 1 *Sam.* xxx. 14. (32) *Ch.* xxv. 16. (33) *Zephan. ii.* 5. (34) 2 *Sam.* xv. 18.

Gratitude to Jonathan's *son.*

But neither the cares of ſtate, nor his uncommon proſperity, could make him forget his affectionate engagements to his late generous friend *Jonathan*. He ſought out his only ſon *Mephiboſheth*, who was lame of his feet, and under the care of one of *Saul*'s ſervants named *Ziba*; he ſent for him to court, and after he had ſhewed him all poſſible tokens of friendſhip and tenderneſs, he cauſed all the lands of his royal grandfather to be reſtored to him, commanding *Ziba* to improve them to the beſt advantage for his maſter, and appointed *him* a table in his own palace, and among his own ſons; which he enjoyed to the day of his death [1].

HIS gratitude to the king of the *Ammonites* did not meet with the ſame returns: *Nahaſh*, from whom *David* had received ſome ſignal favours, being dead, he ſent a congratulatory embaſſy to his ſon, with offers of mutual friendſhip; but that weak prince, unjuſtly ſuſpecting the ambaſſadors were come upon ſome baſer deſign, treated them in a ſhameful manner and ſent them away. This affront however turned to *David*'s advantage; *Joab* was ſent to revenge it at the head of a powerful army, and that victorious general gained a complete victory againſt the *Ammonites* and their confederates, and returned to *Jeruſalem*. The *Syrians*, however, one of thoſe confederates, came again the next year with a freſh army: *Shobach*, general of *Hadadezer*, or *Hadarezer*, king of *Syria Zobea*, who was at their head, came and encamped at *Helam*; but *David* made ſuch ſpeed over *Jordan* with a powerful army, and gave him ſuch an overthrow, that they were glad to clap up a peace with him, and to become his tributaries. The *Ammonites* were likewiſe ſo weakened by theſe defeats, that they would have been glad to have remained quiet; but *David* was too exaſperated and too ſucceſsful againſt them, not to purſue his victory to the utmoſt,

[1] 2 Sam. ix. paſſ.

margin (35), the word is generally taken in that ſenſe. Several learned *Jews* indeed, to extol the piety of *David*, underſtand by *Cohen* here *the diſciples of the prieſts*, from which they would infer, that that pious monarch cauſed his ſons to be educated under them (36). If that were true, it is certain that ſome of them did not much credit their maſters; but the text ſays nothing of it: on the contrary, the author of the firſt book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that *Jonathan*, *David*'s uncle, a perſon of conſummate wiſdom, was the perſon who was intruſted with that important buſineſs (37):

(35) *Gen.* xli 45. xlvii. 22. *Exod.* ii. 16. iii. 1. *Job* xii. 19, & *alib.* (36) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (37) *Ch.* xxvii. 32.

by

by ſending *Joab* to invade their country, which that general did with that valour and ſeverity, as reduced them to the loweſt ebb †.

WHILST *Joab* was taken up with the ſiege of the metropolis of the unfortunate children of *Ammon*, a place of ſuch ſtrength that it held out two years againſt him, *David*, wholly relying on his valour and conduct, was ſolacing himſelf at home, and became unfortunately enamoured with a beautiful woman, whom he had, from his terrace, obſerved waſhing herſelf one evening in her garden. Upon enquiring who ſhe was, he was informed that ſhe was the daughter and wife of two of his braveſt captains, *Eliam* and *Uriah* (E), who were then with *Joab* at the ſiege; but his paſſion proved too violent to admit of any check from reaſon or religion, or even of a delay. The fruit of their unlawful commerce was her ſudden pregnancy, and the danger ſhe was in of being put to death for it, according to the law of *Moſes*. The king bethought himſelf of an expedient to prevent the latter, by ſending for her huſband from the ſiege, under pretence indeed of informing himſelf how it was carried on, but in reality, in hopes of his ſpending a night or two with her; but whether *Uriah* had any ſuſpicion of the wrong done to him, or whether indeed he thought it beneath the bravery of a captain to go and ſolace himſelf at home, whilſt his general and fellow-ſoldiers were expoſed to the fatigues of a ſiege; he made this laſt his excuſe for not going home to his wife, and contented himſelf with lying at the gate of the palace, with the reſt of the king's guard. The king thus diſappointed, reſolved to try him a ſecond time; he made him eat at his table, and at ſupper plied him ſo well with wine, that he

Year of the Flood, 1964. Year before Chriſt 1035.

His adultery,

† 2 Sam. x. paſſ. See Vol. II. p. 104, & ſeq.

(E) At leaſt we find one *Eliam* in the number of *David*'s worthies, who was the ſon of *Ahithophel* (38), and is ſuppoſed to have been her father, and that the affront offered to her cauſed that great politician to join in the conſpiracy of *Abſalom*. As for her huſband, he is ſurnamed the *Hittite*, probably becauſe he was of that nation, and a proſelyte to the *Jewiſh* religion, though ſome will have it, that he is ſo called, only becauſe he was either born or had dwelt amongſt them, or upon ſome warlike exploit he had atchieved againſt them (39). *Joſephus* neither mentions this as a ſurname, or as that of his nation, but only ſays, that he was *Joab*'s armour-bearer (40).

(38) 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 34. *al.* (39) *Vid.* Berruyer. Munſt. Jun. & (40) *Ant. l 7. c. 7.*

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did not doubt but he would, in that merry humour, have gone home to his wife; but *Uriah*, drunk as he was, ſpent that night alſo with the guards; and the king, who by this time could not but ſuſpect that he had ſome more private reaſon for abſenting himſelf from home, reſolved to ſacrifice his life to that of his faithleſs wife. Accordingly, on the next morning he diſpatched him with a letter to *Joab*, wherein he ordered that general, who was the fitteſt perſon for ſuch a bloody deed, to expoſe that brave officer to ſome imminent danger, and to leave him to the fury of the beſieged. This was accordingly done; and *David* having received the news of his death, ſent and acquainted *Bath-ſheba* with it, who put herſelf in mourning for him, and was ſoon after ſheltered from danger by being married to the king [k]. We have ſeen elſewhere the ſucceſs of this long ſiege, and the hard fate of the conquered *Ammonites* *: all we need to add here is, that what is ſaid there of their monarch's crown, that it weighed a talent of gold, that is upwards of 113 pounds, is rather to be underſtood of its worth than its weight, that is, that the gold and precious ſtones, with which it was adorned, were equal in worth to a talent of gold (F) [l].

And murder.

In the interim, God, highly provoked with *David* for two ſuch heinous crimes, made choice of the prophet *Nathan* to go and denounce his ſevere judgments againſt him, at the time when that monarch, inſenſible of his guilt, was hugging in his arms the fruit of his adultery. The prophet who knew his generous and upright heart, in any caſe wherein this new and criminal paſſion was not concerned, accoſted him with a parable of a wealthy man, who had ſpared his own numerous flocks, and ſeized upon an only favourite lamb

[k] 2 Sam. xi. paſſ. * See Vol. II. p. 107. [l] 2 Sam. xii. 30.

(F) It were indeed abſurd to underſtand it otherwiſe, for what man could bear ſuch a weight, though we ſhould even underſtand it of the common talent of 60 pounds, as *Kimchi* doth. Some *Jews* and others do indeed fancy, that it was only hung over the monarch's head, like the top of a canopy (41); but this is contrary to the plain meaning of the original, which did not want words to have expreſt that circumſtance, had it been fact. But we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew, that the word משקל *Miſhkal*, doth often ſignify the value, though properly and generally the weight, of a thing (42).

(41) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (42) *Vid.* Bochart. Hieroz. *p.* 1. & Le Scene *Eſſay on a new verſ. pt.* 2. *Ch. ii.* § 6.

lamb of a poor neighbour, to feaſt an hungry gueſt. He dreſt his ſtory with ſuch aggravating circumſtances, that the king in anger pronounced ſentence of death againſt the perſon who had been guilty of ſuch an unnatural violence. The words were no ſooner out of his mouth, than *Nathan* made him ſenſible, that he had pronounced it againſt himſelf, by telling him, with a prophetic boldneſs, that he was the guilty perſon, and much more guilty than that in the parable, in that he had not only defiled the bed of a faithful captain, but had murdered him by an enemy's ſword, that he might take the adultereſs into his boſom. He then recapitulated to him all the aggravations of his double crime; particularly his ingratitude to his divine protector and benefactor, and the occaſion he had given to his enemies to blaſpheme (G). He concluded with denouncing the effects of the divine reſentment againſt him, that *Uriah*'s murder would prove an endleſs ſource of bloodſhed in his own poſterity, and that his adultery, how private ſoever, ſhould be expiated by the open defilement of his own wives and concubines, by thoſe of his own family, and in the face of the ſun. *His puniſhment.*

THIS terrible ſentence brought *David* to ſuch a deep ſenſe of his guilt, that his heart, too full of it, could only ſay, *I have ſinned againſt the Lord*; but the ſincere remorſe with which it was uttered, obtained an immediate alleviation of the puniſhment. However, the unhappy ſon of *Bathſheba* was doomed to death, and *David* tried in vain to obtain a reprieve for him by prayers, and tears, by faſting, ſack-cloth, lying on the ground, and other marks of repen-

(G) This expreſſion of the prophet inclines us to think, that *David* had not been able ſo to conceal his crime, but that it had taken wind among the neighbouring nations, who could not forbear reflecting upon the God of *Iſrael*, for favouring a monarch who could be guilty of ſuch horrid crimes, as themſelves perhaps were ſtrangers to.

David however was ſo ſenſibly touched with his guilt, that he ceaſed not compoſing pſalms, full of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of humility and repentance. Some of them ſeem even to intimate, that God had ſmitten him with ſome very grievous and painful diſeaſe, as a puniſhment for his ſin (43); but it is poſſible, that they may be altogether allegorical, and ſignificative only of his exceſſive grief and remorſe for it. Among his other penitential compoſitions, the 51ſt is ſuppoſed to have been writ immediately after *Nathan*'s ſevere reproof.

(43) *Vid. inſt. al. Pſ* vi. xxxviii. *paſſ.* lxxvii. 2, & *ſeq.* lxxxviii. *paſſ.* cii 3, & *ſeq.* & *alib. paſſ.*

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tance. As for the other part of the sentence, which related to his wives, it was soon after fulfilled by his unnatural son *Absalom*, as we shall see anon. The child being dead, according to the saying of the prophet, *David* comforted his new wife for the loss of it, soon after which she found herself pregnant, and he called the son that she then bore to him *Solomon*, a name significative of his future peaceful reign, to which *Nathan* added that of *Jedidiah*, or *beloved of the Lord* [m], such as he proved indeed, at least during the former part of his glorious and successful reign.

BUT it proved far otherwise with the remainder of that of his father, who, what hopes soever he might have conceived, from the birth and promised glory of this new son, and from his victory over the *Ammonites*, that his repentance had happily disarmed the divine anger, never ceased feeling some of the severest and most sensible strokes of it, to the last period of his life: not indeed from his enemies without, from whom it doth not appear that he received the least molestation, but from those of his own family, even from his own children. *Amnon*, his eldest son, was scarcely eighteen years of age, when he layed the foundation of all the domestic troubles of his too indulgent father, by an unnatural incest with one of his own sisters. *David* had had two children by *Maacah*, the princess of *Geshur*, *Absalom* and *Tamar* [n], whose beauty became the unhappy cause of this unlawful passion. *Amnon* was observed to pine away secretly, ashamed to discover the cause of his trouble, when a near relation, *Jonadab*, the son of *Shimeah*, *David*'s brother, having pumped the fatal secret out, not only encouraged him, but furnished him with means to perpetrate the deed. According to his hellish advice, *Amnon*, pretending that his disease had now confined him to his bed, obtained an order from his father, that *Tamar* should come to him, and make him some kind of confectionary meat, to please his palled appetite; which that innocent princess readily complied with. But she was scarcely entered with it into his bed-chamber, before he, having previously sent all his attendants far enough, laid hold on her, and, in spite of all her prayers and remonstrances, ravished her. His lust thus satisfied, he conceived such a disgust against her, that, not being able to bear her presence any longer, and finding a just and modest reluctancy in her to withdraw in that deplorable condition, his barbarity rose to such a height, that he violently caused

Amnon's incest.

[m] 2 Sam. xii. 25. [n] Ibid. Chap. iii. 3.

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her to be turned out of his houſe by ſome of his ſervants. Her grief and confuſion were now become too great to ſuffer her to think how to avoid expoſing herſelf; ſo that, forgetting every thing but her preſent misfortunes, ſhe only ſought how to expreſs her ſenſe of it by the moſt lively tokens; by tearing her virgin robes, covering her head with duſt, by walking with her arms over her head, and filling the air with her cries. In this manner ſhe went to *Abſalom*'s houſe, who being her brother, both by father and mother, was the propereſt perſon to procure her a redreſs, if any could be had. That prince, who was naturally haughty and revengeful, could not but feel the deepeſt reſentment againſt ſo barbarous a violence; however, as the revenge he meditated againſt the raviſher was of too deep a nature to be preſently executed, he contented himſelf with deſiring his diſconſolate ſiſter to alleviate, or at leaſt to conceal, her grief, ſeeing it was a brother who was the cauſe of it, and to ſpend the remainder of her days in ſolitude with him; which ſhe did accordingly; whilſt he, young as he was, did ſo well conceal his reſentment, that *Amnon* had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. When the news of this villainous action came to *David*'s ears, he was exceedingly troubled at it, but that was all; *Amnon* was his eldeſt ſon, and he could not prevail upon himſelf to inflict any other puniſhment on him, than that of his diſpleaſure.

THIS remiſſneſs did but add fewel to *Abſalom*'s hatred, though he did not find a proper opportunity for his deſign till two years after; by which time *Amnon*'s crime might be ſuppoſed to be forgot. The better to conceal his revenge, he invited his father and all his brothers to a ſheep-ſhearing feaſt, which he was to make at *Baal-hazor*. He eaſily excuſed the king, who declined going, from a principle of oeconomy, becauſe he had only invited him out of formality, and to avoid ſuſpicion; but he inſiſted, in particular, upon his brother *Amnon*'s favouring him with his preſence with the reſt of his brethren, and eaſily obtained his conſent. When they were come to the place, he received them with an air, which ſhewed nothing leſs than his murdering intention; but as ſoon as he obſerved that wine had raiſed their mirth to the deſired pitch, he gave a ſignal to a number of his ſervants, whom he had appointed for the deed, and who immediately fell upon *Amnon* and ſtabbed him to death; whilſt the reſt of the king's ſons expecting, perhaps, their turns would be next, made all poſſible haſte to get to their mules, and rode away to *Jeruſalem*. But before they could reach it, word had been brought to the king, that

Amnon *murdered by* Abſalom.

Abſalom had cauſed all his brethren to be aſſaſſinated. One may eaſily imagine how he received the dreadful news; he rent his cloaths, caſt himſelf down upon the ground, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt violent expreſſions of grief. The ſervants that were about him endeavoured to bear a part in this tragic ſcene, and ſtood round him with their cloaths rent. *Jonadab* only, the infamous inſtrument of *Amnon*'s inceſt, did rightly gueſs, that he alone had proved the victim of *Abſalom*'s revenge. He acquainted the king with his thoughts, which were ſoon after confirmed by the arrival of the reſt of the young princes, who, with tears in their eyes, told him all that had happened. It was a melancholy meeting on all hands; the king mourned for ſome time the loſs of his eldeſt ſon, whilſt his murderer, not expecting the ſame remiſſneſs from him, went and ſheltered himſelf under the protection of his grandfather, the king of *Geſhur*, where he continued three whole years [o].

By that time, *Joab*, obſerving that the king expreſſed leſs grief for his dead ſon, than uneaſineſs for his abſent one, did reaſonably conclude, that if he could work upon him to recal him by any ſtratagem that could but ſave his honour, it would be an acceptable ſervice to them both. To compaſs this, he inſtructed a notable woman, whom he had ſent for from *Tekoah*, a place not far from *Jeruſalem*, to addreſs herſelf to the king under the perſonage of a diſtreſſed widow, juſt on the brink of being bereaved of the only ſon ſhe had left, who was in danger of being put to death for having killed his brother in a fray, by which there would be a final end of her huſband's name and family. The ſtory bore indeed no parallel with that of *Abſalom*; perhaps the politic *Joab* had contrived it ſo, to prevent the king's ſuſpecting it to be a deſigned thing. However, ſhe told it with ſuch pathetic expreſſions of grief, that *David*, moved with compaſſion, gave her his royal word, that her ſurviving ſon ſhould be ſheltered from all future proſecution. He had ſcarce bound it with an oath, when, according to her inſtruction, ſhe took the liberty, though in the humbleſt terms, to repreſent to him the wrong he did himſelf, by ſuffering his ſon to continue longer in his baniſhment, ſeeing that could by no means recal the dead, whoſe life once gone was like water ſpilt upon the ground, which could not be gathered up again. The king, who by this time perceived the woman's drift, failed not to conclude, that *Joab* was

[o] 2. Sam. xiii. p. tot.

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at the bottom of it; he taxed the woman with it, and ſhe, in the modeſteſt terms, acknowledged it, adding, that the king was as an angel of God, from whom it was impoſſible to conceal any thing. *Joab*, who was preſent all this while, took this opportunity of falling proſtrate before him, ſeemingly to beg pardon for his ſtratagem, but really to lay hold on his promiſe in favour of *Abſalom*; and *David*, as willing to grant as he was to aſk, did immediately order him to fetch him from his baniſhment, but with this condition, that he ſhould not approach the king's perſon, but retire to his own houſe; which was complied with accordingly, for he did not ſee the king for two whole years after his return (H). But being tired at length with living ſo long in diſgrace, and having ſent in vain for *Joab*, once and again, to come to him, he found no other way of bringing him, but cauſing ſome of his adjacent corn to be ſet on fire. *Joab* ſoon came

(H) The text doth here take notice of his exceſſive and ſnaring beauty, which did ſo captivate the hearts of the people to him, that it inſpired him with the firſt ſentiments of his unnatural rebellion.

One circumſtance it mentions, relating to the yearly polling of his hair, which, taken in a literal ſenſe, will appear incredible; it being ſaid to have amounted to 200 ſhekels after the king's weight, that is, at leaſt, to three pounds two ounces; but to double that weight, according to ſome, who make the king's *ſhekel* to have been equal to that of the ſanctuary, that is, to half an ounce *avoirdupoize*. Such a monſtrous quantity of hair, were any head able to bear the weight of it, would rather diſfigure, than be an ornament to it; we think it therefore more probable, that the word שקל *Shakal*, is here to be underſtood of the value, and not of the weight of it; that is, that it was worth 200 *ſhekels*, whether half or quarters of ounces of ſilver. Not that we will ſuppoſe that *Abſalom* ſold it, though even that is not impoſſible (44), but that, whether he gave it to his ſervants, as a perquiſite, or to ſome favourite women, it was reckoned worth that ſum. Some *Jewiſh* doctors do tell us, that his hair being exceeding long and fair, was in great requeſt among the great women in *Jeruſalem*, to adorn their heads with (45)

There is another difficulty in this place (46), where mention is made of *Abſalom*'s three ſons, and of one daughter, named *Tamar*; whereas it is ſaid, in another place (47), that he reared up a pillar in the king's dale, to perpetuate his name, becauſe he had no male iſſue. All that can be ſuppoſed is, that they died in that ſhort interval, though no mention is made of their death.

(44) *Vid.* Le Scene. *Eſſ. on a new verſ. pt. ii. ch.* 2. § 7.
(45) *Id. Ibid.* (46) 2 Sam. xiv. 27. (47) *Ibid. ch.* xviii. 18.

Absalom reconciled to his father.

to him at the news of this unexpected treatment; and, after some passionate expostulations on both sides, it was agreed, that the king should be applied to in favour of his son, which was soon after successfully done by that general [P].

This reconciliation could not but convince *Absalom* of his father's weak fondness for him; but that ungrateful prince sought only how to make the most unnatural advantage of it. He immediately procured a sumptuous equipage of chariots, horses, and running-footmen, to attract the eyes of the people; and, by an affected popularity, and seeming compassion for those who came to the king for justice, and the difficulty of obtaining it from him, it was not long before he gained also their hearts, and persuaded them, that they would be much happier under his government. This he continued doing some years (I), after which, finding himself strong enough to break out into an open rebellion, and being perhaps afraid, lest his artifices should at length give the king some suspicion of his perfidious design, he obtained leave of his too easy father to go and perform a pretended vow in *Hebron*, where he had appointed the chief of his party to meet him; whilst others, who were dispersed through the tribes, were ordered to proclaim him king, as soon as they heard the signal given by the sound of the trumpet. He took among others 200 men from *Jerusalem*, who, being altogether ignorant of his design, served only to conceal it the more. At his coming to *Hebron*, he sent for *Ahithophel* (K) from *Giloh*, his native place; and the defection of that great

And rebels against him.

Year of the Flood, 1976. Year before Christ, 1023.

[P] Ch. xiv. p. tot.

(I) The text says forty years (48), but the learned *Usher* has shewed, that it can be only meant from *David*'s being first anointed by *Samuel*, and not from his reconciliation to *Absalom*; for this rebellion happened about four years after it (49). That prelate observes, that it was before or about *Whitsuntide*, by the new fruits and parched corn, which *Barzillai* brought to *David* in his flight (50).

We may likewise observe here, that *Absalom* is the first who introduced the use of horses in *Israel*; till then the kings used to ride on mules, and the greatest nobles upon asses, as we have seen in the history of the judges.

(K) We have taken notice, in a late note, of the supposed reason of his defection, namely, his near relation to *Bath-sheba*, and

(48) 2 Sam. xvi. 7. (49) *Ann. p.* 37. (50) 2 Sam. xvii. 28.

his

great politician, who had been one of *David*'s chief counſellors, did not contribute a little to increaſe the number of conſpirators. *David* was then at *Jeruſalem*, when news was brought to him of his ſon's rebellion; and being afraid of being ſurpriſed in it, and of being the cauſe, perhaps, of its inhabitants being put to the ſword, he left his palace to the care of ten of his concubines, and made what haſte he could out of the city. As ſoon as he came to the next convenient place, he made a halt, to take a melancholy view of the handful of men which followed him, and having obſerved the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites* to be of that number, whom we before obſerved to have been ſtrangers; he addreſſed himſelf to *Ittai*, who was probably their commander, and told him, that he did not expect that they, who were ſo lately come into his ſervice, ſhould ſhare in his adverſe fortune, and adviſed him to return home with his men, ſince it was not in his power now to reward their fidelity. But that brave officer anſwered him with an oath, that he would never forſake him, whatever might be the ſucceſs of his affairs, as long as he was able to draw a ſword in his defence. The king who could not but admire ſo faithful a zeal in a ſtranger, deſired him to paſs before him over the brook *Kidron*, whilſt the reſt of his followers, and the people that came to ſee this ſorrowful ſight, ſhed plenty of tears, to ſee the diſtreſs into which their monarch was driven by his unnatural ſon.

AMONG thoſe that followed the king, were the high-prieſts, *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, at the head of a number of *Levites* who had brought the ark of God with them. *David* however did not think fit that they ſhould follow him, but commanded them to bear the ark back to *Jeruſalem*, whence they might ſend him intelligence of all that paſſed there, by their two ſons *Ahimaaz* and *Jonathan*, and aſſiſt him with their counſel, as they were ſeers, that is, as they had the gift of prophecy; whilſt he went and concealed himſelf in ſome of the plains of the wilderneſs, reſolved to ſubmit to whatever God ſhould decree concerning him. As ſoon as the prieſts were departed, *David* received the melancholy news, that *Ahithophel* was gone over to his ſon; upon which, he prayed earneſtly to God, to confound whatever counſel that old ſtateſman ſhould give to the conſpirators; and went up ſoon after, he and his ſmall troop,

his reſentment for the injury done to her by *David*, which he did not think ſufficiently recompenſed by his marrying her (51).

(51) *Sub. note.* E.

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the aſcent of mount *Olivet*, accompanied by his wives and children, and ſome people that followed him from *Jeruſalem*. The march was mournful beyond expreſſion: the king, bathed in tears, went up with his head covered, and his feet bare (L), whilſt this ſorrowful retinue expreſt their deep concern for him, by the livelieſt expreſſions of real grief. When they were come to the top of it, and had offered up their prayers to God, providence ſent him an old friend named *Huſhai*, who came with his cloaths rent, and aſhes upon his head, reſolved to ſhare in his misfortunes. *David*, though ſatisfied of his fidelity, did not think fit however to take him into his retinue, but rather begged of him to join himſelf to that of his rebellious ſon, where he might do him much greater ſervice, by thwarting the counſels of *Ahithophel*, and by informing him, by means of the two high-prieſts, of every thing that was reſolved among the rebels. *Huſhai* readily accepted the office, and acquitted himſelf of it with ſuch faithful zeal that he proved one main inſtrument of their overthrow [q].

IN the mean time, whilſt the ſorrowful monarch was on his march, *Ziba*, the treacherous ſervant of *Mephiboſheth*, brought him ſome neceſſary refreſhments; and being aſked where his maſter was, told him, that he was then at *Jeruſalem*, where he expected to be ſhortly reſtored to the throne of *Iſrael*. An accident, that followed upon the heels of this falſe report, helped to convince *David* of *Mephiboſheth*'s ingratitude. He was ſcarce come as far as *Bahurim*, a village not very far diſtant from that metropolis, when he was met by one of *Saul*'s family, named *Shimei*, who had the boldneſs to throw vollies of ſtones at him, accompanied with the bittereſt curſes and imprecations for being the author of *Saul*'s misfortunes, notwithſtanding *David* was, at that time, ſurrounded by his guards and all his friends. This unexpected indignity did ſo inrage ſome of his captains, that they offered to go and ſmite off his head; but *David* reſtrained them, by putting them in mind of his more unnatural ſon, who ſought a tender father's life, whilſt this *Benjamite* expreſt no more than a natural concern for *Saul*'s houſe; adding, that if his curſes came from God, as he knew not but they did, patience and reſignation would more effectually avert them, than ſuch a bloody reſentment. However, the thoughts of

[q] 2 Sam. xv.

(L) This we have ſhewed elſewhere was a token of the deepeſt mourning, and in this guiſe they uſed to accompany their neareſt relations to the grave (52).

(52) *See before p.* 359.

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his having a double enemy now to ſtrive againſt, and that *Mephibosheth* had cauſed a new revolt againſt him, touched him ſo to the quick, that he gave all his lands away to his faithleſs ſervant, which was all that the wretch ſought for by this falſe accuſation.

BY this time, *Abſalom* and *Ahithophel* were come to *Jeruſalem*, that city not daring to make any reſiſtance to that hitherto ſucceſsful prince; and here it was, that *Huſhai* came to congratulate and offer his ſervices to him. *Abſalom*, who knew him to have been a very faithful friend to his father, expreſt ſome ſurpriſe at firſt at this unexpected change; but was anſwered by that politic gentleman, that he thought it high time to abandon the father's intereſt, when providence had ſo openly declared for the ſon, who was moreover invited to the crown by the univerſal acclamations of the people; ſo that he had now no more to do but to ſerve him with the ſame fidelity, that he had done his father. Such a ſoothing ſpeech could not but pleaſe the proud young prince, who admitted him into the number of his counſellors, without the leaſt ſuſpicion; and repoſed ſuch confidence in him, that he ſoon after preferred his advice to that of *Ahithophel*, and loſt thereby the faireſt opportunity of ſecuring the victory and his father's crown to himſelf. As ſoon as they were well ſettled in the king's palace, a council was called, in which *Ahithophel* adviſed the prince to rear up a pavilion on the top of the houſe, and to go and lie with his father's concubines in the face of the ſun. This, as we obſerved before, being eſteemed the greateſt indignity that could be offered to a crowned head, that helliſh politician told him, was the moſt effectual means to make his men fight deſperately for him, becauſe they would then look upon the breach as irreconcileable. It could not be expected, that *Abſalom*, who had already been guilty of fratricide and of rebellion againſt his own father, ſhould ſcruple to add adultery and inceſt to his other crimes: he readily complied with the advice, and thereby fulfilled one part of *Nathan*'s prophecy againſt his adulterous father[r].

THE next thing which *Ahithophel* adviſed the rebellious prince was, that he might be ſent at the head of 12,000 choſen men, to fall upon *David*'s little army, whilſt they were ſtill weary with their flight; aſſuring him, that as ſoon as the king was taken off, which himſelf engaged to do, all the people would gladly come over to him as one man, and a quick end be put to the war. This counſel was approved both by *Abſalom* and all the elders of *Iſrael*, but as it was given in *Huſhai*'s abſence, the prince reſolved to have his advice upon it; Ahithophel's *counſel rejected.*

[r] 2 Sam. xvi.

it; and *Hushai* being informed of it, and wisely foreseeing, that, if it were followed, *David* must be inevitably lost, omitted nothing to dissuade him from it. He told the council, that *David* and his officers were men of too great valour and experience, to suffer themselves to be thus surprised: that for ought he knew, they had fortified themselves by that time in some caverns, or among the rocks, whence they would sally out, like a bear bereaved of her whelps, and fall upon them with such desperate fury, that it would be impossible for them to stand the shock: that if they should be unhappily beaten back in this first enterprize, the fame of *David*'s valour would quickly spread, and magnify his victory to such a degree, as would inject an universal terror into all their army, and give the exasperated king the fairest opportunity of quashing the conspiracy. For these reasons, he said, he thought it dangerous to undertake any thing against him, till *Absalom* had wholly disheartened his men, by calling together all *Israel* from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, and pouring his troops so thick upon them, that neither means nor hopes might be left to escape. Thus, added he, if they be hid among the rocks, we shall easily hunt or starve them out, and if they be retired into some strong city, our army will be able to pull it and them with ropes into the next river, till there is neither man nor stone left to oppose us. This swollen and affected speech could hardly have failed being suspected, had not providence suffered both the young prince and the council to be blinded with it. *Ahithophel* was the only person who perceived the drift and consequence of it; so that, vexed at the heart to see *Hushai*'s advice preferred to his own, and that *David*, by gaining so much time, would, in all probability, recover his kingdom, he ordered his ass to be saddled, and rode away with all speed to his house, where, having settled his family affairs in the best manner he could, he went and hanged himself (M).

He goes and hangs himself.

Hushai, in the mean time, failed not to inform the high-priest with what had past, and of the danger the king and his men would be in, if they did not go over *Jordan* that very night. They dispatched therefore a maid-servant to their sons, *Ahimaaz* and *Jonathan*, who lay concealed for that purpose at *En Rogel*, with orders, that they should go immediately and

(M) The text adds, that he was buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors; for the only difference which the *Jews* made between those that died a natural or a violent death was, that the latter whether they died by their own hands, or by that of justice, were not buried till some time after sun-set (53).

(53) *Vid.* Joseph *de bell. jud.* iii. c. 14. & *before* p. 363.

inform

inform *David* of it. However, the avenues of *Jeruſalem* were ſo narrowly watched, that they were diſcovered by a youth, who gave immediate notice of it to *Abſalom*. It was not long before they were cloſely purſued, and forced to hide themſelves at *Bahurim*, where a kind woman concealed them in a well, by ſpreading a cloath over it with ſome pounded corn, as if ſhe had been drying it in the ſun. The meſſengers, having loſt ſcent of them returned to *Jeruſalem*, whilſt the two young prieſts haſted to *David*'s camp, where they informed him of all that had been tranſacted at *Abſalom*'s court. *David* loſt no time, but croſſed the *Jordan*, with his little army, in the dead of the night, and on the next morning, when he came to *Mahanaim*, and took a review of them, he found that they were all ſafely got thither with him. As ſoon as the news of his arrival had reached that neighbourhood, ſeveral of his friends came thither to him, with a timely ſupply of proviſion for himſelf and his men, with tents, couches, and other neceſſary utenſils. Among theſe were *Shobi*, the ſon of *Nahaſh*, an *Ammonite*; *Machir* of *Lodebar*, with whom young *Mephibosheth* had been brought up [r]; and old *Barzillai* of *Rogelim*, a wealthy *Gileadite* (N). On the other hand, *Abſalom*, hearing that his father was removed to this place, came againſt him with an army, under the command of *Amaſa*, and encamped in the land of *Gilead* [t].

David, having refreſhed himſelf and his troops, and ſupplied the vacancy of thoſe officers who were gone over to *Abſalom*, divided his army into three bodies, under the command of *Joab* and his two brothers, reſolving to appear in perſon againſt his rebellious ſon; but the people ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, alledging, that his life was of too great a conſequence to be hazarded, at a time when his enemy would prefer his ſingle death before the defeat of his whole army. The king acquieſced to them, and ſtayed at *Mahanaim* with a ſmall reinforcement; and whilſt the reſt of his men marched out before him, under their reſpective officers, he failed not to give them a ſtrict charge to be very tender of *Abſalom*'s life. A fierce battle was ſoon after fought in the foreſt of

[r] See 2 Sam. ix. 4 [t] xvii.

(N) Theſe proviſions were wheat, barley, flour, parched corn, ſeveral ſorts of pulſe, honey, butter, cheeſe, with ſome ſmall cattle. There might be alſo ſeveral other ſorts, though not mentioned in the text, ſuch as bread, wine, dried raiſins, and figs, and ſome others which we read were brought to *David*, at other times, by *Abigail* and *Ziba* (54).

(54) 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1.

Ephraim, wherein the rebel army was discomfited with the loss of 20,000 men, who were killed on the spot, besides a great number of others, who perished in the wood and in their flight. *Absalom* himself mounted upon a mule, was forced to fly from a party of *David*'s men towards the wood, where the bough of a thick oak having taken hold of his bushy hair, the mule, running with full speed, left him suspended between heaven and earth. *Joab*, being informed of this accident by a soldier, stayed only to reprove him for not having dispatched him, and went himself to the place, and ran three darts through his body; after which he caused the trumpet to sound a retreat, to prevent a further effusion of blood. *Absalom*'s body was taken down, and flung into a large pit, and covered with a heap of stones; and the rest of the rebels were no sooner informed of his death, than they fled every man to his home. All this while the king stayed at the gate of *Mahanaim*, impatient to hear the success of the action; but in his heart more solicitous for the life of his unnatural son, than for that of his friends, or even for his own; insomuch, that when he received the news of his death, not able to suppress his tears, he was forced to withdraw himself to the chamber over the gate, to hide his extreme weakness, and give a full vent to his grief[u].

Absalom, hung by his hair, is killed by Joab.

THIS untimely sorrow of the king did so damp the joy of his whole army, that they retired into the city, more like cowardly runaways, than like victorious soldiers. *Joab* easily foresaw the consequence of it, and that it would cause a general defection; and, as he was naturally bold and haughty, he made no difficulty to go up, and upbraid him with his ingratitude to his faithful friends in such insolent terms, though covered with a shew of loyalty and concern, that the afflicted king was forced to suspend, or at least conceal, his grief, and shew himself to the people with a seeming chearful countenance. As soon as they heard of his appearing publicly at the gate of the city, not only his own men, but even those who had followed *Absalom* came in crowds, and strove who should shew the greatest affection to him. They remembered that he had often delivered them from the oppression of their enemies: *Absalom* was now dead, and *David* victorious; so that they had nothing now to do, but to regain his favour by a timely submission. As soon therefore as the king perceived that all the tribes were ready to bring him back to *Jerusalem*, he sent word to the two high-priests, to hasten the elders of *Judah* to come and accompany him back to his palace, and

David is acknowledged by all the tribes.

[u] xviii. p. tot.

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to promiſe to *Amaſa*, *Abſalom*'s general, that if he would come over to him, he ſhould be his chief general in the room of *Joab* (O). Among thoſe that came over *Jordan* to meet the king *Shimei* was one of the firſt; he came at the head of a thouſand men of his own tribe, and, falling proſtrate at his feet, acknowledged his crime, begged that it might be forgiven, in conſideration of his being foremoſt of all the tribes to congratulate him upon his late victory. *David*'s generals did indeed think it a poor recompence for his late indignity to his prince, and were urgent to have him made an example to all *Iſrael* but the king willing to ſignalize, as it were, his new reign by an unparallelled clemency, did not only reprove their untimely zeal, but generouſly confirmed his pardon with an oath. Shimei *forgiven.*

Mephiboſheth came next, to expreſs his joy at the king's return, and to juſtify himſelf from the baſe aſperſions of his treacherous ſervant. He gave him indeed ſome evident proofs of his gratitude and fidelity, and of *Ziba*'s perfidy, and the king ſeemed outwardly to be ſatisfied with them; but whether he was not really ſo, or that he cared not wholly to reverſe the grant he had made to the ſervant, he ordered the lands to be divided between his Maſter and him. Whilſt the king was getting ready to paſs over *Jordan*, his old friend *Barzillai* came to accompany him over that river, and to take his final leave of him. *David* would fain have perſuaded him to have gone with him to *Jeruſalem*, that he

(O) It appears by this that *David* had conceived an averſion for *Joab*; he had indeed done enough to deſerve it, by his inſupportable inſolence, by his treacherous murder of *Abner*, but more particularly for having dared to kill *Abſalom*, contrary to his expreſs orders, whom he ought to have brought alive to his father, and left it to him to have puniſhed his rebellion as he thought fit. On the other hand, *Amaſa* was a conſiderable perſon, the ſon of *David*'s ſiſter (55), whom either the fear of the king's reſentment, or a deſire of keeping up his poſt of general, might eaſily induce to raiſe ſome new troubles in favour of *Saul*'s houſe. Upon theſe accounts *David* thought it worth his while to bring him over to his intereſt by a generous pardon, and by giving him the command of his army, which would at the ſame time effectually ſuppreſs *Joab*'s inſolence. But this laſt, who ſtuck at no baſe action to rid himſelf of a rival, did ſoon after break all the king's meaſures, by the murder of his new made general.

(55) *Conf. Ch. xvii.* 25, & *xix.* 13.

might have an opportunity of rewarding his services; but the good old man excused himself from it on account of his old age, which had rendered him incapable of tasting the pleasures of a court; desiring him, that he would bestow his favours on his son *Chimham*, who was ready to accompany him thither; which was readily granted.

HITHERTO there had appeared nothing but an universal emulation between the tribes, to wipe off the guilt of their late defection, by the greatest tokens of submission and zeal; but the partiality which *David* shewed for his own tribe, in inviting it to come foremost to receive him, raised such jealousy in the other ten, as seemed to threaten nothing less than a new revolt. The ten tribes, on the one hand, thinking themselves injured, that that of *Judah* was preferred to them, in guarding the king homewards, complained in the bitterest terms, that they had stolen him from them, with a design to deprive the rest of their interest in him. *Judah*, on the other side, alledged that their near relation to him intitled them to that preference; which however they had made no other advantage of, than that of being neares to his person, without expecting any gratuity from him. To this the others answered, that *David*, as a king, being equally related to them all, their share in him bore a ten-fold proportion to theirs, for which reason they ought to have been the first invited, and the neares to him [w]. The contest grew so fierce at last, through the obstinacy of the tribe of *Judah*, that *Sheba*, a factious fellow of the tribe of *Benjamin*, took that opportunity to blow the trumpet, and to gather all the malecontents to him, who immediately disclaimed all further interest in *David*, and bid open defiance to those that adhered to him; upon which, he saw himself at the head of all the ten tribes, that only of *Judah*, which had occasioned this defection, following their king from *Jordan* to *Jerusalem*.

A new revolt against David.

As soon as *David* was come to his metropolis, he ordered his new general to set out, and gather what forces he could out of *Judah*, and to come to him within three days, whilst himself took that time to clear his palace of his polluted concubines, and assign them a suitable maintenance and another house, where they might spend their days in a kind of widowhood. But *Amasa*, who met with greater difficulty than he expected, having outstayed his time, the king gave the command of his guards, and of those few troops he had

[w] Ch. xix. 41, & seq.

about

about him, to *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s brother, another of his generals, who had commanded one third of his army againſt *Abſalom*, and ordered him to purſue *Sheba* before he could get into ſome fenced city. It is plain by this, that *Joab* was then in high diſgrace; however, he went along with *Abiſhai*, though not as a commander, and by that time they were come to the great ſtone of *Gibeon*, *Amaſa* joined them with his troops. Here the treacherous *Joab* came forth, ſeemingly to welcome him, and taking hold of his chin with one hand, as if he had intended to kiſs him, ran his ſword through his bowels with the other, and laid him dead at his feet. As ſoon as he had removed his body out of ſight, which he found did cauſe a general ſtop of his army, he marched with them directly to *Abel* of *Beth-maachah*, into which he heard the rebel had retired with ſome troops. He had ſcarce began to beſiege that place in form, when a prudent woman ſpake to him from the top of the wall, and deſired him to liſten to the advice of an inhabitreſs of a place, which he knew had been always famed for counſel and wiſdom [x], and to forbear his hoſtilities againſt a mother city of *Iſrael*; promiſing him, upon that condition, that the head of *Sheba* ſhould be flung to him over the wall. *Joab* conſented to the propoſal, and as ſoon as he had received the arch-rebel's head, he raiſed the ſiege and returned to *Jeruſalem*. This ſucceſsful action, which quaſhed, as it were, a dangerous revolt in the birth, and reſtored an univerſal peace to the kingdom, failed not to raiſe the credit of the diſgraced general among all the tribes, inſomuch that though he had undertaken it without order, yet the king ſaw himſelf forced to expreſs his approbation of it, by reſtoring him to his former poſt, which he enjoyed till that monarch's death [y].

Quelled by Joab.

Two years after this [z], began a famine in the land, which laſted three years; at the end of which, *David* conſulted the Lord concerning the cauſe of this heavy judgment, and the means of averting it. He was anſwered, that it was for the murder of the *Gibeonites*, whom *Saul* and his bloody houſe had unjuſtly cauſed to be ſlain (P); upon which he ſent to know

A famine in the land.

Year of the Flood, 1978.
Year before Chriſt 1021.

[x] xx. ver. 18. 19. [y] Ch. xx. [z] Ussher. Ann. ſub Ann. mund. 2983. & 2986.

(P) It is not eaſy to ſay when this ſlaughter of the *Gibeonites* was committed; the *Jews* do indeed pretend, that *Saul* had taken into his head, in one of his phrenetic fits of zeal, to cut them all

off

know what satisfaction they required for the wrong, that they might afterward intercede for *Israel*, and remove that judgment from it. The *Gibeonites* sent him word, that they desired neither gold, silver, nor any valuable consideration, but only that seven males of *Saul*'s family might be sent to be put to death by them, as a retaliation for *Saul*'s cruelty. The king lost no time, but caused them to be sought out of that unfortunate house; but gave express orders, that *Mephibosheth* should be spared, out of friendship to his father. The unhappy victims of the *Gibeonites* resentment were two sons of one of *Saul*'s concubines named *Rizpah*, who had been formerly debauched by *Abner* [a], and five sons of *Michal*, *Saul*'s daughter (Q); and as soon as they were put to death, the famine was stayed. Whilst their carcasses were suffered to hang in the open air, which was almost a whole summer, *Rizpah* shewed so much concern for them, that she kept them night and day from being devoured by either fowls or wild beasts; which pious deed struck *David* with such remorse, that he caused them to be taken down, and buried with those of *Saul* and *Jonathan* in *Zelah*, the burying-place of the house of *Kish*. After this, *David* had four successive battles with the *Philistines*, which the reader may see in the history of that nation †; in the first of these he hazarded himself so far, that he was like to have been killed by one of their gigantic champions, but was timely succoured by one of his worthies; for which reason his officers swore, that he should never more

[a] 2 Sam. iii. 7. † See Vol. II. p. 227.

off (56), but they give us no authority for it; so that the most received opinion is, that it happened when he slew all the priests and inhabitants of *Nob*; for the *Gibeonites*, as we have seen elsewhere †, were a kind of servants to them, employed in some of the lowest and most laborious offices.

(Q) Not that which had been given from *David* to *Phaltiel*, and was sent to him again by *Ishbosheth*; for it is observed, that she was barren (57), but another of the same name, married to one *Adriel* of *Meholah*; or rather, as the *Jews* affirm, and with greater probability, *Merab*, *Saul*'s eldest daughter (58), who had indeed been given to that very *Adriel* (59); so that it is supposed, that *Michal* is accidentally crept into the text, instead of *Merab*; though the *Jews*, unwilling to admit that, will have it, that *Merab* was their real mother, and *Michal* only by adoption (60).

(56) *Vid.* Munst. *in loc.* [sub] *not.* a. † *See Vol. II. p.* 176. (57) 2 *Sam. vi. ver. ult.* (58) Munst. *ub. sup.* (59) 1 *Sam. xviii.* 17, 19. (60) *Chald. paraph. Rabbin. mult. & al.*

expose

expoſe his perſon to ſuch dangers [b]. Theſe victories gave birth to a moſt excellent eucharistical poem, which that monarch compoſed in memory of his late deliverance, and is now the 18th pſalm [c].

David had not long enjoyed the fruit of his victories, before he brought a heavier puniſhment upon his kingdom, by taking it into his head to have the people numbered. *Joab* indeed, wicked as he was, did in vain repreſent to him the danger of his diſpleaſing God by it (R); the king would be obeyed; and he, with the reſt of the commiſſioners, were forced to ſet about it. Theſe travelled through the land on either ſide of *Jordan*, and, at the end of nine months and twenty days, brought him the ſum of all the fighting men in the whole kingdom; namely, of *Iſrael* 800,000, and of *Judah* 500,000 (S). But before this time, *David*, having ſome

David *numbers the people.*

[b] Ch. xxi. [c] Compare Ch. xxii. with Pſ. xviii.

(R) The text ſays, that the *Iſraelites* had provoked God's anger againſt them, (which is no great wonder, that being generally the returns they made to him, whenever they were bleſſed with any interval of peace and proſperity); and that he ſuffered *David* to be tempted to this deed; or, as the author of the *Chronicles* (61) words it, ſuffered *Satan* to tempt him to it. Not that the thing itſelf was forbidden; on the contrary, they had an expreſs permiſſion from *Moſes* for it, provided they paid half a ſhekel for every perſon ſo numbered (62). The reaſon therefore of God's being provoked with it was, in all probability, becauſe *David* did it from wrong motives, without any neceſſity, in time of profound peace, after ſo many miraculous deliverances, with a ſeeming confidence in his own ſtrength, and contrary to his continual profeſſions of truſting in God alone. As for that part of the puniſhment which fell ſo heavy upon ſo many thouſands of the people, it is ſuppoſed to have been owing to their neglect of paying the ranſom appointed by the *Moſaic* law (63).

(S) It appears by the book of *Chronicles* (64) that *Joab*, though in no other caſe ſcrupulous, went about this work with ſuch an unwilling mind, that he prolonged it as much as he could, in hopes the king would ſee his error, and put an end to it; which it ſeems he did; for *Joab* came back before he had numbered the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Levi*. The account which that general gave here doth likewiſe differ, in ſome particulars, from that of the *Chronicles*; from which we may probably gather, that *Joab* was not over

(61) 1 *Chron. xxi.* 1. (62) *Vid. Exod xxx*, 12, 13. (63) *Ita. Rabbin. vid.* Munſt. Nichol. *& al. in loc. & in Exod xxx.* (64) 1 *Chron. xxi.* 6.

exact

ſome evident tokens of the divine diſpleaſure [d], was ſo far from receiving any ſatisfaction at the vaſt number of his ſubjects, that he was ſtruck with a lively ſenſe of his folly, which broke out in expreſſions of the deepeſt remorſe. On the next morning, the prophet *Gad* was ſent to him, to chooſe, as a puniſhment for his ſin, either a ſeven years famine (T), or to be three months purſued by his enemies, or a three days peſtilence. The humble monarch owned it to be a hard choice; but, conſidering that war and famine ſeldom fall ſo heavy on the great, as on thoſe of the lower rank, choſe the three days peſtilence, as the more equal puniſhment, and more immediately under the divine direction. No ſooner had *David* pronounced his choice, than that dreadful diſtemper received the divine commiſſion, and executed it with ſuch amazing ſwiftneſs, that it had deſtroyed 70,000 men before its time was expired. It had then begun to fall upon the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, when God was pleaſed to put a ſtop to it at *David*'s prayer; who beholding the miniſter of divine vengeance (V) ſtanding by the threſhing-floor of *Araunah*, a prince of the *Jebuſites*

which brings a peſtilence upon the land.

[d] See 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

exact in his, and that it was afterwards rectified under the reign of *Jotham* (65). Others think the latter to be the leſs authentic of the two, and to have been corrupted rather than rectified; but it is better to ſay, that *Joab* not having finiſhed ſome of the tribes, becauſe he found that God was diſpleaſed at it (66), the reſt were afterwards added to it; which is the reaſon, that the number of *Iſrael* in the *Chronicles* doth ſo far exceed that in the book of *Samuel*; as for the difference in that of the tribe of *Judah*, the former may alſo be the moſt exact, and the latter only a round number.

(T) The book of *Chronicles* ſays three years famine (67), ſo that it is likely the prophet means here ſeven years, including the three years which were ſent upon the account of the *Gibeonites*; and and the next year, which could not be very fruitful through ſcarceneſs of ſeed, the *Philiſtine* war, and as *Uſher* conjectures (68), becauſe the fourth year being a jubilee, there was to be neither ſowing, nor reaping, but for the poor.

(V) The text ſays expreſly, that *David* ſaw the angel of the Lord that ſmote the people (69), and the book of *Chronicles* adds (70), that he ſaw him ſtanding between heaven and earth, with his ſword drawn, and that both he and the elders of *Iſrael*, who

(65) *Conf.* 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 9. 1 *Chron.* v. 17. xxi. 5, 6. & xxvii. 24. (66) *Ibid* (67) 1 *Chro.* xxi. *ver.* 12. *Vid.* Munſt. Jun. & *al. in loc.* (68) *Ann ſub. A. M.* 2987. (69) 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 17. (70) 1 *Chron.* xxi. 16.

Jebuſites (W), humbly entreated the Lord, that he would ſpare the innocent people, and let his anger fall upon himſelf and thoſe of his court, who bore a ſhare in his guilt. Whilſt he was offering up this mournful ſupplication, the prophet came to him, and commanded him to erect an altar on that ſpot of ground, where he had ſeen the deſtroying angel ſtand; and as *David* haſted towards the threſhing-floor, *Araunah* came forward to give him a reſpectful meeting; and as ſoon as he underſtood *David*'s purpoſe of buying it of him, he made him a generous offer both of the floor, the threſhing-oxen, carts, and all the wooden inſtruments that were upon it. *David* thanked him for his offer, but told him, that it was not fit for the king of *Iſrael* to offer ſacrifices to God at other peoples coſt; and deſired him to ſet a price upon it. So *Araunah* ſold him the floor, and all that was upon it, for fifty ſhekels of ſilver (X). *David* haſted to rear an altar there upon the ſpot, and to offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon it; and a miraculous fire, which deſcended from were with him, fell on their faces; and that *Araunah* and his ſons, who were threſhing there, did likewiſe ſee him, and went and hid themſelves (71); ſo that theſe two places compared together will by no means admit of an allegorical ſenſe.

(W) At leaſt he is generally believed to have been ſuch by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, from the words (72), *all theſe did* Araunah *the king give unto the king*; for that is the true ſenſe of the original.

(X) The book of *Chronicles* ſeems again to claſh ſtrangely here with that of *Samuel*, in making the ſum, which *David* paid to the *Jebuſitiſh* prince, amount to 600 *ſhekels* of gold. Some rabbies have fancied, that every tribe paid fifty *ſhekels*, which made it amount to 600. But were that true, as it is not, becauſe *David* reſolved to be at all the charge himſelf, 600 *ſhekels* of ſilver would make but the 12th part of 600 *ſhekels* of gold, for that is the proportion theſe metals did bear to one another. Some learned men (73), obſerving that the words *keſſeph* and *ſhekel* did often ſignify money and value in general, think, that the firſt ſum was 60 *ſhekels* of gold, and the ſecond 600 *ſhekels* of ſilver, amounting in value to 60 *ſhekels* of gold; ſo that either ſum anſwers to 547 pounds *Sterling* (74). But we think that they remove the difficulty beſt, who ſuppoſe, that the 50 *ſhekels* of ſilver were paid only for the floor, oxen, and wooden inſtruments; and the 600 *ſhekels* of gold, for all the adjacent grounds, which were the place which *David* had choſen to build the temple upon (75).

(71) *Ibid. ver.* 20. (72) 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 23. (73) Villalpand. *in Ezek.* Bochart. Hieroz. *tom. i lib.* 1. *c.* 38. & *al.* (74) *Vid.* Le Scene *Eſſay on a new verſ pt. ij. c.* 2. (75) Munſt. Jun. Calm. & *al. in loc.*

heaven and consumed the victims, soon gave them a manifest proof, that God was again reconciled to the land [c].

BY this time *David*, who was about seventy years of age, had so exhausted his strength and natural heat, by a continual series of wars, fatigues, and misfortunes, that no cloaths could keep him warm; so that his servants were forced to seek him a young beautiful virgin to wait upon, and cherish him, and lie in his bosom. His declining state made *Adonijah*, who was now his eldest son, being next in birth to *Absalom*, begin to look upon himself as already invested with the regal dignity. He got a sumptuous equipage of chariots, guards, and running-footmen, whilst *David*, out of a natural fondness for his children, beheld it without shewing any dislike. It plainly appears, that young prince knew already that his father designed *Solomon* to be his successor; and it was to prevent it, that he made what haste he could to get himself proclaimed. To this end, he leagued himself with *Joab* and *Abiathar*, and with them invited all his brothers, *Solomon* excepted, with a considerable number of his father's officers, and of the elders of *Judah*, to a sumptuous feast, which he had prepared at *Zoheleth*, in order to be proclaimed king of *Israel* there.

Adonijah's conspiracy.

HIS design however was suspected by *Nathan*, *Zadok*, and some of *David's* worthies, who were in young *Solomon's* interest; the prophet therefore went and advised *Bathsheba* to go and inform the king of it, and to put him in mind of his promise in favour of her son. Whilst she was still speaking, *Nathan* came, as it had been preagreed, and gave the king an account of *Adonijah's* feast, company, and of the design of it: desiring to know, whether it was done with his consent. The king, surprised with this report, ordered immediately *Solomon* to be set on his mule, and to be carried to *Gihon*, accompanied with his guards, with *Zadok*, *Benaiah*, and some others of his chief officers, there to be anointed king; and then to be brought back, and seated upon the royal throne, and there proclaimed his successor by the sound of the trumpet.

Solomon *proclaimed.*

THE king's commands were executed with such speed, that *Adonijah* and his company had not the least knowledge of it, till they were alarmed with the universal shouts of the people, who cried, *Long live king* Solomon. *Jonathan*, the son of *Abiathar*, came soon after to them, and gave them an account of the whole ceremony, assuring them, that it was all performed by the king's express order, who had testified an uncommon joy, at seeing his favourite son seated upon his throne before he left the world, whilst the air was filled with the ac-

[c] 2 Sam. xxiv.

clamations

clamations of all the people. This unexpected news ſtruck them with ſuch amazement, that they all fled with the utmoſt ſpeed; and *Adonijah*, ſeeing himſelf forſaken, and expoſed to the reſentments of *David* and *Solomon*, went and took ſanctuary at the horns of the altar. *Solomon*, being informed of it, ſent him word, that if he behaved himſelf for the future like an honeſt man, he would not hurt a hair of his head; but aſſured him, that his next diſloyal attempt ſhould certainly be puniſhed with death. This meſſage brought *Adonijah* upon his knees to the new king; after which, he was ordered to retire to his own houſe [f].

David, now finding himſelf near his end, aſſembled the heads of all the tribes, his generals, and chief officers, with the prieſts and *Levites*, and acquainted them with his old deſign to have built a magnificent repoſitory for the ark of God, had not the prophet told him, that that work was reſerved for *Solomon*'s peaceable reign. Notwithſtanding which, he told them, he had made great preparations for it, and laid up immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, copper, iron, and other materials (Y); all which together with the plans and models of that

David's *ſpeech to his officers.*

[f] 1 King. i. paſſ.

(Y) The book of *Chronicles* ſays, that the gold, which was that of *Ophir*, amounted to 3000 talents; and the ſilver, which was of the pureſt ſort, to 7000 talents; as to the baſer metals, they are ſaid to have been without number (76).

Prideaux obſerves * two things concerning the immenſe quantity of gold, which *David* dedicated to the ſervice of the temple; the firſt is, that it was that of *Ophir*; from which he concludes, that he muſt have eſtabliſhed a navigation in his time, without which it cannot be conceived, how he could have heaped it up to that degree; for as for that which he got out of the ſpoils of war, and his public revenue, it makes an article by itſelf, excluſive of theſe 3000 talents.

His next obſervation we ſhall give in his own words, as they ſtand in the note under the former. "This ſum, ſays he, is ſo prodigi-
" ous, as gives reaſon to think, that the talents, whereby this ſum
" is reckoned, were another ſort of talents, of a far leſs value than
" the *Moſaic* talents, of which an account is given in the preface.
" For what is ſaid to be given by *David* [1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15,
" 16, & xxix. 3, 4, 5.], and contributed by his princes [xxix. 6, 7,
" 8.] toward the building of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, if valued by
" theſe talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred millions of
" our money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that
" temple of ſolid ſilver."

(76) 1 *Chron. cap ult. ver.* 4. * *Connect. book* I.

that edifice, the order and diſpoſition of the ſeveral branches of the divine ſervice, the courſes of the prieſts and *Levites*, of the muſicians, ſingers, and porters, the deſign for eſtabliſhing judges and courts of juſtice, with many other religious, civil, and military regulations [g], he now reſigned up to him, to be perfected and improved as his wiſdom ſhould direct him. He deſired them to aſſiſt him in ſo deſirable a work, and that thoſe, who were deſirous to contribute towards that building, ſhould bring their free-will offerings into the treaſury. He concluded with exhorting both his ſon and the reſt of the aſſembly, to continue ſtedfaſt in the ſervice of God, ſeeing that was the only condition upon which they muſt hope for happineſs. This ſpeech ſtirred up ſuch a ſpirit of magnificence in the rich men of *Iſrael*, that they outvied one another in the richneſs of their preſents towards the building of the temple; ſo that *David* had the pleaſure to ſee an incredible quantity of gold, ſilver, copper, and other metals (Z), beſides precious ſtones, marble, porphyry, and other rich materials, brought from all parts of the kingdom. The ſight of ſo much wealth brought in with ſuch readineſs and alacrity, did as it were revive the monarch's poetic muſe, and made him break out into an euchariſtical rapture, full of the deepeſt gratitude to God, and good wiſhes for the proſperity both of his ſon and of his kingdom, which were ſeconded with a hearty and univerſal Amen, and accompanied with ſolemn ſacrifices and other tokens of

[g] 1 Chron. from ch. xxiii. to xxix. paſſ.

What ſeems to prove our author's laſt remark is, that thoſe talents are only mentioned in the *Chronicles*, which were undoubtedly written after the return from the captivity. This appears, 1. From its mentioning of *Cyrus*'s decree for rebuilding the temple; and, 2. From its carrying the genealogy beyond *Zerubbabel*, who was one of the chiefs that returned from *Babylon*; ſo that they might, by that time, be uſed to compute, either by *Babyloniſh* talents, which were ſomewhat above half the value of the *Moſaic* one, or perhaps by the *Syrian*, which is but a fifth of this. We need not to add, that the difficulty ſeems as great, with reſpect to the prodigious quantities of ſilver, braſs, and iron, which, if computed by the large talent, amount to ſuch an incredible ſum, that one will be at a loſs to gueſs how it could be diſpoſed of in that building, and yet leave room enough for ſo much timber and ſtone.

(Z) Theſe offerings are ſaid to have amounted to 5000 talents, and upwards, of gold, 10,000 talents of ſilver, of braſs 18,000 talents, and 100,000 talents of iron, beſides precious ſtones, marble, wood, and other coſtly materials (77)

(77) 1 *Chron. cap. ult. ver.* 7.

joy.

joy. On the next day, the king ordered 1000 oxen, 1000 rams, and the ſame number of lambs, to be offered up, beſides the daily ſacrifices, and a proportionate quantity of meat and drink-offerings, with which the aſſembly was feaſted all that day, with a magnificence worthy ſo great and good a monarch [h]. In this aſſembly *Solomon* was anointed a ſecond time by *Zadok*, received the homage of all his brethren, and of all the chiefs of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and was proclaimed king through all the tribes; *Zadok* was at the ſame time declared ſole high-prieſt, for his ſtrict adherence to *Solomon* [i], and *Abiathar* reduced to the ſecond rank, for his defection to *Adonijah*.

David's laſt inſtructions to Solomon.

AFTER this, the king ſent for his ſon to give him his laſt inſtructions; and firſt of all he put him in mind, that all the gracious promiſes, which God had made to him and his poſterity, were only conditional, and depended wholly upon their obedience to his laws, ſo that they muſt expect their proſperity to riſe and fall in proportion to their obedience. He then proceeded to recommend to him the family of the good old *Barzillai*, and thoſe other friends who had ſtuck to him in his adverſe fortune, and charged him to expreſs a grateful ſenſe of their friendſhip; as for *Joab*, added he, thou knoweſt how many vile actions he has been guilty of towards me, and how treacherouſly he has imbrued his hands in the blood of two brave generals, *Abner* and *Amaſa*, after I had taken them into my ſervice and friendſhip. I was not then in a condition to puniſh him for it; but I need not tell thee what to do, thou knoweſt but too well, that he has forfeited his life, and on how many accounts he is unworthy of it. *Shimei* doth not leſs deſerve a violent death, for his horrid curſes and indignity to me, when I laboured under the deepeſt affliction; but as he took an opportunity to acknowledge his crime, at a time when I thought it more proper to forgive than to puniſh it, I ſealed then his pardon with an oath; but thou, who art not under the ſame obligation, mayeſt, if thou thinkeſt fit, inflict ſuch a puniſhment as his crime deſerves. The king died ſoon after, in the ſeventieth year of his age, after having reigned ſeven years in *Hebron* over the houſe of *Judah*, and thirty three over all the twelve tribes. He left an immenſe treaſure behind him, beſides that which he had dedicated to the ſervice of the temple; and was buried in a ſtately tomb (A), in that part of the city which he had cauſed

His vaſt riches and burial.

to

[h] Ch. xxix. paſſ. [i] 1 Kings ii. 1, & ſeq. 1 Chron. xxix.

(A) we have had occaſion to ſpeak heretofore of this ſtately tomb, and of the immenſe treaſure that had been laid up in it by him and his

Year of the Flood, 1984. Year before Christ 1015.

to be built, adjoining to the old *Jebus*, or *Jeruſalem* [k]. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that his hiſtory was penned by three cotemporary prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad* [l]. His zeal, piety, and repentance are likewiſe celebrated in ſeveral places of the Old and New Teſtament; but that which raiſes his character above all the reſt is, that the promiſe of the Meſſiah, which had been made to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Judah*, was fixed to that monarch's poſterity. Accordingly, the ſacred genealogiſts have given us the two lines of it, in which his birth was joined; namely, that of *Nathan*, from whom his virgin mother was deſcended, and that of *Solomon*, from which was ſprung *Joſeph* his reputed father [m].

Solomon, being ſeated on the throne, delayed not to fulfil his father's laſt injunctions. *Adonijah* obliged him to go the ſooner about it, by an action, which, though owing perhaps to a youthful indiſcretion, could not but render him ſuſ-

[k] 1 Kings ii. 1, & ſeq. [l] 1 Chron. cap. ult. ver. 29. [m] Compare Matth. i. 1, & ſeq. & Luke iii. 23, to 31.

his ſucceſſor, according to the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian †. The *Jews* have added many fables concerning that monarch, too extravagant to be inſerted; the reader may gueſs at the reſt, by that which follows. They tell us, that *David*, foreſeeing that he ſhould die on the Sabbath, begged of God that he might die on any other day, becauſe on that he could neither weep for his ſins, nor order any thing concerning his burial. All he could obtain was, that he ſhould die towards the cloſe of the ſabbath; whereupon the devil, who owed him a ſpite, and had tried part of that day, in vain, to divert him from reading the law, that he might take that time to diſpatch him, bethought himſelf at length to go and ſhake ſome of his apple trees, which made the king haſten down a wooden ladder to go and catch the thief; but, in the mean time, Satan pulling it from under him, broke his neck with the fall. The conſequence was, that his corpſe was to remain there till the Sabbath was over, in danger of being devoured by his own dogs. They conſulted their *Sanhedrin* what muſt be done in that caſe, and were anſwered, that they ſhould ſtrew a good quantity of bread round his body, which pleaſing the dogs better than his fleſh, they left it untouched till ſun-ſet, when it was lawful to remove it to a ſafer place (78). The *Mohammedans* have not been behind hand with the *Rabbies*, in ſtuffing his hiſtory with monſtrous extravagances; the reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee them in the author quoted in the margin (79).

† *See before*, p. 139, & 364.

(78) *Vide* Bartoloc. *Bibliot. Rabbin.* Baſnag. *Hiſt. Jud.* & *al. Orient. ſub voc. David.*

(79) D'Herbelot. *Bibliot.*

pected

pected of ſome further deſign, in concert with the turbulent *Joab*. We have lately obſerved, that it was looked upon as a treaſonable deſign againſt the regal dignity to marry, court, or to debauch any of the king's concubines; notwithſtanding which, *Adonijah*, obnoxious and diſgraced as he was for his late attempt upon the crown, was raſh enough to make uſe of *Bathſheba*'s interceſſion, to obtain the king's leave to marry *Abiſhag*, the young *Shunammitiſh* virgin, who had been the cheriſher of *David*'s old age; aſſuring her, that he deſired no other recompence for the loſs of a crown, which belonged to him by right of primogeniture. *Bathſheba*, glad perhaps to find that her ſon's rival would be ſatisfied at ſo eaſy a rate, made no difficulty to promiſe him her intereſt, not doubting of ſucceſs. *Solomon*, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch a requeſt from her, received her with all the marks of honour that were due to a queen and a mother, and had already promiſed to grant her ſuit; but when he heard the purport of it, he was ſo inraged at his ambitious brother, that he ordered him to be put to an immediate death, *Joab*, alarmed at the news, went and took ſanctuary at the horns of the altar, and there met with the puniſhment of his crimes, and was ſucceeded in his poſt of general by *Benaiah*, who had been before appointed his and *Adonijah*'s executioner. The next in guilt was *Abiathar*, who had been one of the chiefs of *Adonijah*'s conſpiracy; but the king contented himſelf with diveſting him of his ſhare of the high-prieſthood, and confining him to his own territories at *Anathoth*, in conſideration of his having carried the ark before his father, and been a ſharer in his afflictions. The king then ſent for *Shimei*, and told him, that though he thought him worthy of death, yet out of regard to his father's promiſe, he would put it in his power to ſave his life, by confining himſelf within the walls of *Jeruſalem*; but he aſſured him, at the ſame time, that if ever he ſtirred out of it, without his leave, his diſobedience ſhould coſt him his head. The old man, glad to come off ſo well, thanked the king for his unexpected clemency; but venturing ſome years after to tranſgreſs his orders, and to ride out after two run-away ſervants, was put to death for it at his return [n].

Adonijah and *Joab* put to death.

Solomon did not think it enough, that he had rid himſelf of two ſuch powerful enemies as *Adonijah* and *Joab*; he ſought to ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill more by marrying the daughter of

[n] 1 Kings ii. paſſ.

the

the king of *Egypt* (B), who was then one of the moſt powerful princes about him, and *Pharaoh* gave her for dowry the city of *Gezer*, which he had taken from the *Canaanites* and burnt down to the ground; but which being rebuilt by *Solomon*, became a very conſiderable place [o].

HITHERTO the people uſed to reſort to ſeveral high places, to offer up their devotions and ſacrifices; but the moſt conſiderable was *Gibeon*, becauſe the tabernacle, altar, and all the other ſacred utenſils, except the ark, were there. Whilſt therefore the temple was building, *Solomon* uſed likewiſe to repair thither upon all ſolemn occaſions, with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity. Here, having at one time offered a thouſand ſacrifices, the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and promiſed to grant him whatever he ſhould aſk. The young monarch, conſcious of the weight of his kingdom and the ſtubbornneſs of his ſubjects, begged only for ſuch a degree of wiſdom, as might enable him to govern with that prudence and ſagacity, as became a king of *Iſrael*: which moſt requeſt was ſo pleaſing to God, that he not only gave him ſuch a ſhare of wiſdom and knowledge, as had never been poſſeſſed by any mortal, but ſuperadded to it a promiſe of ſuch other earthly bleſſings, as he had ſo judiciouſly over-

Solomon's choice of wiſdom.

[o] Ibid. Ch. ix. 16.

(B) Theſe kind of alliances were indeed forbidden by the *Moſaic* law (80); but it is ſuppoſed, that *Solomon* cauſed that princeſs to be inſtructed in, and to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion before he married her; becauſe we do not find, that God did reprove him for it in that intercourſe, which he had ſoon after with him; but on the contrary ſeemed well pleaſed with what he had hitherto done. It is true, that he is ſaid afterwards to have been inticed to idolatry by his ſtrange wives (81); but they were thoſe whom he married towards the latter end of his reign, after he had, as it were, forſaken God. But *Pharaoh*'s daughter ſeems to be excepted out of the caſe, unleſs we will ſuppoſe, that ſhe relapſed to her former idolatry, when ſhe ſaw him immerſed in it.

However that were, he is generally believed to have compoſed the 45th *Pſalm*, and the book of *Canticles*, as an epithalamium upon his marriage with that princeſs. As for her dowry, the city of *Gezer*, it had formerly belonged to the tribe of *Ephraim*, and had been given by them to the *Levites* (82); but had been retaken by the *Canaanites*, and now, by her means, returned and continued in *Iſrael*.

(80) *Deut.* vii. 3. *Joſh.* xxi. 21. (81) 1 *Kings* xi. 1, & *ſeq.* (82) *Vid.*

looked

looked. It was not long before he gave his people a proof of his excellent wiſdom and diſcernment, in the method he took to paſs a right judgment between two women, both contending for a living child, and diſclaiming the dead one with ſuch equal ardour, that it was thought impoſſible to adjudge the infants to their right mothers. But he ſoon found out an expedient to make nature itſelf unravel what reaſon could not by ordering the living child to be divided by a ſword between them, which ſo alarmed the real mother, that ſhe choſe rather to reſign him up whole to the pretended one, than to have him butchered before her eyes [p]. After this, the aſſembly could not be at a loſs where to aſſign the living child, nor what judgment to make concerning their young monarch's wiſdom, which was ſo much the more ſurpriſing and extraordinary, as he was then, at moſt, but twenty years of age, according to the chronology of our bibles and the learned archbiſhop *Uſher* †.

A pregnant proof of it.

IT became no leſs conſpicuous in the choice he made of his officers, and in the order and magnificence of his court, the proviſions for his houſe (C), the number and richneſs of his tables, chariots, horſes, ſtalls (D), and equipage; in the ſettling

His magnificence.

[p] Ibid. Ch. iii. † Sub Ann. M. 2971, & 2991.

(C) Theſe proviſions are ſaid to have amounted every day to thirty meaſures [each meaſure containing about eight buſhels and a half] of fine flour, double that quantity of common flour, ten fatted, and twenty paſture oxen, and an hundred ſheep; beſides veniſon, poultry, wild-fowl, fiſh, pulſe, fruit, herbs, and other eatables, which were ſent to him from all parts of the kingdom, under the direction of twelve officers, who took their turns, each in his reſpective month, and out of his reſpective canton (83).

(D) There is a conſiderable difference in the number of his ſtalls, between the book of *Kings* and that of the *Chronicles*; the former reckons them forty thouſand, and the latter but four thouſand (84), which laſt is preferred to the former, as the moſt reaſonable, becauſe *Solomon* is ſaid to have had but 1400 chariots (85); for if we allow four horſes to a chariot, which is double the number that chariots of war uſed to have, it will make in all but 5600, at which rate, there muſt have been more than ſix ſtalls to one horſe, contrary to common cuſtom, which allows ſeveral horſes to one ſtall (86). Some other authors take another way of reconciling the

(83) 1 *King. iv.* 7, & *ſeq.* (84) *Conf.* 1 *King. iv.* 26. & 2 *Chron. ix.* 25. (85) *Ibid. i.* 14. 1 *King. x.* 26. (86) *Vid.* Lud. Cappel. Bochart. Pool. *Synops.* Le Seen. *Eſſay on a new verſ. p.* 2. *ch.* 7.

settling of his customs and finances (E), and the regulating of his guards and his army (F); which added to the vast number and valour of his subjects, and his immense riches, gave him such a powerful sway, that he lived in the profoundest peace, plenty, and grandeur of any prince of his time; beloved by his friends and allies, who were constantly pouring the richest presents upon him; feared by his enemies, receiving large tributes from several crowned heads (G), and resorted unto, from all parts of the world, for his excellent wisdom and magnificence, which brought in a continual concourse of strangers to his metropolis, and enriched it to such a degree, that gold and silver seemed to have lost their intrinsic value, by their extraordinary abundance. The very re-

difference, which we cannot dwell upon (87). These horses, whatever their number was, were to be furnished with barley, straw, and other provender, by the same twelve commissioners we mentioned in the last note (88).

(E) *Solomon* was the first that brought chariots and horses into use in *Israel*, at least to any quantity: these he sent for out of *Egypt*; not only for his own use, but for several neighbouring kings, who were obliged to pay him six hundred shekels for every chariot and four horses, and a hundred and fifty for every single horse. He had likewise abundance of yarn, linen, and other commodities out of *Egypt*, which he sold to his subjects and merchants at a certain price (89); all which brought him a vast revenue, besides his navy, of which we shall speak anon.

(F) What standing army he kept, the scripture doth not tell us, and as he was in peace with all the world, and was either loved or feared by his neighbours, he doth not seem to have needed a great one. But besides the number of his chariots and horses, mentioned in a former note, the text says, that he had 12,000 horsemen (90), which some take to have been rather saddle-horses, and others his life-guard. However, it is certain that this multiplying of chariots and horses was expresly forbidden by the *Mosaic* law (91), whatever salvo he might find out to evade it, in a time of the profoundest peace. These he did not keep all at *Jerusalem*, but disposed of them in several of his strong cities, reserving only a convenient number about his person, either for guards or grandeur (92).

(G) The text says, that his dominion reached from the river *Euphrates*, or even beyond it, to the *Nile*, or borders of *Egypt*, and that all the kings of those countries were tributary to him (93).

(87) *Vid.* Calm. *Com. in* 1 *Reg.* 4. 25. Munst. Jun. & *al. ibid.* (88) 1 *King. iv. ver.* 27, 28. (89) 1 *King. x.* 28, 29. (90) *Ibid. ver.* 26. (91) *Vid. Deut. xvii.* 16. (92) 1 *Kings x.* 26. (93) *Ibid. iv.* 24. 2 *Chron. ix.* 26.

venue

venue which his navy brought him in, excluſive of his cuſtoms, amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty ſix talents of gold. All this while his *Iſraelitiſh* ſubjects not only enjoyed the ſweets of peace and plenty, but alſo of an univerſal freedom. There were no other ſlaves, during his reign, except the poor *Canaanites*, and ſome captives of other nations [q].

Hiram's *embaſſy and treaty with* Solomon.

OF all the princes that ſought his friendſhip, *Hiram*, king of *Tyre*, *David*'s old friend and ally, was the firſt who ſent embaſſadors to congratulate his acceſſion to the crown, and to offer his ſervice to him, as he had formerly done to his father. *Solomon* returned the embaſſy, and acquainted him with the deſign of his building the temple, deſiring him to ſend a ſufficient number of workmen, to join with his artificers, for the work; particularly, ſome that were well ſkilled in working in gold, ſilver, and other baſer metals, precious ſtones, ſcarlet, crimſon, and other fine dyes, all which was readily granted by the *Tyrian* king; in conſideration of which, *Solomon* agreed to furniſh him yearly with 20,000 meaſures of wheat, and 20,000 barrels of fine oil for his houſhold, beſides the ſame quantities of barley, wheat, wine, and oil, which he engaged to give to his ſervants that did the work. On the other ſide, *Hiram* was to ſend the cedars, fir, and other woods upon floats to *Joppa*, there to be delivered to *Solomon*'s ſervants, and thence brought to *Jeruſalem*. He ſent him alſo a man of his own name, a *Tyrian* by birth, who was a ſecond *Bezaleel*, and was ſuch an excellent workman in all kinds of metals, ſtones, carving, engraving, embroidery, tapeſtry, and in making all ſorts of fine cloaths, that *Hiram* honoured him with the title of father. Him *Solomon* made overſeer of all the artiſts, whom *David* had formerly procured out of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. Theſe two princes made likewiſe an alliance together, which only ended with their lives (H) [r].

To

[q] 1 King. iv. 20, & ſeq. 2 Chron. ix. paſſ. [r] 1 King. v. paſſ.

(H) *Joſephus* aſſures us, that the letters which paſſed between them were ſtill preſerved in the archives of *Iſrael* and *Tyre* (94); he adds likewiſe, out of *Dio* and *Menander*, that thoſe two kings uſed to puzzle one another with riddles, and that the nonſolvent was obliged to pay ſome conſiderable forfeit to the propoſer. So that *Hiram*, having once received ſuch a one as he could not ſolve, was forced to pay *Solomon* a large ſum; which he however made

(94) *Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.*

The building of the temple.

To carry on this ſtupendous work with greater eaſe and ſpeed, *Solomon* cauſed an account to be taken of all the *Canaanites*, and other foreign ſlaves, that were in the land, and it was found to amount to 153,600; 70,000 of whom he appointed to carry burdens, 80,000 to hew timber and ſtone in the mountains, and the remaining 3,600 he appointed to be overſeers over them [r]. Beſides theſe ſtrangers, over whom he appointed ſome of his chief officers to overſee the work, he levied 30,000 men out of all *Iſrael*, whom he appointed to work in *Lebanon* one month in three, 10,000 every month, under the inſpection of *Adoniram*; theſe were likewiſe imployed in hewing wood, marble, and other ſtone, which was afterwards wrought by the *Tyrian* maſons and carvers, and thence conveyed to *Joppa* by water [t]. Whilſt theſe were preparing, *Solomon*, who had been ſtill adding immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and other rich materials to thoſe which *David* had prepared before his death, did put them into proper hands, to be wrought into an almoſt infinite variety of ornaments. And the vaſt number of hands imployed, and the diligence of the overſeers and workmen was ſuch, that he was able to lay the foundation of this vaſt ſtructure in the fourth year of his reign, which was the ſecond after *David*'s death, and the 480th after the exod [u]. This great work was begun on *Monday* the ſecond day of the month *Zif*, which anſwers to the 21ſt of our *April* [w], being the ſecond month of the ſacred, and eighth of the civil year;

[r] 2 Chr. ii. 17, 18. [t] 1 King. v. 9. [u] Ibid. vi. 1.
[w] Vid. USSER. Ann. ſub A. M. 3001.

him to refund ſoon after, by getting one *Abdemon*, a *Tyrian*, to invent another, which proved too hard for that wiſe monarch (95). There is nothing improbable in all this; but what he and other learned *Jews* add, by way of appendix, to what the text records, concerning his extraordinary wiſdom, deſerves notice, though it were but for its abſurdity; for he makes one part of his knowledge to have conſiſted in the deepeſt receſſes of magic, in charms, evocation, and ejection of demons, and ſuch like witcheries, in which he was not content to be the experteſt man living, but took the pains to propagate that art, by writing ſeveral books upon that worthleſs ſubject (96). *Credat Judæus!*

(95) *Lib. cont. Ap. p.* 2. (96) *Antiq. ub. ſup. vid.* &. Bartoloc. *Bibliot. rabbinic. ſub. voc. Salom.*

and

and was carried on with ſuch prodigious ſpeed (I), that it was finiſhed in little more than ſeven years; if not in that magnificent manner, in which we have ſeen it repreſented in a vaſt number and variety of plans, and by ſome late models expoſed to public view; yet, at leaſt, in ſuch a rich and ſumptuous manner, as did eaſily excel any thing then extant of that kind. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that every piece of it, whether timber, ſtone, or metal, was all finiſhed before it was brought to *Jeruſalem*, ſo that there were no other tools wanted or heard, than what were neceſſary to the joining of them to each other. *The building finiſhed* Year of the Flood, 1978. Year before Chriſt 1021.

AND here it will be doubtleſs expected, not only that we ſhould give our readers an exact deſcription of that wonderful edifice, but perhaps alſo, that we ſhould make ſome improvements upon thoſe authors who have gone before us, and diſcover new ornaments and excellencies, which they had overlooked. This is indeed no more than they pretend to have done with reſpect to one another, eſpecially of late years, not from any greater inſight they have gained into the ſacred language and writings, but from what they have fetched either out of the deſcription of the prophetic temple of *Ezekiel*, or from that of *Joſephus*, or from what the *Jewiſh* rabbies have been pleaſed to ſuperadd out of their own heads, in order to raiſe this ſacred fabric to the higheſt pitch of grandeur and richneſs. The truth is, whilſt thoſe paper architects can have their work and materials at ſo cheap a rate, it is next to impoſſible to keep a luxuriant fancy within due bounds, and not to act the panegyriſt, rather than the hiſto-

(I) This foundation, which took up the whole group of mount *Moriah*, did likewiſe coſt an immenſe labour to level, becauſe it conſiſted of ſeveral gibbous eminences, all of them ſolid rock, except the ſurface, ſome parts of which were to be conſiderably lowered, and others raiſed in proportion, in order to bring them to that capacious area; inſomuch that *Joſephus* ſays, a man could hardly believe his own eyes, when he beheld the ſtupendouſneſs of that work, the very contriving of which was enough to have crazed any brain but that of *Solomon* (97). It will indeed appear very ſurpriſing how ſuch a foundation could be laid, and the materials for the building could be in ſuch a forwardneſs, in ſo little a ſpace as four years, as to have been finiſhed in the ſeventh year after its foundation. But we ſee no reaſon againſt ſuppoſing that *David*, who had alſo ſent for a great number of *Tyrian* workmen long before his death, had already ſet them to this work, to prepare ſtone and timber, and to level the ground.

(97) *Ant. ub. ſup.* *See Vol. II p.* 339.

Tyrian,

rian, in the rearing of this ſtately building. This is therefore what we would carefully avoid, though at the hazard of being taxed with running into the other extreme, whilſt we ſtrike off their three evidences, as far as they jar with, or exceed the account we have of it in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*.

For, after all, who has aſſured thoſe authors, that the temple of *Ezekiel*, which was only ſeen in a viſion, and was, for ought appears, only a type of that ſpiritual one under the goſpel, did bear a conſtant analogy with that of *Solomon*, with reſpect to its members, dimenſions, ſymmetry, and the like? Who knows not that that of *Joſephus*, allowing it to have been equal in beauty and magnificence to that author's deſcription of it, had received ſuch conſiderable additions and improvements from time to time, as might eaſily render it quite different from, not to ſay vaſtly excelling, that of *Solomon*? Laſtly, what diſcoveries can we hope for in this reſpect from the *Talmudiſts* and *Jewiſh* rabbies, who lived ſo many centuries after its final deſtruction, but what are of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe they have made with reſpect to religion; mere pious fables and forgeries, calculated to raiſe the honour of their nation? And if *Ezekiel*, *Joſephus*, and the rabbies muſt be ſet aſide, where ſhall we find an author that has not done ſo, or a deſcription of this edifice, that has not borrowed more from them, than from the ſacred hiſtorians? For theſe reaſons, we had once reſolved to ſpare our readers the charge of a new draught or deſcription of it, ſeeing we could offer them nothing new or authentic, without being at the pains of delineating it afreſh, according to the account we have of it in the books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, without any farther regard to the others, than as they helped to explain a doubtful paſſage, or ſome obſcure terms, ſuch as muſt unavoidably occur in great plenty, in deſcriptions of this nature, written at ſuch a diſtance of time, and in a language ſo little known as the *Hebrew* now is.

But whilſt we were deliberating whether we ſhould undertake ſo laborious a taſk, we were agreeably informed by a curious gentleman, a friend and encourager of this hiſtory, that having ſeen all the various deſcriptions of that edifice, and being diſſatisfied with their borrowing ſo much from thoſe authors we excepted againſt; he had ſome years ago prevailed upon a learned clergyman of his acquaintance, to make ſuch a delineation as we have been ſpeaking of, out of the two ſacred books abovementioned. He then favoured us with a ſight of the plans, and gave us time and leave to examine and compare them, and their proofs, with the original text; and

when

when he found how much we approved of them, and that they could not but be very uſeful and acceptable to the curious, he not only made us a generous offer of the whole, to be communicated to the world, but gave us ſome opportunities of receiving farther ſatisfaction from his learned friend, touching any difficulties that might occur. However, as his demonſtrations from thoſe ſacred books, curious and exact as they are, would too ſenſibly interrupt the thread of our hiſtory, we think it will be more acceptable to our readers, if we join them with the plans of the city and temple in that ſuccinct and explanatory method, in which he has been ſince prevailed upon to adapt them to this work, that ſo both may at one view be compared, either with each other, or with any of thoſe deſcriptions that have hitherto appeared in the world (K). As

(K) It will not be amiſs however to obviate two objections which may be made againſt theſe new delineations; the firſt is, that it is more than probable, that the ſacred hiſtorians have omitted ſeveral particulars in their deſcriptions of that building, which, though perhaps of leſs conſequence, are yet of ſuch a nature, that one cannot well frame a juſt idea of the whole without them. This both our friend and we do readily grant, and therefore are far from giving this as a complete and perfect plan of the whole; all that is pretended is, that it contains all that the ſacred hiſtorians have mentioned of it, without having recourſe to *Ezekiel*, *Joſephus*, or the *Talmudiſts*, for a ſupply of what they have omitted. And we think it cannot be unacceptable to the curious, to ſee how much thoſe, who have followed the laſt mentioned authors, have added to what we find in the text; and to be able to diſtinguiſh what is authentic, from what is not ſo, by comparing this with theirs.

The next objection is, that the tears which the antients of *Iſrael* ſhed at the ſight of the ſecond temple, when they ſaw how far ſhort it was of the firſt †, ſeem to argue, at leaſt, that that of *Solomon* muſt have exceeded by far this of ours, ſeeing it is ſo much inferior to the deſcription which *Joſephus*, who had ſeen it, has left us of it. To this it may be anſwered,

1. That the diſparity between thoſe two temples which theſe elders bewailed, might not conſiſt ſo much in the largeneſs and magnificence of the building, as in the excellency of the work, and richneſs of its materials. We have ſeen what immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and other coſtly things, had been beſtowed upon the firſt; but we read of nothing like it in the ſecond, neither indeed could they afford it.

† Ezra iii. 12.

2. *Joſephus*

As for the elevations of that edifice, we hope it will be thought a charge and trouble, which may be better ſpared, conſidering the vaſt number and variety we have already, and how little reaſon we have to be ſatisfied with any of them.

The Explanation at large of SOLOMON'S *Temple, according to the Sacred Hiſtorians.*

FOR the right underſtanding the *deſcription* in the annexed *plate*, we ſhall lay down the following *preliminary obſervations.*

I. *Firſt*, The *temple of Solomon* being our chief and proper object, we give the plan or *ground-plot* of it (which we declare to be our *only taſk*) whole and complete, juſt as we conceive it to have been: but *Jeruſalem* we repreſent only with an eye to thoſe parts, which bore ſome relation to the temple; ſuch as the *palace* on the ſouth, and the *ſuburbs* to the weſt, the *valley* between both, the *horſe-gate* towards the eaſt, and the like.

2. *Joſephus* and the rabbies deſcribe the ſecond temple after it was deſtroyed, when no man could contradict them; and how laviſh they might be in adorning a building which was the glory of their nation, we need not ſay; one thing is certain, that though it was become, in *Joſephus*'s time, rather a ſtrong fortreſs, than a place of divine worſhip; yet there is hardly a man of ſenſe that believes half the wonders he ſays of it, or that it was capable of entertaining ſuch a prodigious gariſon as he affirms it did. And yet the *Talmudiſts* were ſo little ſatisfied with that author's deſcription, that they have made an incredible number of additions to it; inſomuch, that it looks rather like a new edifice of their own rearing, upon which they have beſtowed all the grandeur and magnificence that their luxuriant fancy could muſter up.

But laſtly, allowing it to have been equal to their deſcription, it doth not follow, that that of *Zerubbabel*, over which the elders wept, was ſo; which having been burnt, rebuilt, improved, inriched inlarged, and fortified, from time to time, and by ſeveral royal hands, had not perhaps one footſtep left of its primitive figure, except in the very ſanctuary. It is therefore in vain to pretend to gueſs, either at that of *Solomon* or *Zerubbabel*, by that which we have in *Joſephus*; or to object the largeneſs and magnificence of this laſt, againſt the ſeeming plainneſs which our friend gives us of the firſt.

II. *Secondly*,

EXPLANATION *of the Plan of the Temple of* Jeruſalem.

a THE *Oracle, or moſt Holy Place*

b *The Sanctuary or Holy Place*

c *The Porch*

d *The Wall*

e { *The Door of the Oracle* / *The Door of the Sanctuary*

f *The Veil or Partition*

g *The chambers about the Temple*

h *The Stair-caſe*

i *The two Pillars*

k *The altar of Burnt-Offerings*

l *The Court of the Prieſts*

m *The Wall between the Court*

n *The New Court*

o *The Walls of the Prieſts Courts*

p *The Doors of the Prieſts Court*

q *The great Court*

r *The Eaſt North and South Gates of the great Court, with the Ward Rooms on each ſide of the ſaid Gates*

ſ *The Houſes called* Aſuppim

t *Other Houſes in each Corner of the Great outer Court*

u *The Gate* Shallecheth

x *The Gate* Parbar

y *The Entry of the King*

z *The King's Throne.*

PART OF MOUNT SION

A PLAN of the TEMPLE of JERUSALEM, Built by KING SOLOMON as it is found recorded in the Books of Kings and Chronicles

SION

The Valley

North

East

The Horse Gate

The Horse Gate corner

The Gate Miphkad

A Scale of Cubits 40 in an Inch

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II. *Secondly*, We pretend to no other knowledge of the temple, but what we have from ſcripture *in terminis*, or the clear ſenſe of it; and where that fails, we only beg to be allowed the uſe of *criticiſm*, and *reaſonable* or *plauſible conjecture*; for beyond theſe we have no other evidence. How great ſoever the learning of ſome *moderns* may be, much greater, we own, than any we pretend to, yet what they aſſert has no weight, unleſs they can bring ſuch manner of proof as that which we ourſelves intend to uſe. Whether they or we beſt ſtand the teſt, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader, that will be at the pains of peruſing theſe ſheets with ſome attention, and of comparing our plan with any other now extant. As for *antient authors*, we have none to produce beſides *Joſephus*, and other *Jews*, rather of a later date than he. Now all we might learn from them, that has no foundation in holy writ, to us is no evidence at all. Much they knew, or pretended to know, from *tradition*, but that we preſume is not to be depended upon. We know no monuments they had beſide thoſe we have ourſelves: And the *Hebrew tongue*, properly ſo called, being a ſort of dead language at the time theſe authors writ, it may well be doubted, without ſinning againſt modeſty, whether they, who had no other books to learn it by, than thoſe that are now in uſe, could underſtand it better than thoſe that ſtudy it at preſent. Nay more, it might be ſhewn, we dare ſay, that *Joſephus* underſtood not ſome of thoſe few *Hebrew* words he pretends to explain in his *Hiſtory of the Jews* (A).

III. *Thirdly*,

(A) This is the more to be wondered at, becauſe *Joſephus* boldly aſſerts, at the end of his *Jewiſh* antiquities (1), That there were none of his countrymen ſo perfect in that ſort of learning as he was. But we are not alone in our opinion of him; though the late editor of his works, taking his bare word for it, ſets him off in the margin (2) as *a very learned hebraean*: *Bochart* (3) and *Huetius* (4), not to name any more, have openly declared themſelves quite oppoſite to that eulogium of *Joſephus* by Dr. *Hudſon*. Some indeed have tried to bring him off upon a ſuppoſition his writings were interpolated; which is not unlikely in ſome inſtances (5); and truly he himſelf ſhould not be charged with the blunders of either his tranſcribers or

(1) *Lib.* xx. *c.* 10. *p.* 903. (2) *Joſephus in hebræis literis verſatiſſimus.* (3) *Hieroſ. lib.* ii. *c.* 9. *p.* 154. (4) *Dem. Evang. Prop.* iv. *p.* 175, 199. (5) *Vid. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 7. *p.* 112. *De Veſt. Sacerd. & V.* 8. 213. *etym. Samſon.*

III. *Thirdly*, We do admit of *Ezekiel* as a divinely inſpired prophet; and therefore what he has ſaid or written

tranſlators. We ſhould think what is read in his manuſcripts (6), that the *Hebrews* called the ark *Heoron* and many ſuch other ſtrange names (7), is no fault of the hiſtorian, but of thoſe that copied his writings, and the ſame we judge of the tranſlations. The *French* one, though much valued, ſays, *The ark was made of an incorruptible wood, the* Hebrews *call* Heoron; and truly ſo the *Latin* has it, which the *French* exactly followed, though pretending, in the title, the tranſlation was made from the *Greek* original; and *Roger L'eſtrange* here treads in *Dandilly*'s ſteps heartily. However, to us it is probable, that *Joſephus*, being about to give in *Greek* the word in *Hebrew* for the ark, he wrote ἡ δὲ ἄρων, or as Dr. *Bernard* of *Oxford* would have it (8), ἡ δὲ ἴρων. Now pronounce it either way, *Aron* with the *Hebrews*, or *Eron* with the *Chaldeans*, the word itſelf ſignifies *a Trunk*, as was the ark, and *Joſephus* is right enough, though others have wronged him in relating his words. But what ſeems thereabouts (9) to be *Joſephus*'s own fault, is the interpretation of what his manuſcripts and editions both call *Chethonene*; which, he ſays, ſignifies *a linen coat*, becauſe it is *Chethon* we call linen; now begging his pardon, *Chetoneth*, the *Hebrew* word, or *Chethoneh*, as the *Chaldeans* pronounce it, may be alſo a coat of wool. Not to obſerve the *Chethoneth* of many colours *Joſeph* wore (10), or that that hanged like a robe about *Tamar* (11), poſſibly were not of linen, thoſe moſt ſurely our firſt parents were cloathed with are ſaid (12) to be of ſkin. Accordingly, we are told, thoſe of the prieſts were of linen (13), on purpoſe that they ſhould not be thought of ſome other ſtuff. But finding *Chethon*, or *Kethan*, for linen, in the vulgar language of *Jeruſalem*, *Joſephus* thought *Chethoneth* in holy writ to ſignify *a coat of linen*; which indeed does not look ſo ſtrange as the etymology he ſeems to give (14) of *Jeruſalem* being a compound of the *Greek Hieron*, *a ſacred thing*, and the word *Soluma*, unleſs this alſo be an interpolation. And the ſame one might ſay concerning *Bezetha*, which *Joſephus* (15) makes to ſignify the *New City*, when no ſuch thing can be made out of that word. But if it be worth while to gueſs at it, בצתא *Baſatha*, as it is a root, or radical word, ſeems to be preſerved in that well known derivative among the *Turks*, viz. *Boſtangi*, *a gardener*; and among the *Rabbins* in *Buſtan*, *a garden*. So that it is not unlikely, that part of *Jeruſalem*, that lay northward of the temple, viz. *Bezetha*, before it was built into ſtreets, was the gardening place for the city, and kept its antient name, as is ſtill cuſtomary among ourſelves on ſuch like occaſions.

(6) *Lib.* iii. *c.* 6. *p.* 110. (7) ἰώρων, ἱερώνυμον, ἱερωνυμία, ἱερωνυμία, ἱερὸν. (8) *In loc. ed. Sheld. p.* 166. 4. (9) *Vide Jeſ. Numb.* 2. (10) Gen. xxxvii. 3. (11) 2 Sam. xiii. 18. (12) Gen. iii. 21. (13) Exod. xxviii. xxxix. *paſſ.* (14) *Antiq. lib.* vii. *c.* 3. *p.* 287. (15) *Bell. Jud. lib.* v. *c.* 4. *p.* 1223.

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ought to be received by us as moſt true. But then we take it, he has not given us a deſcription of the temple of *Solomon*, but of quite another; a *prophetic* or *emblematical* temple, that never exiſted but in the revelation that was made to him, and the repreſentation he has ſet down in his prophecy. He himſelf ſays [a], *In the viſions of God brought he me into the land of* Iſrael------*and ſaid unto me, Behold with thine eyes, for to the intent that I might ſhew unto thee art thou brought hither. Declare all that thou ſeeſt to the houſe of* Iſrael-------and much more to the ſame purpoſe. Now it does not ſeem probable at all, that there wanted ſo much care and ſolemnity to ſhew the prophet a temple he had himſelf ſeen a hundred times over and over; he, as it is well known, being a prieſt [b] who had there officiated, and had no need of divine inſpiration to tell his countrymen the *Jews* what moſt of them could not well be ignorant of, or rather were well inſtructed in. And if it ſhould be urged that this might well be forgotten in a captivity of 70 years (B), I will readily allow it, and all that can be drawn from this conceſſion, provided it be proved, that any uſe was made of this ſo ſolemn a deſcription, in their building of the temple, after the return from the captivity; but ſo far was it from it, that at the ſight of the ſecond temple many tears were ſhed, this ſecond temple built by *Zerubbabel* being much inferior to that they had ſeen of *Solomon*'s building [c]; and what then, if compared with that of *Ezekiel?* for this temple (and that is the thing we dare rely upon) had no proportion as to its meaſures with that other of *Solomon*. Whether any body has ever apprehended *Solomon*'s temple to have been of each ſide above 500 cubits (C), we do not know: but that would be nothing to *Ezekiel*'s, which was 500 reeds [d], that is to

[a] Ezek. xl. 2,—4. [b] Ezek. i. 3. [c] Ezra iii. 12. [d] Ezek. xlii. 15. 20.

(B) This revelation was made to *Ezekiel* in the 25th year of the ſaid captivity, and but the 14th after the taking of *Jeruſalem* by the *Babylonians* (16).

(C) The temple may well be taken for the whole ground on which it ſtood, with all its courts, and truly that name muſt be taken in this latitude, in our tranſlation of the goſpel; in *Greek* it is ἱερον, which might be properly turned into *Engliſh* by *a conſecrated place*, or *ground* (17); and the *Jews*, who commonly call it *Har habbaith*, *mountain of the houſe*, ſay it was a ſquare of 500 cubits (18).

(16) Ezek. xl. 1. (17) Matth. xxi. 12. Mark xi. 16. Coll. 17. & *al. paſſ.* (18) *Tract. Midd. c. 2. ext tit.* הר־הבית.

say, 3000 cubits, for it is well known that *a reed* was *six cubits* (D); so that here is a difference as of *six* to *one* in their extent or enclosure, which is impossible to be thought or said of one and the same temple. But you will say it might be the same except the enclosure: I answer, no; because the mountain had no proportion to such a one, no not by any jettees, or other ways you can imagine; for the square being 2000 reeds, will not give you less than 12000 and odd cubits, or about 4500 paces. Now *Jerusalem* itself was never so large (E); how then can we suppose the *tem-*

[c] Ezek. xl. 5.

(D) What these cubits were, has been observed chap. 7. of this history (19), to be almost equal to 22 inches, which is not improbable. Some indeed would increase the cubit to a greater length and others reduce it to ours of 18 inches, which yet could not affect our argument, because which soever of the divers hypotheses be the nearer the truth, it makes no difference here in the main, the cubit not being considered in itself, but comparatively to the *measuring reed*, said to be (20) *six cubits by a cubit and a hand-breadth*, or, according to the *Septuagint*, *six cubits and one hand-breadth besides*.

(E) Though we know what he does relate out of *Hecatæus*, who, in the reign of *Ptolemy Lagus*, makes the circuit of *Jerusalem* almost 50 stadia πενήκοντα μάλιστα (21) σταδίων τὸν περίμετρον, which indeed *Josephus* does not correct, though he himself does not reckon this renowned city's largest extent to have been above 33 stadia, τῆς πόλεως δὲ ὀπτὼ κύκλος σταδίων ἦν τριάκοντα τριῶν (22). Now a stadium, as is well known, being 125 paces, 33 stadia will produce 4125 paces, which would reduce the whole extent of the city to three stadia, 375 paces less than that of the temple. There is indeed a book written in *Dutch* (23) by the learned *Camp. Vitringa*, wherein he undertakes to make void this our argument, by observing, that the 2000 reeds are to be understood only of so many cubits, as the *Septuagint* have expressed it in their translation; and to make it answer in the *Hebrew* text, he supposes the word there (24) to signify by an ellipsis, cubits of a reed, that is to say, such cubits as six of them make up one reed. But whether this will satisfy, we must leave to the judgment of our readers.

(19) *See before, p.* 269. *not.* R. *Vid. Cumberland's Essay on weights and measures, p.* 39, *&c.* (20) Ezek. xl. 5. (21) *Ap. Jos. cont. Ap. Bel. Jud. lib.* 1. *p.* 1348. (22) *Jos. cont. Ap. Bel. Jud. lib.* 5. *c.* 4. *p.* 1223. (23) בקנה Bikneh, *with a reed*; or, *with the measuring reed.* Ezek. xlii. 16, *&c.* (24) *Den Tempel Ezechiels, cap. xli.*

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ple to have been ſo, that was but part of that city? Beſides, *Joſephus* [f], in the dimenſions he gives us of *Herod*'s *temple*, that he had himſelf ſeen, and was by far the largeſt of the three, does not exceed 4 *ſtadia*, or 500 *paces*. In a word, never any real temple, built upon *Moriah*, was any thing near ſo big as that temple *Ezekiel* ſaw and delineated by inſpiration.

IV. A fourth obſervation, very neceſſary to be attended to, is the true *ſituation of Jeruſalem*, as to its two principal parts, well known by the names of two mountains, *viz.* *Sion* and *Acra* [g], on which ſtood the upper and lower city; for *Sion* was a good deal higher or loftier than *Acra*. They roſe like two huge heaps one againſt another, with a valley between them, by which they were ever, and are ſtill parted, though not, as it is eaſy to imagine, without ſome very great alteration in their particular form or figure. The temple was built upon mount *Moriah* [h], which was either part of mount *Sion*, or a hill of leſs compaſs near it. That *Moriah* ſtood to the eaſt is not diſputed; but whether *Sion* was on the ſouth or the north, has been a queſtion among the learned. This an eye-witneſs could eaſily have determined, if any one had favoured us with a map exactly drawn, or anſwered the queſtion in expreſs terms: For all this we could try to clear it by the help of the ſacred monuments, which, thanks to the learned *Reland* [i], would prove an eaſy taſk, but too prolix for this performance; and therefore we chooſe to refer to that author for a full ſatisfaction about it. However, it is pretended that *Iſaiah* [k] leaves room to think, that *Sion* lay northwards of the lower city: For, ſays the king of *Babylon*, as he is introduced ſpeaking by the prophet, *I will ſit upon the mount of the congregation in the ſides of the north.* But it is not ſaid here mount *Sion* lay on the north of *Acra*; what is ſaid ſeems to be, that the conqueror would eſtabliſh his dominion where was the king's palace, bordering upon the ſouth of the temple, and ſituate on the northern ſide of mount *Sion*. There the *Babylonian* thinks himſelf ſecure, and in full poſſeſſion of the city. But ſays the prophet to him, alluding to the valley bordering upon mount *Sion*, towards *Acra*, *Thou ſhalt be brought down to the ſides of the pit.* This

[f] Antiq. xv. ult. p. 702. [g] Vid. Joſ. Deſcript. ap. JOSEPH. Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4. p. 1221. coll. & 1235. [h] 2 Chron. iii. 1. comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. & 1 Chron. xxi. 18.—28. xxii. 1. [i] Vid. Palæſt. illuſtr. p. 839. [k] Cap. xiv. ver. 13.

ſituation

situation of *Sion*, which might be further proved from *Josephus* [l], besides our judicious traveller the Rev. Mr. *Maundrell* [m], and the *Paris* citizen *Antoine Regnault* [n], we did insist upon, because very great men [o], have appeared on the opposite side, who by their uncommon learning may draw others into the same error.

V. The fifth observation will give us the true *situation of the temple*. 'Tis known that when the *Hebrews* did worship, they turned themselves towards the most holy place or temple [p]. Now we learn from what *Ezekiel* saw, that it lay westward of its door or entry. His words are very plain, *Behold*, says he [q], *at the door of the temple were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east*; therefore the front of the temple was *turned toward the east* (F); and this is confirmed by *Josephus* [r], who so far must be right, the temple having at first been in the same situation he saw it in afterwards.

VI. *Lastly*, Though our proper enquiry be into what appears to us to be strictly true, as to this matter of *Solomon*'s temple, yet we do not pretend, that all that is true of it has been said by us, because it is possible, many things about it may have been omitted by the sacred historians, and therefore,

[l] Ubi sup. p. 1222. & 1230. [m] A Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 67. 76, 78, 86, 99, 100. [n] Discours du voyage d'outremer au S. Sepulcre, 1573. p. 47. 92, 140, &c. Add Le Bruyn. Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. c. 53, 55. [o] Drus. ad voc. N. T. voce Sion. Lightfoot, Cellarius, Calmet. [p] 1 Kings viii. 48. Psal. cxxxviii. 2. Dan. vi. 10. & pass. [q] Ezek. viii 16. [r] Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 342.

(F) *Theodoret* it seems gives a very good reason for it, *viz*: That as the *Israelites* were commanded to worship God alone, they might have the sun behind their backs, turning themselves towards the tabernacle, and not adore the sun, but his maker; and truly when the custom prevailed among the *Christians* of turning their faces towards the east in their worship, the *Pagans* did upbraid them with adoring the sun (25). But the author of the apostolical constitutions knew well how to put it in another view, for the holy apostles are introduced by him, saying, προσευχίσθω δί κατὰ ἀνατολάς, &c. (26).

(25) *Solem credunt Deum nostrum*, says *Tertull. Apol.* cap. xvi.
(26) *Lib. vii. c.* 44.

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as has been intimated, cannot in any wiſe be ſaid by others. Neither do we aver, that all we intend to ſay is exactly true or certain. Once more we muſt be ſo plain with our readers, as to let them know, that we do not pretend to give demonſtrations, but probable conjectures. And if our weak endeavours are not ſatisfactory, we ſhould be very glad by them to put others upon gratifying the world with a ſcheme more accurate, wherein all things, appearing better connected, might alſo better anſwer, or be more agreeable to the ſeveral paſſages or texts of holy writ here under conſideration. All then we do engage on our part is carefully to diſtinguiſh between thoſe things we have a full proof of, and thoſe things wherein we only try to make ſome near approaches towards the truth; and upon this foot will now be explained the ſeveral particulars in the *plan* before us, according to the indication of them by the *letters* in the margin, for the greater conveniency of finding out whatever may ſeem to want a review, or deſerve to be more narrowly looked or inquired into.

a WE begin with the *Oracle* (G), where God did ſpeak from between the cherubim[f]; accordingly it is called the *Oracle of his Holineſs*, or, as it is otherwiſe tranſlated, *His Holy Oracle*[t], towards which the *Iſraelites* turned themſelves when they did worſhip[u]; and this was a ſquare room of twenty cubits, as appears from 1 *Kings* vi. 2, 20. 2 *Chron.* iii. 8.

b THE holy place, or *Sanctuary*, 40 cubits long, and 20 broad, as is plain from 1 *Kings* vi. 2, & 3. where it is alſo called

[f] Exod. xxv. 22. Pſal. xcix. 1. [t] Pſal. xxviii. 2. [u] See before, p. 285. & comp. Pſal. xxviii. 2.

(G) In *Hebrew*, דְּבִיר *Debir*, as if one ſhould ſay *Locutorium*, or ſpeaking-place. For there it was that God uſed to ſpeak, or give his orders, or inſtructions, to his lieutenant, if one may ſo call the judge or prince, and to the high-prieſt, his firſt miniſter. Beſides, it was called *the oracle of the houſe*, and *moſt holy place*, Heb. *holy*; or, as the Septuagint (27), *holy of holies*, and as it is tranſlated (28) concerning the tabernacle, *the holieſt of all* (29).

The Septuagint have kept the *Hebrew* word reading it δαβιρ or δαβιρ, except in one place, where it is tranſlated ναὸς or temple.

(27) *Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89.* (28) *1 Kings viii. 6. Pſal. xxviii. 2.* (29) *Hebr. ix. 3.*

the

the *Temple of the Houſe*. For the *Houſe* (H) might properly be the name of the two apartments [w], but that of the *Temple* (I) the proper name [x] for the ſecond apartment: However, *the length* of both theſe together, being the *Houſe and* (K) *Temple of God* [y], *was ſixty cubits*, 1 Kings, vi. 2.

c BEFORE the *Sanctuary* ſtood a *Porch*. *Twenty cubits was the length thereof, and ten cubits was the breadth thereof*, as is ſaid ver. 3. and ſo far we have a certainty from the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*. To which we might, if needful, add the authority of *Joſephus* [z] and numbers of others.

d As for the *Wall* between the porch and the temple, any one ſees it ought to be there admitted, though never mentioned in ſo many words by the ſacred hiſtorians. We ſay it appears to have been of great uſe, not only better to ſuſtain the building, but alſo to ſeparate the temple from the porch belonging to it; ſo that this temple might ſtand wholly by itſelf, and alſo be ſhut up when there was occaſion for it.

[w] 1 Kings vi. 5, & paſſ. [x] Ibid. ver. 17. [y] Pſ. v. 5. comp. xxviii. 2. [z] Pag. 342.

(H) הבית *Habbaith*, or בית *Baith*, *an houſe* (30), by way of excellency. It was the houſe of God, and in ſome ſenſe that of the *Iſraelites* alſo; wherefore they ſay (31), *Our holy and beautiful houſe, where our fathers praiſed thee* However, the *houſe of the Lord* is indifferently taken for the whole, or part, of the building.

(I) היכל *Hecal* is properly *a palace*, witneſs the [*becal*] *palace* of *Ahab* (32), and by this name ſeem to be called the different parts belonging to the tabernacle (33). The Septuagint tranſlate it ναὸς moſt frequently, and ſometimes οἶκος.

(K) Well might it be called ſo, when it was the place of his reſidence among the *Iſraelites*. So ſays *Solomon* (34), *I have ſurely built thee an houſe to dwell in; a ſettled place for thee to abide in*. And therefore the *Jews* have given the name of *Shekinah* to this habitation not improperly, for there was God's ſymbolical preſence upon the ark (35), or, as it were, his throne; and there alſo was a real preſence conſpicuous by its operations, I mean by the oracles which God delivered there.

(30) 1 *Kings viii.* 16. (31) *Iſaiah lxiv.* 11. (32) 1 *Kings xxi.* 1. (33) 1 *Sam i.* 9. *iii.* 3. (34) 1 *Kings viii.* 13. (35) 1 *Sam iv.* 4. 2 *Sam. vi.* 2. *Pſal. lxxx.* 1.

e BUT further our conjecture is ſtrengthened by this plain inference, that the temple had doors. Thus it is ſaid [a], *For the entering of the oracle he made doors* [b], ------ *ſo alſo made he for the entering* (L) *of the temple, poſts of olive tree,* ---- *and the two doors were of fir-tree.* Now a door ſeems to ſuppoſe a wall, wherever a wall appears to be neceſſary, as was here. And ſhould it be objected, that the oracle had a door as well as the ſanctuary, though we do not conceive any wall between them, it might be anſwered, that there is nothing upon record concerning ſuch a wall (M); that we ſee no neceſſity for one; and laſtly, that there might be ſomething elſe in lieu of it.

f FOR a very rich and ſtrong *Vail* was made to ſeparate the moſt holy from the holy place [c], the ſame we ſuppoſe, as St. *Matthew* calls the *vail of the temple* that *was rent in twain* when *Jeſus yielded up the Ghoſt* [d]. *Joſephus* [e] poſitively tells us, that *Solomon* made a *partition wall*, different from the vail; but this is not ſo clearly expreſſed in the ſacred books. The tranſlation indeed ſays [f]. *He made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle:* and accordingly we may underſtand, that there was both a *partition* and a *vail*, the partition being fixed, and the vail hanging before it, ſo as to be moved like our curtains. But we do not warrant that this is the true ſenſe of the *Hebrew* (N), which is rather, *He placed*

[a] 1 Kings vi. 31. [b] Ibid. 33, 34. [c] 2 Chron. iii. 14.
[d] Matth. xxvii. 50, 51. [e] Ant. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 343. [f] 1 Kings. vi. 21.

(L) The word in *Hebrew* is פֶּתַח *Petach*, the ſame as for the oracle above, and therefore *entering* ought to be kept in *Engliſh*, not *door*, as in our tranſlation; although *Petach*, *an entering*, is in other places tranſlated *a door*, by a true analogy.

(M) This muſt be underſtood of *holy writ*, wherein no mention is made of any ſuch *wall*, though indeed our tranſlation ſays, as to the door of the oracle, "the lintel and ſide-poſts were a fifth part "*of the wall.*" But thoſe laſt words are not in the *Hebrew*, and truly another interpretation is given in the margin, *viz.* that they were *five ſquare*; however, the reading in the text may well be admitted relatively to the height of the oracle, ſo that this is meant, that the lintel, &c. were five cubits high.

(N) וַיַּעֲבֵר בְּרָתִי קוֹרֵת *Vajehabber Beratikoth*, or, according to the keri, *Beratoukoth*, which is *verbatim*, he *made paſs with chains*, ſuppoſing *ratikoth* to be *chains*, for that word occurs in no other text but this, and may be as well tranſlated *bars*, or *bolts*, or any

placed chains (bars or bolts) croſs the oracle: However, there was a door to it, as we have ſeen already. And although we may eaſily conceive a *door* without a wall, properly ſo called, we muſt ſuppoſe ſome ſuch thing as a partition. Beſides, what bolted this door, or went acroſs before the oracle, was of gold, and therefore not the vail itſelf. At leaſt the *Hebrew* text allows us to ſay the oracle was ſhut up with golden bolts. Yet whether there was a partition beſides the door of each ſide [g], or whether the door itſelf ſerved inſtead of a partition, we ſhall not determine (O); but conclude this article by ſaying, that the doors of the porch are mentioned as ſuch in one paſſage [h], and called the doors of the houſe of the Lord in another [i].

g WHAT we are now to conſider are the *Chambers*, built againſt the wall of the houſe round about, both of the temple and *the oracle*, the *nethermoſt* ſaid to be *five cubits broad, and alſo five cubits high* [k]; but of their length we find nothing in the books we refer to. It ſeems they were ſquare rooms: *Joſephus* tells us [l], they were thirty in number all about the temple; which, it may be, he took from that of *Ezekiel* [m], who ſays, *The ſide chambers were three, one over another, and thirty in order:* So that thirty being multiplied

[g] 1 Kings vi. 31. [h] 2 Chron. xxix. 7. [i] Ibid xxviii. 24.
[k] 1 Kings vi. 5, 6, 10. [l] Antiq. viii. c. 3. p. 342. [m] Ezek. xli. 6.

thing equivalent. Hence then it ſeems *Joſephus* (36) took, "the "in and the out-ſide of the temple was all lined with cedar, and that "the cramping of the cedar together with ſtrong chains, (ἁλύσεσι, "not *irons* as *L'eſtrange* has it) was a great ſtrength and ſecurity to "the building." However, *pro materiâ ſubjectâ, to make paſs with chains*; or, as it might be tranſlated without the particle (37), *to make chains paſs*, ſeems to be nothing elſe but to chain, or tie with chains, to bolt, or bar; unleſs the word *vail* be ſupplied to fill up the gap of this expreſſion, well underſtood at that time, though afterwards, being obſcure and obſolete, it was omitted by the Septuagint. The Vulgate ſays, *he faſtened the bolts with nails.*

(O) It will hardly be expected we ſhould here take particular notice of thoſe ſacred veſſels and utenſils that adorned this holy houſe, *viz.* the ark, and cherubims, the table of ſhew-bread, the golden candleſticks (38), and the altar of incenſe; ſince we could hardly add any thing, that is needful concerning them, to what hath already been obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory.

(36) *Antiq. viii. c. 3. p. 343.* (37) *Comp. Lamentat. i.* 17. *Pſal. lv.* 18. (38) *See* 1 *Kings vii.* 49.

by

by three, according to the number of ſtories in the firſt book of *Kings*, thoſe chambers will amount in all to ninety, that are called the *nethermoſt*, the middle, and the third. And ſuch a number may eaſily be placed about the houſe, ſuppoſing them to have been each of five cubits length, as well as height, for in the breadth they differed from five to ſix, and from ſix to ſeven; the reaſon of which is there given. Upon this ſcore they will undoubtedly appear ſomewhat ſmall, and ſo indeed *Joſephus* [n] calls them. However if their uſe was well known, that might give ſome light into this matter. But concerning their uſe we find only [o], that *Joaſh was hidden in the bed-chamber* (P) belonging to the temple. Taking it then for granted, that they were chiefly or frequently intended to lye in, we may venture to ſay, that they were ſufficient for that purpoſe, eſpecially thoſe of the middle and third ſtory. Beſides that, the *bed-chambers* among the *Jews* were generally upper rooms, as has already been obſerved in this *Univerſal Hiſtory* [p].

b ONE thing more remains to be attended to about the temple, properly ſo called. It is ſaid [q], *The door for the middle chamber was in the right ſide of the houſe, and they went up with winding ſtairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third.* Where we may well imagine an opening was left in the thickneſs of the wall for a pair of ſtairs, to go up to the ſecond ſtory of the chambers about the temple, and alſo a paſſage from the temple to the porch; for there might be ſeveral occaſions that required the miniſters of the temple to go up to thoſe chambers, as well as in and out of

[n] *Βραχέσιν οἴκοις* ubi ſupr. [o] 2 Kings xi. 2. [p] See before, p. 367. [q] 1 Kings vi. 8.

(P) In *Hebrew*, חדר *Heder* or *Cheder*, and ſeems to be underſtood of one of the three ſtories about the temple (39), where might be the beds for the prieſts in waiting, and among thoſe rooms or chambers, one, or more, eſpecially reſerved, or ſet apart for the high-prieſt; which alſo ought therefore to have been a retired place, and not eaſily acceſſible but to himſelf and conſort, with thoſe they truſted. Theſe rooms we find alſo called *inner parlours* (40), where for *parlours* the *Hebrew* hath *Chadarim*, and there diſtinguiſhed from the lower apartments, *Ganſakim*, (the treaſuries in our verſion), and from the upper rooms. So as we have here the ſeveral parts of the *Jaxiah* (41), it ſeems, by their proper names.

(39) *See* 1 *Kings vi. & ſeq.* (40) 1 *Chron. xxviii.* 11. (41) 1 *Kings vi.* 5.

the temple, of which we ſuppoſe a detail is not here expected.

WE are now come to the *Porch*, where we meet with thoſe celebrated *columns*, or pillars, *Solomon* adorned it with. It is ſaid [r], *He ſet them up in the porch of the temple*, and [t] *he made before the houſe two pillars*, and [t] *he reared up the pillars before the temple*; which expreſſions taken together ſufficiently ſeem to imply the pillars were before the temple in its porch. But it is not quite ſo eaſy to aſſign the height of them. In one place it is ſaid of *Solomon* [u], *He caſt two pillars of braſs of eighteen cubits high apiece.* In another [x] we read, *He made two pillars of thirty and five cubits high.* This ſeeming inconſiſtency between the two ſacred hiſtorians we ſhall preſently reconcile; only we will firſt beg leave to take notice, that this is an inſtance of their not combining together, of their not being corrected or amended by one another. Now let us only ſuppoſe the pedeſtal or baſis of the columns to have been 17 cubits high, this added to the 18 cubits (1 *Kings* vii. 15 *Jer.* lii. 21.) for the ſhaft, will, added together, make exactly 35, the number mentioned 2 *Chron.* iii. 15. Laſtly taking from 1 *Kings* vii. 16. five cubits, being the height of the chapiter, we ſhall have the true height of the pillars, *viz.* 40 cubits. It is true that in another place [y] the height of the chapiter is ſaid to have been *three cubits*; but here we apprehend we have the dimenſion of the chapiter only, ſtrictly ſo called, *Cothereth* in the *Hebrew*, or *Crowning*, which is expreſſed to have been three cubits; and there is left to be underſtood *the wreathen work on it round about*, which was two cubits more; both which ſums added make that of *five*, the number ſet down before by the ſame author. We can ſay but little concerning the thickneſs of the ſhaft of thoſe pillars, only that *a line of twelve cubits did compaſs either of* (Q) *them*

[r] 1 Kings vii. 21. [t] 2 Chron. iii. 15. [t] Ibid. ver. 17.
[u] 1 Kings vii. 15. [x] Chron. ubi ſup. [y] 2 Kings xxv. 17.

(Q) Some will ſay, the *Hebrew* differs from our tranſlation; for what is here *either of them*, is there (השני *Haſheni*) *the ſecond*, and we acknowledge this is a ſeeming, though no real, difference. It is ſaid, *Eighteen cubits was the height of the firſt column, and a line of twelve cubits did encompaſs the ſecond*; which is an elliptical expreſſion, where, in a period, one branch of it not expreſſed, is underſtood by what the other expreſſes (42). So here the height

(42) *Vid. Prov.* x. 1. *Iſai.* xxxii. 3. *Deut.* xv. 12. *Pſalm* cxlii. 4. *Conf. Jerem.* lii. 21, 22.

of

them round about [z], and therefore the diameter was four cubits, which is the proportion of 12 for the circumference. But it may be further obſerved, that one of the pillars was to be ſeen on the right of the porch, and called *Jachin*, and the other on the left called *Boaz* [a]. Now Jachin ſignifies *he ſhall eſtabliſh*, and Boaz, *ſtrength is in him.* By which it ſeems *Solomon* would give to underſtand, that he depended only on an Almighty Power for the continuance and duration of this temple. But by way of conjecture one might ſuppoſe, there was an *inſcription* in ſome ſuch ſenſe upon the baſis of each of the pillars, that on one beginning with the word *Jachin*, and that on the other with the word *Boaz*; from whence the pillars might have their denomination; as we ſee the books of *Moſes* called by the firſt word they begin with *. Laſtly, as to their ſituation; we take it they ſtood before the temple [b], in the porch of the temple [c]: So ſays our tranſlation, which we chooſe here to follow (R).

[z] 1 Kings vii. 15. [a] 1 Kings vii. 21. * See before. p. 152. not. A. [b] 2 Chron. iii. 17. [c] 1 Kings vii. 21.

of the *firſt* column gives you the meaſure of the *ſecond*, and the thickneſs of the *ſecond* the meaſure of the *firſt*. But this not being agreeable to our ſtyle, another turn ought to be taken which is uſual and intelligible in our way of ſpeaking.

(R) One reaſon is the difference to be obſerved between the two particles in the texts of *Chronicles* and *Kings* In that it is עַל־פְּנֵי *Alpene*, which cannot otherwiſe be tranſlated than by *Before*, But in this it is לְ *Le*, which may be tranſlated ſeveral ways, and eſpecially by *In*; ſo you read *Lerouach* (43), *in the cool* of the evening; *Lekiſſe* (44), *in the throne*, and ſuch like expreſſions (45). Beſides, the Vulgate has *in porticu*, and the Septuagint do not much differ as to the ſenſe: They tranſlate, *he ſet up the pillars* τῦ αἰλαὰμ *of the porch*; which ſeems to imply, that the pillars were an appurtenance of the porch, and therefore very properly placed in it. *Joſephus*, as to this, ſays only (46), *Solomon* placed one of them on the right poſt of the porch, and the other on the left. The *French* and *Engliſh* tranſlations add, at the enterance of the porch. We have declared our opinion to be that they were within; but after all, if one likes them better without, we would not much oppoſe it, ſince לְ may ſignify *At*, as where it is ſaid of *Zebulun* (47), "He ſhall ſtand "לְ *at* the haven of the ſea; "or *For*, as in the very ſame expreſſion, *viz.* לְאֻלָם our own interpreters have taken it elſewhere (48), ſaying, *for the porch.*

(43) *Gen* iii. 8. (44) *Pſalm* ix. 4. (45) *Pſalm* xvi. 10. *Dan.* ii. 1. *Hos* v. 11. *Zephan.* ii. 15. (46) *Antiq. lib.* viii. c. 3. p. 344. (47) *Gen.* xlix. 13. (48) 1 *Kings* vii 12.

GOING

k GOING now out of the porch, we muſt take notice firſt of the *Altar* ſtanding *before the porch* [d], or *before the houſe* [e], as in the *Hebrew*, not improperly tranſlated the *fore-front of the houſe*: and there it ſeems to have ſtood in the *middle of the court* (S), of which court afterwards. This altar for burnt-offerings did anſwer to one of the ſame uſe in the tabernacle, whereof we have ſpoken at large [f]. What remains for us to obſerve is only the new altar, which was *in length two cubits, and as many broad, beſides ten cubits high* [g]; and ſince no ſteps were allowed in the tabernacle to go up to the altar [h], it ought to be ſuppoſed, there were none for that uſe in the temple, but only an eaſy aſcent up to the altar.

l OF the court itſelf we muſt own it is our opinion, that it went at firſt all about the temple. Thus was the court about the tabernacle an oblong ſquare, *the length thereof being an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where* [i]. Now as we find no dimenſion given of the court in the temple, all we can well do, to go ſomewhat by a ſcriptural rule, is, to make this laſt court twice as big as that in the tabernacle, becauſe it ſufficiently appears king *Solomon* kept pretty near to that proportion in the building of the temple itſelf. Again, as in that oblong ſquare the tabernacle ſtood weſtwards, and that by that means the court had on the eaſt two third parts or more of the whole ſpace, we conceive the court in the temple, as *Solomon* at firſt built it, to have been much the ſame.

m BUT a wall is placed here on the weſt ſide of the court before the porch, for which no warrant will eaſily be found in that part of ſcripture that was to be our guide in our preſent enquiry, and therefore does not ſeem to be built upon any ſure foundation; but yet what we have to ſay for it may be ſeen in the next note (T).

A

[d] 1 Kings viii. 64 coll. 2 Chron. vii. 7. xv. 8. [e] Ibid xv. 8. [f] See before p. 285. [g] 2 Chron, iv. 1. [h] Exod xx. 26. [i] Ibid. xxvii. 9. 12.

(S) In the tabernacle, the altar of burnt-offerings was to be placed (49) *before the door*, and at a convenient diſtance *, ſo that our tranſlation ſeems to be very right in ſaying *by* (50) and *at* (51) it, which could not be well otherwiſe, the court being of a ſmall compaſs. But as that in the temple was much larger, the altar might here ſtand in the *middle of the court*; and this further appears from its relation to the *King's Seat*, which was in the midſt of the other court, and *before* this altar, as will be ſeen hereafter (52).

(T) By ſaying this we would not be underſtood wholly to deny there might be ſuch a wall in *Solomon*'s time, for we read (53) con-

(49) *Exod.* xl. 6. * *See before, p.* 285. (50) *Levit.* i. 5. (51) *Ibid. ver.* 3. (52) *Notes* X. & Y. (53) 1 *Kings* vii. 12.

cerning

A new court is plainly mentioned in ſacred hiſtory. Thus
n we read [l], *That* Jehoſhaphat *ſtood in the congregation of* Judah *and* Jeruſalem *in the houſe of the Lord, before the new court* (V). That here by the houſe of the Lord is underſtood the whole compaſs of the temple, with its ſeveral courts, wants no proof, after what has been ſaid above [m]. But what that new court is, we are now to conſider, Some will have it to have been the court of prieſts *repaired*, as indeed the altar was, by king *Aſa* [n], and therefore called the *New Court.*

o BUT though, by the analogy of the temple with the tabernacle, the court of prieſts ſeems to have been round about the holy and moſt holy place, and not divided by a wall; yet afterwards ſuch a wall being found convenient to be made between the altar and the porch, that part of the court about the temple becoming now a ſort of a court by itſelf, might be called the new court, the old name, *viz.* the court of the prieſts, remaining with that part where ſtood the altar. Now whether this will be judged a rational conjecture muſt be ſubmitted to the reader.

[l] 2 Chron. xx. 5. [m] Note C. & al. [n] 2 Chron. xv. 8.

cerning the houſe he built for his queen, *The great court round about was with three rows of hewed ſtones, and a row of cedar-beams: As for the inner court of the houſe of the Lord, and for the porch of the houſe.* Inſtead of *As*, our tranſlation renders *Both*, the *Hebrew* ו *We*, whoſe ordinary ſignification is *and.* But in the way of a compariſon, (as it plainly appears to be here uſed) if we conſult our tranſlation in other places (54), it would, we think, be more properly rendered by *as.* However, the wall for the porch of the houſe may, it ſeems, be underſtood of this wall that ſtood before the porch of the temple, though others, with ſome probability, underſtand it of a porch before the queen's houſe.

(V) The name given by the Septuagint to this court deſerves ſome attention: They call it αὐλὴν τῆς σκηνῆς *the court of the tabernacle*; which, well underſtood, ſeems to be a very proper name; for the houſe in *Solomon*'s building did anſwer the tabernacle of *Moſes*, and here and there equally was the *Shekinah*, or *inhabitation*, of the divine majeſty, to which St. *John* alſo ſeems to have an eye, when he ſays, *the* λόγος *word* ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν *dwelt among us* (55).

Now this ſituation of the *New Court* being allowed, we may, by it, further explain and fix the place where *Zechariah*, the high-prieſt's ſon, was killed. It is ſaid, this happened in the court of the houſe of the Lord between the temple and the altar (56), which muſt be as he came out of the temple, into this *New Court*, towards the wall before the porch.

(54) 1. *Sam.* xii. 15. *Prov.* x. 25. (55) *John* i. 14. (56) 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 20. *Coll. Matt.* xxiii. 35.

We

o WE have a few words to add concerning the other, but undoubted, wall of the court of priests. It is said [o], Solomon *built the inner-court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar-beams.* It is elsewhere [p] called the court of priests, and bore the name of the inner, because of another round about it. But what these rows were, is not so easy to explain. Some indeed do not spare buildings that cost them nothing, and of these rows make so many stories; but whether the single *Hebrew* word, *Tur*, i. e. *row*, will uphold such a heavy building, we very much doubt: To us there appears no more than a kind of parapet wall, of some four or five foot high, (consisting of three rows of stone, one upon another, and a fourth of cedar-beams over them) sufficient to keep off the people from being an hinderance in the court of priests, but low enough for the *Israelites* without to see all the priests were doing within.

p ONE thing remains to be considered, which is the several entries into the court; for though we should not find any mentioned, as they are sufficiently [q]. they must, in the nature of things, have been there, and we therefore place them where we find it most proper, *viz.* over-against the gates that are said to have been in that court where the people did meet for their solemn devotions.

q Now this court (X) was called the *Great Court* [r], because of its bigness, comparatively to that of the priests, which was a good deal less; both of them being said to be the *two courts of the house of the Lord* [s]. And that *Solomon* himself did build the one as well as the other, we read in these words, *Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass. Josephus*, not thinking this metal valuable enough, has made a transmutation of it into silver [t], and has, at no

[o] 1 Kings vi. 36. vii. 12. [p] 2 Chron. iv. 9. [q] Ibid. [r] Ibid. [s] 2 Kings xxi. 5. [t] Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 346.

(X) The Septuagint call it αὐλὴν ἱερᾶ, where ἱερὸν ought not to be taken for *becal* commonly rendered, as has already been observed (57) by another *Greek* word, but never, as we know, by ἱερὸν. This last word, as made use of both by them and *Josephus* (58), does signify either the whole of the building, or some out-part of it, and is properly a sacred place, or consecrated ground; the court of *Israel* being its proper court, as it encompassed round about immediately that of the priests, and mediately the temple itself and oracle.

(57) 1 *Chron.* xxix. 4. *Coll. Exod.* xlv. 19. (58) *Antiq.* viii. c. 3. p. 346.

other expence than his fancy, built a large court upon a mount raiſed on purpoſe 400 cubits high. It is eaſy to preſume he has ſpared neither columns, nor porticoes, nor all the embelliſhments a fruitful imagination could prompt him to adorn it with (Y).

r. HASTE we now to fix the gates. There were three on three ſides of the temple, eaſt, north, and ſouth; beſides two on the weſt ſide. Theſe gates were kept by wardens, truſted with power and authority, who had under them numbers of *Levites*; for we read [u], Among theſe were the diviſions of the porters, even among the chief men, having wards one againſt another, to ſerve in the houſe of the Lord; and they caſt lots, as well the ſmall as the great, for every gate. We have nothing remarkable to ſay concerning the north and eaſt gates; but juſt by that to the ſouth, we find *the houſe of Aſuppim* [x], and what this houſe was is not eaſy to determine; however, as this belongs properly to our ſubject, we ſhall make our beſt endeavours towards a diſcovery that way.

s. THE radical verb *Aſap* ſignifies to *add*, *aſſemble*, or *gather together*, and the ſeveral nouns derived from it keep all this primitive ſenſe; ſo that it is to be preſumed, it it alſo preſerved in the word *Aſuppim*; but as this idea is indefinite, we muſt try to fix it by the uſe of this word, to be found only in the place already quoted, and a little lower [y], and in *Nehemiah* [z]. In the firſt quotation, the tranſlation is word for

[u] 1 Chron. xxvi. 12, 13. [x] Ibid. ver. 15. [y] ver. 17.
[z] Chap. xii. ver. 25.

(Y) His words are, "Beyond this partition was another ſquare "court, (*gr.* ἱερὸν) or building, with large porticoes or galleries "about it, and four ſtately gates that opened eaſt, weſt, north, "and ſouth, the doors all plated and inlaid with gold. This place "was common to all the people.—The erecting of this outward "building was ſo ſtupendous an undertaking, that no tongue can "expreſs the difficulties of raiſing it, and a man would have much "ado to believe his own very eyes that ſaw it. Such hollows, "ſuch depths to be filled up, as a body could hardly have looked "upon, or but ſo much as fancied, without turning his brain; "400 cubits to be brought up to a level with the top of the moun-"tain, only to make the work regular and the ground even. This "port was encompaſſed again with a kind of double cloiſter, and "two rows of pillars to ſupport it, every pillar being cut whole "out of the rock; the doors were all ſilver work, &c.

word *the houſe of Aſuppim*, but the ſenſe ſeems rather (Z) to imply each of the two houſes, for ſo many there were under the direction of *Obed-edom* and his ſons. In the ſecond text the tranſlation ſays, *toward Aſuppim two and two*, (adding the word *and*, which is not in the *Hebrew*) and as far as can be judged, the true ſenſe is this, There were four *Levites* truſted with the care of the *Aſuppim*, two to the one, and two to the other. This ſeems to be confirmed by the third paſſage, that in *Nehemiah*; for one reads, according to the *Hebrew*, *Porters keeping the ward at the Aſuppim of the gates.* In the verſion it is *at the threſholds*, and in the margin *treaſuries*, or *aſſemblies*. It would have been better to have preſerved in the tranſlation the *Hebrew* word *Aſuppim*, which, though a proper name, is there a caſe governed. And if the three above-mentioned paſſages are carefully compared together, it will plainly appear, that there were, near the gate we have been ſpeaking of, two houſes, or diſtinct apartments, one on each ſide of this gate, where either the prieſts or the levites, or it may be both orders, aſſembled at times, either about buſineſs relating to the temple, or depoſited all things of uſe in that conſecrated place, ſince *gathering* and *aſſembling* are equally an apt tranſlation of the word *Aſuppim*. Beſides, we find in holy writ that there were ſuch apartments or houſes within the incloſure, or precinct of the temple, or its courts. So, for example, *Jeremiah*[a] *brought the* Rechabites *into the houſe of the Lord, into one of the chambers, where he did put before them pots full of wine*, and ſo on. This room, which, for that very reaſon, we may ſuppoſe to have had ſome extent, did belong to the offspring of *Igdaliah, a man of God*, that is to ſay, *a prophet*; and its ſituation is ſaid to have been next to the chamber of the *princes*, or chief men, which in the temple can be underſtood only of the prieſts, or chiefs of the levites. Beſides, it is ſaid that this chamber was *above the chamber of* Maaſeiah, *the keeper of the door*. It was an *upper room*. And it is well known, that about buſineſs of moment

[a] Chap. xxxv. 2, & ſeq.

(Z) According to an uſual way of ſpeaking in ſcripture; as where we read, *The* fool *hath ſaid* (59). *How ſweet thy* word (60). *Let us lurk for the* innocent (61). *The* wicked *flee* (62). She, *that is, the* woman, *ſhall be ſaved* (63). For, by what follows, the ſenſe appears to be *each* or *either* of the things and perſons mentioned. See above, letter *o*.

(59) *Pſ.* xiv. 1. (60) cxix. 103. (61) *Prov.* i. 11. (62) xxviii. 1. (63) 1 *Tim.* ii. 15.

they

they met in ſuch rooms among the *Jews*, which was ſtill a cuſtom in the time of the apoſtles [b]. Let that be as it will, there are ſeen here, in the ſame houſe, large rooms, different or diſtinct both in relation to the uſes they were put to, and the perſons that occupied them, whether they met or lodged in them, in order to be of ſervice to the temple, or its miniſters; or whether in particular the lower part or ground floor of theſe houſes, ſerved as ſtore-houſes, or treaſuries, which, it ſeems, may be gathered from what is related elſewhere [c], *That* Amaziah *took all the gold, and the ſilver, and all the veſſels, that were found in the houſe of God with* Obed-edom (A).

IT will be pertinent enough, before we go to the other gate, to put here together what we have more to ſay concerning the other apartments we have delineated in this court of the people. Upon which two things are very diſtinctly to be conſidered: the firſt relates to the form and particular ſituation of theſe apartments, and this we muſt frankly own we are ignorant of. But as it was abſolutely neceſſary to place them ſomewhere, we have diſpoſed of them, in the plaineſt manner we could, to the four corners of the temple, leaving to every one to fix and repreſent them as may be thought moſt proper. The ſecond thing we have to ſay about theſe chambers is concerning their real exiſtence, of which there is no room to doubt. For ſetting aſide what has juſt now been inſtanced of the *Aſuppim*, and apartments mentioned by *Jeremiah*; and ſuppoſing them to be different from thoſe we are now ſpeaking of, it is plain from holy writ [d], that *David gave to Solomon the pattern of the courts of the houſe of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treaſuries of the houſe of God, and of the treaſuries of the dedicate things*; and this order was executed, for [e] *Ahijah was over the treaſures of the houſe of God, and over the treaſures of the dedicate things* (B). To this it may be added, that in the temple of *Zerubbabel*, in *Nehemiah*'s time, when to be ſure there had been no thoughts

[b] Acts i. 13, & paſſ. [c] 2 Chron. xxv. 24. [d] 1 Chron. xxviii. 12. [e] Ibid. xxvi. 20.

(A) Not ſurely the ſame *Obed-edom*, who, from the foundation of the temple, had been chief warden of the *Aſuppim*, with his ſons under him, but one of his family, or poſterity, who now was in the ſame employment or office; either bearing the ſame name, or going by it in that his public capacity, or as ſucceſſor to him. Somewhat like we ſee in the names of *Iſrael*, *Judah*, *David*, &c.

(B) It may be not unworthy taking notice, that the ſame word אֲצָרוֹת *Otsroth*, is equally in both texts, though it be differently tranſlated, *viz.* *Treaſuries* and *Treaſures*.

of exceeding *Solomon*'s temple; *Eliashib* [f] *the priest having the oversight of the chamber*, or rather of each chamber (C), *of the house of God, had prepared for* Tobiah, *one allied unto him, a great chamber, where afore-time they laid the meat-offering, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, and the offerings in the courts of the house of God.*

We would have these last words to be attended to; because these chambers should be carefully distinguished from those already mentioned [g], which immediately joined the temple. For besides that these last, as has been seen [h], were very small, and did not seem to have been capacious enough for those uses the others were put to, the difference of their names makes it probable, that these chambers were different. Those about the temple are called *Jaziah* (D), and those in the courts *Leshacoth*, and they were the chief porters that were over those chambers, or, as in the margin, store-houses and treasuries of the house of God [i]; and very large they ought to have been indeed, since in one of them, the chamber of *Gemariah*, in the higher court (E), which was that we are about, *Baruc* did

[f] Nehem. xiii. 4, 5. [g] Supra lit. *g*. in marg. [h] Ibid.
[i] 1 Chron. ix. 26.

(C) According as has been observed above, though it may be the four *Hebrew* characters there, לשכרן, are not rightly punctuated for *Lisbcath*, in the singular, *a chamber*, but ought to have been so for *Lesbacoth*, in the plural, *chambers*. Yet, one way or other, the sense is much the same.

(D) יציע we take to have been somewhat like the *Italian corridore*, which some derive from *currere*, where one may *run in*, round about an house, as you have some furnished with bed-rooms in our hospitals and colleges. And truly the *Hebrew* word comes up to that notion, for יצע, *jazab*, is to *lay*, and יצוע, *jazuab*, a *bed*, *Psal.* 132, 139. However, in the *jaziab*, belonging to the temple, the rooms were of a smaller sort, but לשכות, *Leshacoth*, the larger sort of them, like our dining-rooms, parlours, or halls. And indeed in that emblematical temple of *Ezekiel*, where all is represented in the height of grandeur and bigness, far above that of *Solomon*'s temple, there is no mention of any such thing as *jaziab*, but, in its stead, so many *Leshacoth*. Yet it may be objected, that *David* gave to *Solomon* the pattern of the court of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers, *Leshacoth*, round about (64). True they were such rooms, but not joining to the house, as the *jaziabs* which *Solomon* built against it (65).

(E) This is an expression that occurs but once, and is therefore the harder to be understood, though of itself a plain one, which seems

(64) 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 12. (65) 1 *Kings* vi. 5, 10.

did read the words of *Jeremiah* in the ears of all the people [k], which cannot well be underſtood but of a conſiderable number there met together (F).

LET us now conſider the gates to the weſt, which deſerve a particular attention. Thus ſays the ſacred hiſtorian [l], *To* Shuppim *and* Hoſa *the lot came forth weſtward with the gate* Shallecheth, *by the cauſey of the going up, ward againſt ward,* and [m] *at* Parbar *weſtward, four at the cauſey, two at* Parbar. As to the firſt at ſouth-weſt, the name may be applied, according to its etymology, to what comes out like a projecture, as we call it from the *Latin*, or a jutting or leaning out in a building. The word is found only in two places of ſcripture, this of *Chronicles*, and another [n] where it is ſaid of oaks, whoſe *ſubſtance* is in them *when they caſt their leaves*, ſays our verſion, but the *Hebrew be-ſhallecheth*, where the particle *be* ſtands for *in*, and *Shallecheth*, we ſhould think to be, *what is riſen, or above ground*, for here ſuch trees very well *ſtand* or *ſubſiſt* (G).

HOWEVER, when the name of *Shallecheth* is given to the gate we are ſpeaking of, we ſee it at the ſame time joined to a *cauſey*. This was a jettee, bank, terraſs, or bridge, that led up to the temple. And here, it ſeems, ſhould be placed the *miſhad*, made for the temple by the king [o]. The tranſlation calls it *pillars* in the text, but in the margin *rails (Heb. a prop)*, and in another place it bears the name of [p] *Meſilloth*, rendered by *terriſes* in the text, but in the margin *ſtays (Heb. highways)*, the ſenſe of all which comes to one; for the ground without the temple ſeems to have been very uneven, and in

[k] Jerem. xxxvi. 10. [l] 1 Chron. xxvi. 16. [m] Ibid. ver. 18.
[n] Iſaiah vi. 13. [o] 1 Kings x. 12. [p] 2 Chron. ix. 11.

ſeems to be in relation to a court that ſtood lower. But it may be no more is intended than thereby to ſignify the *great court*. However, if *higher* muſt be taken in the proper ſenſe, to us it appears, it is the *new court* that is here called the *higher*, becauſe thereon was the temple, in the eaſt of the hill, where, it is commonly ſuppoſed, was its top.

(F) It may be ſaid indeed, he might read it out of a window or balcony, which we are not willing to oppoſe; but then we do further remark, that this chamber, out of which he read, was at the *entry of the new gate*, ſuppoſed to be the eaſtern, and near it, in either court, might be large apartments.

(G) This, to us, appears to be the true notion the *Hebrew* text gives of what we have ſeen rendered by the word *Subſtance*, which is מצבת *Matzebeth*, the *ſubſiſtence*, properly, or *ſubſiſting* of a thing, wherefore it ſignifies a *pillar* and *monument*, Gen. xxxv. 14 20.

order

order to make the coming to it not only commodious, but delightful, *Solomon* contrived an avenue over the valley, one end of which answered the gate *Shallecheth*, and the other the palace, over-against the south side of the temple, to the north of mount *Sion*. It is in this disposal or order we are to consider what is called [q] *his ascent, by which he went up into the house of the Lord*; which ascent was built by *Solomon* in so costly a manner, that it was looked upon with admiration by the queen of *Sheba*. Thus have we assigned a cause why this gate should be called *Shallecheth*; and as there was the greatest concourse of those about court, and in general from the high city, here were two distinct guard-houses, parallel to one another, one under *Shuppim*, and the other under his co-partner *Hosa*.

x. BUT the second to the west, towards the north of the temple, was for the inhabitants of that part of the city that has since been called *the lower*; and this gate was called *Parbar* (H), the way from it leading to the suburbs named in sacred history *Parvarim* [r], from which this gate seems to derive its name, but slightly altered, the *b* and *v* consonant being capable of permutation, as is easy to be seen in most languages, both antient and modern. Now as the temple might be more exposed on that side than any where else, and there was a very great concourse of people, the out-let of the road near the gate was guarded by *four Levites*, and the gate itself by *two* more. But now let us return to the temple by the terrass-gate.

y. HERE we find *the covert for the sabbath*, and *the king's entry* adjoining to it; for we read in sacred history [s], that *king Ahaz cut off the borders of the bases, and removed the laver from off them, and took down the sea from off the brazen oxen that were under it, and put it upon a pavement of stones: and the* covert for the sabbath *that they had built in the house, and the* king's entry without, *turned he from the house of the Lord, for the king of* Assyria. We presume somewhat of a commentary on this passage, as to the two things here mentioned, will not be unacceptable to the reader.

WE must first form to ourselves an idea of this *covert*, called in *Hebrew Misac*, or, as the *Masorites* read it, *Musac*;

[q] 2 Kings ubi supr. ver. 5. [r] 2 Kings xxiii. 11. [s] 2 Kings xvi. 18.

(H) Which word the *Targum* does expound by that of בראא, *bara*, i. e. *without*; and this sense of it seems very probable, since *Parbar* had its issue, or out-let, into the then out-parts of *Jerusalem*.

which

which pronunciation is not of great concern, for this word is to be found only in this place, the ſignification of which it is no eaſy matter to aſcertain. *Sacab* is *to cover*, and *Maſac a covering* or *vail*. As for the thing itſelf, we muſt look for what may relate to it among thoſe things built by *Solomon* in the temple. At the time of its dedication one finds [t], *he had made a brazen ſcaffold*, (in *Hebrew* it is *Kior*) *of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had ſet it in the midſt of the court, and upon it he ſtood*, and ſo on. Here it is eaſy to imagine a raiſed up place, where ſtood the king. It might be in the ſhape of a hemiſphere, or hollow veſſel, almoſt like the concha, or triumphal car of the *Romans*; but whatever might be this *Kior*, it muſt of neceſſity have reſted upon, or been ſupported by a pedeſtal or column. This the *Vulgate*, following the *Septuagint*, expreſſes by the word *baſe*, inſtead of the *Hebrew Kior*. Much the ſame figure therefore would have been made uſe of, both in the text and tranſlations, where the whole takes its denomination from a *part* of the throne. We ſhall try to diſtinguiſh every one of them that made up this royal ſeat.

Firſt, We take notice of the *baſe* or *column*; for it is ſaid of *Joaſh*, when he was proclaimed king [u], *He ſtood upon the pillar*: this is the true meaning of the *Hebrew* [x], the ſame turn of expreſſion already made uſe of in relation to *Solomon*, although in the tranſlation it is *by a pillar*; and, what is very remarkable, the text adds *Cammiſhphath*, according to the manner, that is, as the kings were uſed to do in the temple, in their uſual place or throne. According to this, *Joſiah*, in order to renew the covenant [y], *ſtood upon the pillar*, according to the text; and this ſame pillar the king ſtood upon is, even in our tranſlation [z], called *his place wherein he ſtood*. It is plain to be ſeen, this *place* was very fit and proper for the king, who appeared there at the head of the *Iſraelites*, in their *court*, in the *midſt* of which the ſacred hiſtorian has fixed the throne [a] *before the altar* [b]. But it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that the king did not ſtand or ſit there, when he came to the temple in the form of an humble ſupplicant to the God of *Iſrael*, or to aſk his counſel; for in this caſe, it ſeems, the kings were mixed and confounded among the crowd of their ſubjects. At leaſt it is ſaid of *Hezekiah* [c], after he had received the threatning letter of the *Aſſyrian* king, *He went up into the houſe of the Lord, and ſpread it before the Lord, and pray-*

[t] 2 Chron. vi. 13.
[u] 2 Kings xi. 14.
[x] עמד אל עמוד Homed al-hamoud.
[y] 2 Kings xxiii. 3.
[z] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31.
[a] Ibid. vi. 13.
[b] Ubi ſup. ver. 12.
[c] 2 Kings xix. 14.

ed,

ed, &c. where no mention is made of his standing upon the pillar. And we are the more apt to judge he did not, for that *Jehoshaphat* before him [d], when, in fear of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, he had proclaimed a fast, *stood in the congregation of* Judah *and* Jerusalem, *in the house of the Lord*, before the new court, *and there prayed*. There the king would not appear upon his throne, but went as near to the temple as he well could, which in our opinion, is intimated by his standing before the *new court*; for we have seen this court was immediately next to the temple, whereas the court of the priests, properly so called, before which stood the throne, was farther off. However, the throne was the ordinary seat upon all solemn occasions, when the king appeared before the altar. And there also it was young *Joash* was seated, in all the pomp of a king, at his inauguration. So the historian says [e], *The king stood upon his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets*, &c. Our translation here again is *stood at his pillar*, but we do not choose to vary where the text is uniform.

Secondly, Upon this pillar was a sort of alcove, or small gallery, made, as we have hinted above, much in the same shape as our *pulpits*. This rested on the central point of its convex side upon the pillar: There the king might either sit or stand, and turn himself about to the temple, altar, or consecration, as he had occasion, as is observed of *Solomon* at the consecration of the temple [f].

Thirdly, The *Kior* seems to have been covered, as is at present the throne of our kings; and for this reason it was called *Musac*, which may be explained by canopy or cloth of state, this third part denominating the two first.

BUT it is not easy to conceive for what reason, to the idea of covering is joined that of *Sabbath*. The word *Sabbath* properly is rest, and figuratively the solemn day on which one did rest. If you take it in the first sense, it must only be understood, that the *Musac* covered the place where the king rested, or sat down (I), every one else standing [g]: if you take it in the second sense, it may imply that the *Kior*, or *throne*, was covered with the *Musac*, or *cloth of state*, only on the

[d] 2 Chron. xx. 5. [e] Ibid. xxiii. 13. [f] 1 Kings viii. 14. 2 Chron. vi. 3, 12, 13. [g] Ubi sup. ver. 3.

(I) The seventy interpreters seem to have taken it in this sense. For they translate the covert of the sabbath by τὸ θεμέλιον τῆς καθέδρας, the *foundation of the chair or seat*.

last

aſt day of the week, the day of reſt or ſabbath; and then it was laid up till the next ſabbath-day, unleſs ſome high feſtival intervened that required the king's preſence in the temple.

IT may give ſome air of probability to this ſecond conjecture to take notice, that the *Muſac* was ſurely a very rich and valuable piece of work, ſince *Abaz* made uſe of it with a deſign to glut the avarice of the king of *Aſſyria*, whom he had very imprudently called to his aid againſt the king of *Damaſcus* [h].

IT will now be proper to ſhew the agreement between what we have been ſpeaking of, and the *King's entry without*. In order to do this, it will be needful to conſider what is written in the New Teſtament concerning *Solomon*'s *Porch*: Chriſt uſed to walk then in the temple [i], the apoſtles were all with one accord there alſo [k], and all the people ran together unto them in the porch that is called *Solomon*'s [l]. Now that this king had built ſuch a porch *Joſephus* acknowledges [m], but placeth it eaſtward, which ſeems to be an error, unleſs he meant that it went up eaſtward, which is true in our opinion. However, the authority of St. *Luke* and St. *John* is ſufficient to make us conclude, that among the ſeveral porticoes the temple was adorned with in their time, one in particular was looked upon as *Solomon*'s. A ſure ſign that it was ſuppoſed he had built one, which ſufficeth for our purpoſe.

WE ſhall not here undertake to deſcribe exactly the ſtructure, nor even the ſituation, of that built by *Solomon*. It only appears in general, that it might reach or extend itſelf from the gate, where ended the terraſs by which the king went up from his palace, to the temple, and that it was carried forwards in a ſtrait line as far as over-againſt the *Muſac*; but then to go to the *Muſac* joining to the wall of the court of prieſts, one muſt turn to the left, and that *turning* will preciſely be the *Mebo*, or *King's entry*. It is to be ſuppoſed, the *porch* from the gate *Shallecheth*, as far as this entry, might be a common paſſage for the uſe of the public as well as of the king; but from the turning to the throne, as has already been obſerved, it was the king's entry properly ſo called; which conſequently was adorned and inriched much more magnificently than the reſt. For which reaſon *Abaz* made uſe of it, as well as of the *covert of the ſabbath*, to buy the aſſiſtance of the king of *Aſſyria*. Not that we are to think, that *Abaz* deſtroyed the whole building, which was not neceſ-

[h] 2 Kings xvi. 7. [i] John x. 23. [k] Acts v. 12. [l] Ibid. [m] Antiq. lib. xx. c. 8. p. 899, & B. J. lib. v. c. 5. p. 1225.

sary; but, as we read of *Hezekiah* [n], that *he cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which he had over-laid, and gave it to the king of* Assyria; now the same did *Ahaz, taking away a portion out of the house of the Lord* [o], viz. *The king's entry and covert for the sabbath*, just as *Hezekiah* did the rest abovesaid.

BUT what may be of more weight in this enquiry is, that this hypothesis of the situation of the *Musac*, or *royal throne*, will clear up a circumstance in *Joash*'s inauguration, otherwise very difficult to be understood [p]. It is well known, that that prince, by *Jehoiada*'s means, having been proclaimed in the temple, the noise was heard by *Athaliah* in her palace; upon which she in haste ran to the temple by the terrass-walk, which for her was the readiest and shortest way (K). She went in at the gate *Shallecheth*, and crossed what we have called the portico, or porch of *Solomon*, at least that part of the court, where stood in arms the *Levites*, according to the directions of the high-priest [q]. They, seeing the queen, but having no particular orders concerning her, did let her advance, so that she drew nearer; and coming as far as the *King's entry*, or directly over-against it, it is said [r], *She looked*, and *behold the*

[n] 2 Kings xviii. 16. [o] 2 Chron. xxviii. 21. [p] 2 Kings xi.—2 Chron. xxiii. [q] Kings ubi sup. ver. 5. 11. [r] Ibid. 14.

(K) We confess no place of scripture gives the situation of this palace, so as to fix it exactly. However, it is probable the ground it stood upon was called the *middle city*, as we have it in the margin of our translation, though in the text, *middle court* (66). The truth of which is, what is written in the *Hebrew*, called *ketib*, is הָעִיר *habir*, *the city*; but what is read according to the *Masorites*, called *keri*, is חָצֵר *hazer*, or *chazer*, a *court*. Now supposing, as is likely, the true reading to be *habir*, this shews where the palace stood; for nothing could well be called the *middle city*, but what had westward the top of mount *Sion*, whereon was built the higher city, or city of *David*. And then at the foot of this mount, on a plain, or level surface to the east, you meet with the palace of *Solomon*, though not in a low place; for to the north, a large valley lay betwixt it and the temple, standing itself upon that other hillock called *Moriah*. Further it does appear (67), the palace stood in the eastern part of *Jerusalem*, where was the court of the prison, the water-gate, and the horse-gate that led to the palace, whose front looked up to the temple, both places having an easy communication by the celebrated terrass, or ascent, of which before.

(66) 2 *Kings* xx. 4. (67) *Nehem.* iii. 25.—28. *Conf.* 2 *Kings* xi. 16. & 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 15.

king

king ſtood upon his pillar at [r] *the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king.*-- Then *Athaliah rent her cloaths, and ſaid, Treaſon! Treaſon!* Hereupon the high-prieſt, *Jehoiada*, ordered the commanding officers to *have her forth of the ranges* [t]; which, according as their armed *Levites* were poſted, could not more conveniently and with greater ſurety be done, than in opening the ranks towards the gate of *Aſuppim*, which was over-againſt the king's entry to the ſouth (L). By this gate then *Athaliah* was thruſt out of the temple immediately, and the better to hinder her from returning to her palace, they conducted her towards the fields, through the eaſtern gate of *Jeruſalem*, called *Miphkad*, or *priſon gate* [u], then turning to the right by the corner [x], down to the horſe gate [y], eaſtward of the palace, thereabouts ſhe was killed. Soon after the high-prieſt brought the king from the temple to the palace by the way of the gate of the guard (M), and thence through the great or high gate of that palace [z]. This we reckon is the

[r] Chron. ubi ſup. ver. 13. [t] Kings ubi ſup. 15, & Chron. ubi ſup. 14. [u] Nehem. iii. 31. xii. 3. 9. [x] Jerem. xxxi 40. [y] 2 Kings xi. 16. 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. Nehem. iii. 28. [z] 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

(L) Being divided in three parts, the *Levites* had three different poſts joining to one another (68); one third part was to guard the *King's houſe*, or apartment, next to the temple, ſouthward; another to be at the gate of *Sur*, or *turning*, which ſeems to be that of *Aſuppim*, whereat the king turned to his throne. It is indeed called by another name, but very like it in the *Hebrew*, *viz.* the gate of *Sippim*, where our verſion has *doors* or *threſholds*. The laſt was at the gate *beyond the guard*, or *runners* (69), which ſeems to be that of *Shallecheth*. For the king coming to the temple through this gate, any one may ſee that there was their proper ſtation in the avenue. It is alſo called the gate of *foundation*, becauſe of the *projecture* there made with the terraſs, as has been obſerved.

(M) So ſays the firſt of the ſacred hiſtorians (70), meaning as we take it, the gate that before has been called *the gate beyond the guard*, viz. *Shallecheth*, or ſouth-weſtern gate. But if one had rather, that the gate of the guard here, which is ſomewhat different from the other, ſhould ſignify the ſame with the high gate in *Chronicles*, where the guard of the king's houſe ſtood; this will make no variation in the main; for as it is rightly ſuppoſed to have been in the front of the palace, it was the firſt gate they met with coming from the LORD's to the *King's houſe* over the terraſs, or aſcent.

(68) *See* 2 *Kings* xi. 5, *&c.* 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 4, *&c.* (69) *See of them*, 2. *Sam.* xv. 1. 1 *Kings* i. 5. xiv. 27. (70) 2 *Kings* xi. 19.

true ſenſe; though ſome would underſtand by this high gate, a gate of the temple; but there was no ſuch gate in the temple till the reign of *Jotham*, of whom it is ſaid in expreſs terms* *He built the high gate of the houſe of the Lord*; which is generally taken to be that towards the eaſt (N). But let this ſuffice, poſſibly have we launched out too far, and ventured upon too many conjectures; but we hope the reader will do us the juſtice to acknowledge we have kept our word, in carefully diſtinguiſhing between probable opinions and things of greater certainty.

I beg leave to conclude the whole with one remark. It is allowed, that the main ſcope of the ſacred writings was not ſo much to ſatisfy our vain curioſity, as to inſpire us with the love of all chriſtian virtues; and therefore, though we may juſtly expect that every thing which relates to this latter, which is the eſſential of religion, ſhould be delivered with all poſſible clearneſs, it would be abſurd to expect the ſame ſatisfaction about the former. Thoſe leſs important points, many of which are well worth enquiring after, make a branch of chriſtian philology, in which every man, being forced to ſupply the want of evidence with probable conjectures, is intitled to differ from others, whenever he thinks his own better grounded. But though in points like this, I have been upon, it be almoſt lawful to err, yet thoſe are more excuſable who keep a conſtant regard to the ſacred original above all things, than thoſe who manifeſtly depart from it, to follow their own fancies, or the fabulous accounts of the *Jews*. Now, as I have drawn the greateſt part of my light from the former, I am ſenſible, that thoſe who have been converſant with all the pompous deſcriptions we have extant, will be ſurprized to find this of mine come ſo vaſtly ſhort of the boaſted magnificence of that ſacred building. But here I deſire it may be remembered, that as this was deſigned to contain no more than could be met with, or fairly deduced from the ſacred writings, ſo the reader will at leaſt reap this benefit from it, that he will now be better able to judge what is, or is not authentic in other plans of this ſtructure, than he could have been without it.

* 2 Kings xv, 35. & 2. Chron. xxvii. 3.

(N) This we do remark, becauſe *Ezekiel* (71) ſpeaks of the *higher gate that lieth toward the north*, the ſame, it ſeems, with that which *Jeremy* (72) calls the *high gate of* Benjamin, which was בביתן bebeth, *in* or *by the houſe of the* LORD.

(71) *Cap.* ix. 2. (72) *Cap.* xx. 2.

A Deſcription

A Deſcription of JERUSALEM.

AFTER the account we have given of the holy city's greateſt ornament, *the temple of* SOLOMON, we have thought it would not be unacceptable, for a more comprehenſive view of the whole, to ſubjoin a deſcription of the city itſelf, according to the ſacred hiſtorians.

IT is a general ſuppoſition, though, as we preſume, without any ſolid argument to ſupport it, that *Melchiſedek*'s *Salem* ſtood in the ſame place, where afterwards was built the city, the ſubject of our preſent enquiry (A). We will not, at this time, undertake to decide the queſtion, but ſhall only take notice of the habitations of the *Canaanites*, who dwelt here and in the adjacent parts, being called *Jebus* and *Jebuſi* [a]. *David* having taken from them the mountain, upon the top of which was their *ſtrong hold*, made it his place of reſidence [b], and this is commonly called *Zion*, or the *city of* David [c]. Under *Solomon* the name of *Jeruſalem* either firſt began, or firſt got the better of the other; but there being no ſure reaſon aſſigned for this, nor any determined ſignification affixed to the name (B), we will dwell no longer upon theſe

Its Origin and names.

[a] Joſh. xv. 8. xviii. 28. & paſſ. 1 Chron. xi. 5. [b] 2 Sam. v. 7. 9. [c] Pſ. xlviii.

(A) What is generally alledged, that the tabernacle was in *Salem* (1), proves only that it was the ſhortened or abridged name of that city, like that of *Solyma*. Some even have ſaid *Solymus* for *Hieroſolymitanus* (2).

Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem.

(B) ירושלים, according to the pronunciation of the *Maſorites*, *Jeroushalaim*; but to that of the *Chaldee*, in holy writ, *Jerouſhelem*; which is much the ſame as the *Greek* ιερουσαλὴμ, and our *Jeruſalem*. This word, in all likelihood, is compounded and derived from *Shalem*, or *Shalum*, *peace*; and, as ſeveral are of opinion, from *jarab*, to *fear*; or *raah*, to *ſee*; or *jaraſh*, to *inherit* or *poſſeſs*; or from *Jerus*, altered from *Jebus*, by a mutation of letters. We read in *Joſephus* (3), that by ſome it was thought *Homer* had called this city *Solyma*; and that truly the *Temple* was called, in *Hebrew*, *Solyma*, i. e. *ſafety*, or *ſecurity*. St. *Jerom* lays this to the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian's charge in very hard words (4); and, as it ſeems, with ſome juſt ground.

(1) *Pſ. lxxvi. 2.* (2) Valer. Flav. *lib.* 1. *Argonaut.* (3) *Ant. vii. p.* 287. (4) *Quod abſurdum eſſe peregrinæ linguæ mixturæ demonſtrat. De Loc Hebr.*

Fox,

theſe uncertainties, but enter into the matter in hand, by conſidering *Jeruſalem*.

Holineſs. IN regard to its *holineſs*. We muſt not imagine this attribute has been given to it by the rabbies only, or by the legend of the ſhekels, which is *Jeruſalem the holy* [d]. *Iſaiah* [e] tells us, that the *Iſraelites* call themſelves *of the holy city*. *Nehemiah* twice qualifies it by that title [f], all which doth ſufficiently ſhew it was generally called ſo. In the new teſtament [g] the ſame title is ſeveral times given to it. Beſides, it is well known, that in the *Pſalms* it bears the name of *City of God* [h]; in the *Prophets* [i] we read, that it ſhall be called the *Throne of the Lord*; our Saviour himſelf calls it the *City of the great king* [k]; as being hallowed and conſecrated in a particular manner by God's reſidence in the temple. The rabbies [l] add, that there was a penalty forbidding the leaving a dead corpſe in it the ſpace of a night, and that the importation of dead mens bones was unlawful; notwithſtanding this, in it were contained the *Tombs* of the royal family [m]. It is further added by the rabbies, that within its walls were not to be ſeen gardens, trees, dung, or lime-kilns, or even cocks. In it no houſes were to be let; and this, I think, means only that the inhabitants were obliged to exerciſe hoſpitality by entertaining their brethren, on whom it was incumbent to reſort from all parts to *Jeruſalem* on the days of the great *Feſtivals* (C).

[d] ירושלם הקדושה See before p. 410. [e] Iſ. xlviii. 2.
[f] Nehem. xi. 1. 18. [g] Matth. iv. 5, & paſſ. [h] Pſ. xlvi. 4.
[i] Jerem. iii. 17. coll. Dan. xi. 45. Joel. iii. 17. Zech. viii. 3.
[k] Matth. v. 35. coll. Pſ. xlviii 2. [l] In Gemara Bava Kama & libro Siphra ap. RELAND. [m] Vid. JOSEPH. Ant. vii. p. 331. fin. conf. Nehem. iii. 16.

For, in another place, the ſame hiſtorian (5) tells us, that *Melchiſedeck* was the firſt that built the temple, τὸ ἱερὸν; and that after he had built it, he called it ἱεροσόλυμα, which was before named σόλυμα: where that ſtrange etymology is again ſeen; not to mention other groſs errors, which give us room to think this paſſage is very much falſified (6). This may have happened to ſeveral others, which it is to be hoped, will be reſtored by Mr. *Whiſton*, in the tranſlation he intends to publiſh.

(C) Of this ſome have thought an intimation ſeems to be given in the goſpel (7), where Chriſt will have a room made ready for him to eat the paſſover.

(5) *Bell. Jud* vi. p. 1292 (6) *Conf. above temple*, p. 561. *not.* A. (7) *Matth.* xxvi. 17.

It

IT is no eaſy matter preciſely to determine the *extent* of this city in its different changes. Its moſt antient ſtate of perfection was under the flouriſhing reign of its founder's ſucceſſor, I mean *Solomon*; in whoſe time this city, before embelliſhed by his father *David*, appeared in its greateſt luſtre and beauty, and there is no great likelihood, that it was enlarged by thoſe that came after him. The general and indeterminate deſcriptions, to be found in the authors of thoſe times, will not permit us, as we have juſt now hinted, to ſettle with any exactneſs the bounds of it. We will however venture to ſuppoſe its circumference, at firſt to have been about ſeven or eight *Stadia*, or a *Roman mile*. It was certainly twice, or probably three times, as large under *Solomon*. After the *Captivity*, this city being rebuilt, took up much the ſame ſpace as before; as may be gathered from *Nehemiah*'s [n] deſcription of the ruins of the city, and its condition after it was repaired. This deſcription of *Nehemiah* we ſhall take particular notice of, and at the ſame time ſhall not let that of *Joſephus* [o] paſs unheeded. According to this hiſtorian, the whole *circumference* of *Jeruſalem* was 33 *Stadia* [p], which is about four miles and 125 paces. But *Hecateus*, who has deſcribed it ſuch as it was in his time, under *Ptolemy Lagus* [q], gives it nd leſs than 50 *Stadia* *, probably including the *outparts*, which properly did not belong to it; for there is no reaſon to believe, that there was any conſiderable decreaſe, from the time of *Hecateus* to that of *Joſephus*, ſo that we muſt ſtand to the meaſure of the laſt of theſe: we will only add, that *Hecateus*'s aſſertion, that there was in *Jeruſalem one hundred and twenty thouſand* inhabitants, is very probable (D).

Extent.

[n] Chap. ii, iii. & xii. [o] Bell. Jud. vi. 4. cui tit. Ἱεροσόλυμων ἅλωσις, p. 1221. [p] Ibid. p. 1223. N°. iii. [q] DIODOR. SICULUS lib. i. * Apud JOSEPH. C. APION. p. 1348.

(D) His words are, ὧν ἐκείνοις μὲν ἄνθρωποι περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες, twelve myriads; now a myriad is 10,000; and 120,000 inhabitants may ſeem rather too few for ſuch an extent as had *Jeruſalem* of four miles. We ſee that in the ſiege periſhed, according to *Joſephus* (8), 1,100,000 men, μυριάδες ἑπτὰν καὶ δέκα, beſides 97,000 taken priſoners during the war; and that this may gain more credit *Joſephus* adds, as an undoubted proof, that in *Ceſtius*'s enrollment on *Eaſter-day* were reckoned 255,600 lambs. Now there was not leſs than ten men to each lamb; ſo that the number of thoſe that were purified according to the law, beſides the reſt, muſt have been two millions, five hundred and fifty ſix thouſand.

(8) *De Bell. Jud. lib. ult. p.* 1291.

THE

Situation. THE situation of this capital city of *Judæa* has always been extremely advantageous. The agreeable variety of rising grounds with which it was encompassed [r], the fruitful meadows that lay between, interspersed with clear rivulets and wholesome streams [s]; the hills on which it stood, which rose gradually one behind another, and looked like a natural *Amphitheatre*, made up as pleasing and delightful a prospect as can well be conceived.

OF these hills the two largest, *Zion* and *Acra*, were directly opposite to each other; on *Moriah*, whose compass might be about three quarters of a mile, *Solomon* built the temple. Of the two first we will take a more distinct view, beginning with mount *Zion*.

THIS hill, as has already been shewn [t], bounded to the south the whole circumference, and reached from west to east. The western side was highest, and bounded by the valley of *Hinnom* (E) as the eastern by that of *Jehoshaphat* [u], which it is thought, joined the other towards the south [w]. Here were several springs, particularly that of *Gihon* [x], or *Shiloh* [y], which ran very plentifully with exceeding good

[r] ירושלם הרים סביב לה, Ps. cxxv. 2. [s] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4. [t] See above temple, descript. p. 565. [u] Joel. iii. 2. [w] Kimchi in loc. [x] 1 Kings i. 33. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. [y] Isai. viii. 6. John ix. 7.

(E) גיאחנם *Ge-hinnom*, so it is called (9) in *Joshua*, where *Hinnom* is a man's name. In another place (10) it is the valley of the sons, or *children of* Hinnom; and it is said, that in this valley was *Topheth*, where the children were made to pass through the fire in honour to *Moloch*. Upon this account, it is thought this place took its name from the tears the children shed whilst burning, and from the noise of the drums which were kept beating, in order to drown their shrieks. But the text in *Joshua* shews, that the valley did bear this name long before it was put to such an use, if ever it was put to it at all. Atleast, if we believe *Maimon*, and other rabbies, the children were made to pass through the flame only, as being, by that ceremony, consecrated to the idol (11). However, in later times, the carrion was thrown into this valley (12); and when it did not waste away fast enough, frequently burnt. This has given room to fix upon the word *Gehenna*, (which represents in *Greek* and *Latin* the *Hebrew* word) the notion of hell-fire (13).

(9) *Josh.* xv. 8. (10) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10. (11) Seld. *de Diis Syris, Synt.* i. *cap.* 6. (12) 2 *Kings ubi sup.* (13) *Matth.* xv. 22, 29, & 30, *pass.*

water (F). To the north, *Zion* had another valley that lined it from one end to the other, named by *Joſephus* [z] the *valley of the Cheeſemongers*; probably the ſame as that diſtinguiſhed in *Zephaniah* [a] by the epithet of the *Makteſh* (G), tranſlated by the Septuagint τὴν κατακεκομμένην, *that was cut into*, or *made hollow* (H).

Acra (I), with the ſaid valley to the ſouth, ſtood to the north of *Zion*; its declivity was equal on every ſide, as *Joſephus* [b] ſays; and we cannot give a better idea of theſe two hills, nor of the valley between them, than he who had ſo often ſeen them. According to this hiſtorian [c], *Jeruſalem* was built upon the two hills, *Zion* and *Acra*, directly oppoſite Acra.

[z] Ubi ſup. in Ecphraſi. [a] Chap. i. ver. 11. [b] Ubi ſup. in Ecphraſi. [c] Ibid.

(F) Πηγὴν γλυκεῖαν τε καὶ πολλὴν are the words of *Joſephus* (18). Others have thought, that *Shiloh* was a rivulet of *Gihon*, and it is true that that word ſignifies *ſent*, according to the etymology given of it in the goſpel (19); where it is alſo called *pool*.

(G) Which word ſignifies *a mortar*, or *any hollow thing*. Thus the מִכְתֵּשׁ בְּלֶחִי, which ſo ſeaſonably refreſhed *Samſon*'s thirſt, is univerſally rendered the *hollow of the rock* Lechi, ſo called from its reſemblance to a jaw-bone, or from the ſlaughter he had made with it there (20).

(H) In the ſame manner, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 20, *habbor*, (in our tranſlation *a pit*, in which *Benaiah*, in time of ſnow, *ſlew a lion*) literally *the pit*, was probably a known place, ſo named from its cavity and hollowneſs, and may very well be the deep valley here mentioned. What ſeems to favour this conjecture is, that *Benaiah* was one of *David's mighty men*, or captains. Now it is very poſſible, that he being upon duty at the gate of the city of *David* on mount *Zion*, and hearing in the valley, at the foot of the palace, the roaring of *a lion*, whom want of food, *in time of ſnow*, had brought thither, deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf by ſo ſingular an action, immediately *went down*, encountered, and deſtroyed the hungry rapacious beaſt.

(I) This name ſeems to be borrowed from the *Greek* ἄκρα, *an eminence*; and ſometimes *a citadel*, or *fortreſs* (21). It is well known, that there was one built upon this hill by *Antiochus*, and afterwards laid even to the ground by *Simon* (22). And to this reaſon it muſt be aſcribed, that *Acra* has been ſince diſtinguiſhed by that name. Notwithſtanding the *Targum* (23) makes ſometimes uſe of this expreſſion, the *Acra*; that is, the *Citadel* of *Zion*.

(18) *Bell. Jud.* v. *p.* 1222. (19) *John. ix.* 7. (20) *Judg. xv.* 17, *& ſeq.* (21) 1 *Maccab. i.* 33. (22) *See Joſeph. Antiq. xii. & xiii.* (23) *On* 2 *Sam. v.* 7.

one to another, and ſeparated by the valley of the *Cheeſe-mongers*. The firſt was higher, and its length formed a much ſtraiter line than the ſecond. Upon it, that is *Zion*, ſtood the *high city*, in the author's time called the *high market-place*. The *lower city* ſtood upon *Acra*, but before that bore other names, as hath been already obſerved in the deſcription of the temple [d].

LET us now examine theſe mountains, in relation to their different wards or quarters, ſtreets, and public places, as well as palaces, and moſt remarkable buildings.

Wards. THE principal quarter was called the *City of* David [e], on the top of mount *Zion*, towards the weſt. This was a fortification which encloſed that king's palace; and it is likely that near this, afterwards, ſtood that of *Herod*, which ſerved as a citadel [f]. To the weſt of the fort was מִצְפָּה *Mizpah*, or *Maſpah*, according as the *Hebrew* word is differently pronounced; but this is not the knotty part of the queſtion: the difficulty would be to prove, that *Mizpah* was a part of *Jeruſalem*, it being ſure that near it was a ſmall town that bore that name [g]. Theſe are the words of *Nehemiah* [h], *Shallun* of *Colhozeh*, ruler of the פֶּלֶךְ *Pelec* of *Mizpah*, repaired the gate of the fountain. Now *Pelec* in *Hebrew* is a *ſtaff* [i], and ſo may ſignify a *diſtrict*, *ward*, or *quarter*, ſubject to a particular juriſdiction or inſpection, in the ſame manner as שֵׁבֶט *Shebet*, *a rod*, ſignifies *a tribe*. The *Chaldee* dialect makes uſe of *Pelac*, and פְּלָגָא *Pileca*, in the ſame ſenſe as is here given to *Pelec*. The *Arabians* give this name, which they pronounce *Felec*, to a ſphere; ſo that it would be a pretty good tranſlation of παροικία *Pariſh*, as it denotes the neighbourhood round about. The *Septuagint* tranſlate it here *part*, or *portion*; but every where elſe in this chapter it is a περίχωρος *circumference of land*, a diſtrict of more or leſs extent. The *Latin* word *Vicus* bears the ſame ſenſe, and is made uſe of in the *Vulgate*; though in this place, ſpeaking of *Mizpah*, that tranſlation has *Pagus*, and in another place *Pars*; ſo uncertain it is to truſt to tranſlations, how uſeful ſoever they may be when compared together. However, I ſhall venture to ſay that *Mizpah* was one of the quarters of *Jeruſalem*, and that it was divided into two parts; that we are ſpeaking of to the weſt, and the other, where ſtood the *Arſenal*, and where *Ezer* was ruler [k], to the eaſt of the forteſs.

[d] See deſcrip. tem. p. 566. [e] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Nehem. xii. 37. [f] Bell Jud. p. 1230. [g] Jerem. xl. 10. [h] Nehem. iii. 15. [i] 2 Sam. iii. 29. [k] Nehem. iii. 19.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER quarter, divided into two parts, bears the name of *Jeruſalem* [l], which had two rulers, each of half a quarter. This is the part which *Joſephus* [m] calls the *City*, with reſpect to the citadel, and both together made the upper city. There were three other quarters, which, it ſeems, might be looked for in *Acra*, viz, *Bethakerem*, *Bethzur*, and *Keilah*.

As for the *Streets*, in *Hebrew* חוצות *Hhouzoth* [n], all we know concerning thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, at that time, is, that as there was one bearing the name of *Haophim*, i. e. *Baker's-ſtreet* [o]; ſo there might be others which bore the names of ſome other trades; thus the valley, in *Joſephus*'s time, was called *Tyropeon* [p]. *Streets.*

רחוב *Rehob* properly is *an open* place (K); in the *Rehoboth*, according to *Ezekiel* [q], were built the high places. In the book of *Eſther* [r], an officer of the king of *Perſia* goes out to *Mordecai* in the *Rehob* of the town, over-againſt the gate of the palace, which ſeems to have been made uſe of by the courtiers to walk in. In the *Rehob* of *Jeruſalem* [s] *Hezekiah* aſſembled his generals, and made a ſpeech to them. The people were gathered together by *Ezra* [t] in a *Rehob* of the temple, and the prieſts and levites by *Hezekiah* [u] in the eaſtern *Rehob*; we muſt ſuppoſe theſe two to have been parts of the vacant ſpace that ſurrounded the courts of the temple. Laſtly, there was a *Rehob* near the water-gate [w], which muſt have been vaſtly large, ſince it contained all the people of both ſexes that flocked thither from all parts, in order to hear *Ezra* read the law, upon a ſcaffold, or ſtage, erected upon this occaſion at one end of the place, in ſuch a manner that *Ezra* had the whole aſſembly facing him. *Places.*

IF we have not yet taken notice of מלוא *Millo*, it is becauſe we do not find it in ſcripture diſtinguiſhed by any of the above-mentioned names, or indeed by any other name than *Millo*. When *David* took from the *Jebuſites* the top of mount *Zion*, he then *built round about from* Millo *and inwards*, ſays the text of *Samuel* [x]; where it is eaſy to under-

[l] Ibid. 9, & 12. [m] Antiq. xiv. p. 613. [n] Prov. vii. 12. [o] Jerem. xxxvii. 21. [p] See before p. 593. [q] Ezek. xvi. 24. [r] Eſther iv. 6. [s] 2 Chron. xxxii. 6. [t] Ezra x. 9. [u] 2 Chron. xxix. 4. [w] Nehem. viii. 1, 4. Add the *Rehob* of the gate *Ephraim*, ibid. 16. [x] 2 Sam v. 9. Coll. 1 Chron. xi. 8.

(K) The root רחב doth ſignify *to enlarge itſelf*; ſo that *Rehob* is literally *a large place*, and is made uſe of to ſignify the *place*, or *ſquare*, of a town, *Judges* xix. 15.

ſtand a caſtle was built on this mount, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, and probably of a circular form. Now this building had on the eaſt what is called *Millo*, and on the other ſides was bounded by the hill itſelf; inſomuch, that the city of *David* was *within* mount *Zion* on the north, weſt, and ſouth, but was bordered eaſtwards by *Millo* (L). Although it is ſaid in the text[y] *Solomon built it*, yet the context ſhews, that he only made an end of it, or repaired it; and as much did *Hezekiah* in his time[z]. Who the firſt was that built it, we do not know; but it ſeems to have been a work of the *Jebuſites*, whoſe government was almoſt a *Democracy*, like that at *Athens*.

FOR this reaſon, and from what is ſaid in ſcripture, there would be no abſurdity in ſuppoſing it to have been a ſpacious open place, ſuch as the *Campus Martius* at *Rome*; where the people met for their recreation, on feſtival and other rejoicing days, or about private or public affairs. It may be placed at the foot of the city of *David*, going to the valley between *Zion* and *Acra*, in the centre of the whole circumference of *Jeruſalem*. Others imagine it to be a *Street*, beginning at the ſteps of the city of *David*, and reaching as far as *Acra*, or

[y] Vid. 1 Kings ix. 15. 24. &. xi. 27. [z] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

(L) Without doubt *Millo* doth ſignify ſomething either *full*, or *to be filled*; at leaſt this may be deduced from the two *Hebrew* words that come neareſt to it *Melo fulneſs*, and *Miluah beazel*, or *collet*, in which are inchaſed precious ſtones. So *Moſes*, receiving orders about the breaſt plate, is bid to fill the beazel, *Miluah*, with a ſtone (24), that the ſtones ſhall be ſet in gold in their encloſings (25), and that they were incloſed in ouches of gold in their incloſings, *bemilluotham* (26). So then *Millo* was ſomething *filled* up; and this we are very ready to allow, for, to make it fit for the uſe we have been ſpeaking of, it was required, that in ſome places this ſpot of ground ſhould be made level, and in others filled up, in order to its being uniform and of a piece. This derivation ſurely favours our opinion more than any other; and we might add to this, that it is very likely this was the place where afterwards ſtood the *Xyſtos* (27), a large place where the athlets did exerciſe. And as ſuch a place was alſo called περίδρομος from the runnings there round about, it hath been apprehended an *Hippodrome* was there for horſe-races; which is not improbable. However, it very much reſembling what we have ſaid of *Millo*, it may alſo be, that the firſt inhabitants may have given it this name from its being a place of general concourſe, and ſo *filled up* with numbers of people of all ſorts.

(24) *Exod. xxviii.* 17. (25) *Ibid.* 21. (26) *Ibid. xxxix.* 13. (27) *Joſ. in Ecphraſi* 1222.

Moriah;

Moriah; or elſe a *Wall* along the valley between the two hills; and laſtly, the *Valley* itſelf. But this ſeems leſs probable than what we at firſt hinted.

LET us next viſit the public buildings in *Zion*: The firſt that offers itſelf is the *Palace of king David*, on the top of the mount in the midſt of a fortreſs [a]. There was a flight of ſteps to go up to it [b]; to the north of theſe ſteps, or ſtairs, ſtood the *Tomb of David*, of which *Joſephus* tells many wonderful ſtories at the end of the ſeventh book of his antiquities. At the bottom of the ſteps was the houſe of *the Mighty* [c]. This, in my opinion, ſerved as a guard-houſe to the palace, or at leaſt was the ſtation of ſome chief commanders, without whoſe leave no one was permitted to go up to the houſe; ſuch as we ſuppoſe the thirty one worthies [d], among which was *Uriah* the *Hittite* [e]. *Buildings.*

NEXT was the *Arſenal*, or *Armoury*, at the turning of the wall [f], in *Hebrew* called *Mikzoah* (M); but the *Arſenal* itſelf, by a compendious expreſſion, or way of ſpeaking, was called הַנֶּשֶׁק *Hanneſhek*, for *Neſhek* is *a weapon*, or *arms*. The word *baith*, *a houſe*, muſt therefore be underſtood.

NOT far from the *Arſenal*, and more towards the middle of the city was, if not the palace of the high-prieſt, at leaſt a *pontifical palace*, then in the poſſeſſion of *Eliaſhib* [g]. *Nehemiah* mentions it only occaſionally, when he ſpeaks of the repairs of the walls of the city; but even from the little that is ſaid of it, we may gather that it was a ſpacious building. Lower, at a very little diſtance, we find the houſe of *Azariah*, a man of diſtinction of the tribe of *Benjamin* *. But it is time to come to the *Palace* or *Palaces*.

And here the books of *Kings* do indeed mention three houſes built by *Solomon*; the firſt they call the houſe where he dwelt [h]; the ſecond, the houſe of the foreſt of *Lebanon* [i];

[a] 2 Sam. v. 11. [b] Nehem. iii. 15. [c] Ibid. 16. [d] 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. & ſeq. [e] Ibid. 39. [f] Nehem. iii. 19. [g] Ibid. 20. * Ibid. 23. [h] 1 Kings vii. 1. 8. [i] Ibid. 2.

(M) מִקְצֹעַ is properly *the opening of an angle*, which conſequently forms a ſpace; but פִּנָּה *Pinah* is *the point of an angle*, or, as it is called by artiſts, *a ſalient angle*; ſo the wall had a turning out here, and this juſtifies the tranſlation; and any one may ſee that it formed a corner, or open place, in the interior angle. For this reaſon, ſuch an opening in *Ezekiel*'s temple is called *Mikzoah*; *Behold*, ſays he (28), *in every* מִקְצֹעַ corner *of the court there was a court.*

(28) *Ezek. xlvi.* 21.

and

and the third was, that which he made for *Pharaoh*'s daughter [k]; but this laſt I take to have been only a ſpacious apartment (N) added to the firſt houſe, whoſe ſituation it is not very difficult to fix. For, on one ſide, this palace was almoſt parallel to the *water-gate* [l], and on the other, there was a communication between it and the temple, by means of the *terras* built by *Solomon* over the *valley* [m]. I am apt to think that the ſecond was a ſummer retirement, ſince we have it upon record that *Solomon* built it in the foreſt [n]. But yet I would not contradict thoſe who are of opinion, that it was only another wing, or apartment of the palace, which very probably took its name from the cedars of *Lebanon*, that may be ſuppoſed to have been the chief material employed in it.

THE following conſideration adds a great deal of weight to this ſide of the queſtion, *viz.* That in this houſe [o] were placed the targets and ſhields of beaten gold; for the diſtance from *Lebanon* to *Jeruſalem* would have made it very troubleſome to bring them up whenever they were wanted, beſides the riſk of being taken, to which ſuch coſtly armour would have been expoſed by the way; and indeed they were carried away by *Shiſhak* when he came up againſt the city [p].

NOT far from this palace, I think, was the *Mattara*, tranſlated *Priſon* [q]; but if it was one it was only like the *Tower of London*, or like our courts of law, or even the main *corps-de-garde* at the avenues of the palace. For in the court of this *Mattara*, *Jeremiah* was confined; but at the ſame time was allowed a good deal of liberty, ſince it was here he made the purchaſe of an eſtate in preſence of ſeveral witneſſes who ſigned the deed of agreement, and of all the *Jews* that lived there [r]. We read moreover [s], that afterwards the prophet was taken as he went out of *Jeruſalem* by the gate of *Benjamin*, and put in priſon (O) in the houſe of *Jonathan*

[k] Ibid. 8 [l] Nehem. iii. [m] 1 Kings vi. [n] Ibid. ix. 19. 2 Chron. viii 6 [o] 1 Kings x. 17. [p] Ibid. xiv. 25, 26. [q] Nehem. iii. 25. coll. Jerem. xxxii. 2, [r] Jerem. xxxii. 12. [s] Ibid. xxxvii. 12.

(N) *Beth* is often taken in that ſenſe, as when *Rebekah* runs to her mother's *beth* (29), *apartment*, or *lodging*; and ſo is the houſe of the women (30) to be underſtood in the book of *Eſther*; the ſaid houſe probably not being ſeparate from the king's, but part of it.

(O) It is called בית האסור *Beth haaſour*, *houſe of binding*; otherwiſe it is called *Beth* בלא *kele* (31), *the houſe of detaining*;

(29) *Gen. xxiv.* 28. (30) *Eſth. ii.* 9. (31) *Jerem. xxxvii.* 15.

and

nathan the ſcribe, from whence by *Zedekiah*'s order, he was transferred to the *Mattara*, where [t] he propheſied in the hearing of all the people. For this, at the requeſt of ſome of the great men, he was thrown into a dungeon full of ſoil, where, ſinking into the mire, and in want of all things, he would ſoon have periſhed, had not the king, at the entreaty of a pious *Ethiopian* proſelyte, given order for his being taken out again. The prophet remained in the above-mentioned *court* till the taking of *Jeruſalem* [u].

ALL this ſufficiently ſhews the *Mattara* to have been different from a priſon commonly ſo called. This appears clearly enough; but it is not ſo eaſy to determine the ſituation of this building, although it ſeems *Nehemiah* has undertaken to deſcribe it exactly; and if to us he does not appear to have ſo well ſucceeded in it, the fault lies neither at his door, nor at that of the language he wrote in, but to its being a dead language, many expreſſions of which are not ſo familiar to us as to be perfectly intelligible. However *Nehemiah*, as I underſtand him, ſays [w], "That *Palal* repaired the wall of *Je-*
"*ruſalem*, over-againſt the turning of the wall, and the
"tower belonging to the king's houſe, the high tower (P)
"that was by the court of the *Mattara*."

[t] Ibid. xxxviii 1. [u] Ibid. 28. [w] Ubi ſup. iii. 25.

and in ſuch a houſe we ſee *Micaiah* the prophet (32), a king of *Iſrael* named *Hoſhea* (33) and the king of *Judah Jeboiachin* (34); and this place did bear ſo frightful an aſpect, as to make the prophet think it would ſoon cauſe his death (35).

(P) in our tranſlation this is called *the tower which lieth out from the king's high houſe.* In *Hebrew*, that epithet, *the high*, is more properly conſtrued, we ſhould think, by the word *tower*. The *Septuagint* has accordingly ἀνώτερος, which neceſſarily refers to πυργος, not ὑψος, in their text. Beſides, to *lie out* or *project from* a thing, according to the letter, is in the ſenſe, as we expreſs it, belonging to the ſame (36). But though it be well ſuſceptible of this ſenſe, when joined to that ſequel of the king's houſe, this phraſe may well admit of another ſignification, when without it; and this ſignification we then take to be, that of a great extent (37); ſo as the *Mattara*, its court included, being called by the name of this *high tower*, that ſet it off exceedingly, was, it ſeems, a long ſeries of buildings and walls, diſtant about fifty paces on the weſt ſide of the water gate.

(32) 1 *Kings xxii.* 27. *& paſſ.* (33) 2 *Kings xvii.* 4. *& paſſ.* (34) 2 *Kings xxiv.* 15. (35) *Jerem. xxxviii.* 26. (36) *Vid. Mebbak.* (37) *Nehem. xxiii.* 7.

HERE

HERE are two distinct indications of the reparations made by *Palal* in the wall; one near the *turning* of the wall going up to the water-gate, the other near the adjoining *tower*; and the situation of this tower is specified as well by its distinguishing *height*, as by its relation to the *palace*, and the neighbourhood of the *court* in question. So that to fix this to a point, we must look upon these buildings as being within the verge of the court, and under the immediate cognizance of king *Solomon* and his successors. Men there there intirely under their protection, neither could they be meddled with without the king's express orders; although it was by their orders only, they were restrained within the bounds of these buildings.

WE are now come to buildings much less remarkable for their dignity, magnificence, or embellishments; but whose situation cannot well be omitted in the particular description we are about; I mean the station or post of the *Nethinims* [x]: It is said indeed they dwelt in *Ophel*, eastward, near the valley; but their משכב *Moshab*, or *dwelling*, should not, we presume, be confounded with their house בית *Beth*, or, as in our version, their *place*. Then followed the hall, or place of the merchants or retailers, *Haroshelim* [y]; who, I believe, are the same as the *Collybistæ*, or *money-changers* [z], a sort of dealers very useful at the gate of the temple, where abundance of strangers resorted from all parts. But northward stood the house of the governor, supposed by some to be *Nehemiah*, and named in *Hebrew Kisse-pakhath*. This house was in *Atra*, near the gate of *Ephraim*. Our translation has the throne of the governor, and it might be called his court; it was like the *Roman Prætorium*, and had in it a tribunal, or a seat, which properly is what is meant by the *Hebrew* כסא *Kisse* [a]. This too is the primitive signification of *Throne* in *Greek*, from whence that word in our language is derived.

LITTLE is said concerning the walls of the city; but that little which is said we will here put together. 'Tis well known, after *David* had taken *the strong hold of* [b] Zion, *he called it the city of* David, *and dwelt in that fort* (Q), *having built round*

[x] Nehem. iii. 26. 31. rall. in Mark and John. loc.

[y] Ibid.

[z] Matth. xxi. 12, and parall.

[a] Nehem. iii. 7. Vid. MUNST. in

[b] 2 Sam. v. 7, 9.

(Q) When *David* besieged *Zion*, the *Jebusites* said, "Except "he took away the *blind and the lame*, he should not come in "thither, thinking *David* could not come into the fort." The sense of which is not, to be sure, the most obvious at first reading; yet

round about from Millo *and inward* [c], Afterwards *Solomon built the wall of* Jeruſalem [d], which took in all the eaſtern part at leaſt: However the king of *Iſrael broke down the wall of* Jeruſalem, *from the gate of* Ephraim *unto the corner gate* [e]. This is the wall on the north of *Acra*, from eaſt to weſt, according to the poſition of the gates, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and truly although a *broad wall* was built there, it was always the weak ſide of *Jeruſalem* (R).

OF *Jotham* we read [f], *On the wall of* Ophel *he built much*; this lay to the ſouth-eaſt. Of *Hezekiah*, *He ſtrengthened himſelf, and built up all the wall that was broken*, (viz. by *Joaſh*, as above) *and another wall without* [g]. So alſo of *Manaſſeh*, *He built a wall without the city of* David, *on the weſt ſide of* Gihon, *in the valley even to the entering in at the fiſh-gate, and compaſſed about* Ophel [h]. Here you have almoſt the whole circuit of *Jeruſalem*, from ſouth to north by weſt, and to the ſouth-eaſt. Now to one of theſe latter buildings the prophet ſeems to allude, when ſpeaking of the *breaches of the city of* David, he adds, *the houſes of* Jeruſalem *were broken down to fortify the walls* [i]; though it may be alſo taken for a prophecy of the calamitous times that were to follow. Laſtly, it is reported, that when *the city was broken up by the* Chaldees [k], the ſoldiers *fled by the two walls by the way of the king's garden*, which was on the ſouth [l]; one of theſe walls being built by *David* or *Solomon*, adjoining immediately to the city; and the other, the new one without, by *Hezekiah* or *Manaſſeh*. We read alſo the *army of the* Chaldees *brake down the wall of* Jeruſalem *round about* [m], which was left, till *Nehemiah*'s [n] time, with open breaches on every ſide.

[c] 1 Kings ix. 15. [d] Ibid. xiv. 13. [e] Nehem. iii. 8.
[f] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3. [g] Ibid. xxxii. 5. [h] Ibid. xxxiii. 14.
[i] Iſaiah xxii. 9, 10. [k] 2 Kings xxv. 4. Jerem. xxxix. 4.
[l] Nehem. iii. 15. [m] 2 Kings xxv. 10. [n] Chap. ii. 12, 15.

yet when well conſidered, it ſeems to be, This fort is ſo ſtrong of itſelf, that for its defence, lame and blind men are ſufficient. And to this ſtrength of the place it is owing, that the king promiſed to make chief or captain the man that would drive theſe people into the ditch (38).

(R) This *Joſephus* in ſeveral places gives to underſtand (39); and hence it happened, that both king *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Titus* attacked the city on this ſide (40).

(38) *Vide Bochart Phaleg. l.* iv. *c.* 36. (39) *In Ecphraſi, No.* 2. *ubi de muris. Item. Ant.* v. 448. xiv. 613. *& Bell. Jud.* 389. (40) *Ubi ſup. Ant. & Bell. Jud.*

Gates. IN antient *Jeruſalem*, the gates, שערים *Shaharim*, were ten in number [o], *viz.* five from weſt to eaſt by ſouth, and five others by north: Here are their names, as they are to be found in the text and tranſlation;

By ſouth,	1. Dung-gate,	*Haaſ-poth.*
	2. Fountain-gate,	*Haain* or *en.*
	3. Water-gate,	*Hammajim.*
	4. Horſe-gate,	*Haſouſſim.*
	5. Priſon-gate,	*Hamiphkad.*
By north,	1. Valley-gate	*Haggai* or *ge.*
	2. Gate of Ephraim,	*Ephraim.*
	3. Old-gate,	*Haieſhan.*
	4. Fiſh-gate,	*Hadaggim.*
	5. Sheep-gate,	*Hazon.*

Now as to that which is called *of the valley*, the entrance was on the weſt: By this gate *Nehemiah* went out of the city, in order to viſit the ruins of *Jeruſalem*; he likewiſe placed himſelf upon this gate, or upon the wall cloſe to it, when he made the dedication of the building of *Jeruſalem*, by a double proceſſion of the people, one half going to the right, or ſouth, the other to the left, or north, in order to come by the eaſt to the temple. As they did not go through this gate from which they ſet out, no mention is made of it in the account given of the places through which the proceſſions paſſed [p], but only where the particulars are given of the repairing the walls and gates of *Jeruſalem* [q]. Neither in this account of the proceſſions is the *horſe-gate* mentioned, probably, becauſe the rubbiſh ſtopped up the paſſage, which was the reaſon that they turned to the left to go to the temple. This gate is placed to the eaſt by *Jeremiah* [r], and it was through it that *Athaliah* went from the temple to the palace [s]: But, we muſt confeſs, it is not ſo eaſy to aſſign the cauſe for which the *dung-gate* is omitted in this account: However, it is ſpoken of in the rebuilding of the wall; and when *Nehemiah* did view the ruins, it is again mentioned by the name of the *dung-port* [*].

As to the *water-gate* turning to the eaſt [t], it is likely that it anſwered the ſouthern part of the palace, by the place or ſquare in which *Ezra* read the law to all the people [u].

[o] Ibid. Conf. iii. & xii. [p] Nehem. xii. 38. [q] Ibid. iii. 13.
[r] Jer. xxxi. 40. 2 Kings xi. &c. See above. [s] Nehem. xi. 37. [*] Nehem. iii. 64. Ibid. ii. 13. [t] Ibid. iii. 21. viii. 1. [u] Ibid. xii. 31.

THE

THE *priſon-gate*, is in *Hebrew Miphkad*[w]. This word, which is kept in the tranſlation, ſignifies *viſitation*, and by deduction, *judgment*, *correction*, *ward*, *priſon*. It is alſo called the gate of *Muttara* (S), in our tranſlation *priſon-gate*[x]. It ſtood eaſtward of the palace and city both.

IT is plain, the gate of *Ephraim* took its name from its joining the high-way leading to that tribe. This may ſerve to aſcertain the truth of the ſituation we have given of the city.

THE *ſheep-gate* furniſhes us with means of explaining the word προβατικὴ, in the goſpel according to St. *John*[y], where our tranſlation has, *there was a pool near the ſheep-market*, in the text, and *gate* in the margin, *viz.* ἀγορά, or πύλη. And the tranſlation in the text ſeems the moſt probable; for a *ſheep-market* was there near the gate of the ſame name, and ſeems to have between the gate and the pool, that of *Beth-eſda*, on the north-eaſt of the temple (T).

LASTLY, the *fiſh-gate*[z] did anſwer to one afterwards built in the *new city*, and called the *gate of Joppe*, a ſea-port on the *Mediterranean*.

[w] Nehem. iii. 31. [x] Nehem. iii. 12. xii. 39. & al. [y] Chap. v. 2. [z] 2 Kings xiv. 13.

(S) Of the *Mattara* itſelf we ſpoke above, as pretty near the palace that lay northward of it: And what ſeems to have given the name of either *Mattara* or *Miphkad* to this gate is, that thoſe words well agree in their general notions; which reaſon appears to us more likely, than that the great *Sanhedrin* had there its ordinary fittings, it being at leaſt dubious whether at that time this court had any juriſdiction, or even exiſted. Yet we do not deny, but that courts of juſtice were kept at the gates (41), and therefore priſons might be there alſo, and houſes of correction beſides.

(T) Though *Joſephus* does not mention it by name, yet he (42) places a pool there, and thereabouts Mr. *Maundrell* found a large empty baſon, of which he gives the following deſcription (43). "It is 120 paces long, 40 broad, and at leaſt eight deep, but void "of water. At its weſt end it diſcovers ſome old arches, now "dammed up: Theſe ſome will have to be the five porches in "which lay that multitude of lame, &c. The pool is contiguous "on one ſide to St. *Stephens* gate, on the other to the area of the "temple."

(41 *Vide Deut. xvii.* 8. *Amos v.* 15. *Zech. viii.* 16. & *al.*
(42) *Bell. Jud. p.* 1248. (43) *See his journey, &c.* 107.

THESE, we think, are all the gates of *Jerusalem*, either as it stood before the captivity, or as, after the return from it, it was repaired by *Nehemiah*. It cannot be denied, but a few others seem to be mentioned in that space of time; but we take them to be only different names given to those already mentioned. And first, the *corner-gate* [a], which, in our opinion, must be the same with the old-gate, as may be gathered from *Jeremiah*'s occasionally giving the circuit of *Jerusalem* from the north-east, over against the temple; [*i. e.* from *the tower of* Hananeel] *unto the gate of the corner* (U), going along to the north-west, where stood the hills *Gareb* and *Goath* (X), afterwards called *Golgotha*, or *Calvary*.

[a] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

(U) Although the translation here somewhat differs from that above, the word in both places in the original is *Happinnah*. It is true in *Zechariah* it is read *Happinim*, as if one should say *the corners*, but the sense is the same if (44) translated *the corner*. Lastly, this our translation, in the parallel to *Kings*, answers (45) the *Hebrew* word *Happoneh*, where the margin has *the gate of it that looketh*; which is not easy to be understood, unless, by supposing it to be an elliptical expression, the sense is made up by what we find added elsewhere (46), *viz. Zaphonah* to the north, which is a true indication of the said gate: However, it may be thought this various reading is owing to the carelessness of the transcriber, as it seems may be collected from the Septuagint's having here πύλης γωνίας, corner-gate; yet notice should be taken, that this gate did lie towards the σκόπος. By this name was called (47), not only the eminence, (from whence coming from the north one first discovered *Jerusalem*) but also the plain next to the city on that side: Now that in *Hebrew* would be *Phaneh*, or *Haphoneh*, which we leave to our reader's consideration.

(X) As the word גלגלתה, which according to the *Masoreth*'s pointing is read *Goath*, may as well, if not better, be pronounced either *Goatha* or *Gotha*; and as the word גל, admitting of two sounds in the composition of known names *Galhed* and *Gilhad*, does as naturally sound *Gol*; we should think the etymology of *Golgotha* is found to our hand, and its signification most plain, *viz.* the *heap of Gotha*: However, the great likeness the sound of this same word *Golgotha* had to *Gagultha*, in *Syriac*, (which dialect is called *Hebrew* in the gospel (48), because a mixture of both was what was generally spoken at *Jerusalem*) it seems to have been commonly understood, as having a near relation to *Gulgaltha* (49),

(44) *See above.* (45) 2 *Chron.* xxv. 23. (46) *Ezek.* viii. 3. (47) *Vide Joseph. de Bell. Jud.* v. 2. 1216. (48) *John* xix. 17. (49) *Targ. on* 2 *Kings* ix. 35.

a scull,

vary. Then, according to the directions in the prophet, one turns towards the ſouth, through the *valley of Hinnom*, and the ſouth-eaſt fields called the *fuller's fields*, *unto the corner of the horſe-gate* to the eaſt [b]: So alſo in *Zechariah* [c], *All the land ſhall be as a plain to* Rimmon, *ſouth of* Jeruſalem, *and inhabited from* Benjamin's *gate* (Y) *unto the firſt gate unto the corner-gate, and from the tower of* Hananeel *unto the King's wine-preſſes.* Here firſt you have *Jeruſalem*, on the ſouth, a hilly country there, *to be turned into a plain*; which is eaſily apprehended to be figuratively ſpoken. But further, the northern ſide is traced here from a gate going to the neighbour tribe of *Benjamin* [d] to the *old-gate*, here called *the firſt*; the following words *unto the corner-gate*, being an explanation of the former *unto the firſt gate*: So you go up to the eaſt by *the tower* there, returning to the ſouth, where was the *royal garden.* Another gate is mentioned in *Jeremiah* [e], where he is bid to *go forth unto the valley of the ſon of* Hinnom, *which is by the entry of the eaſt-gate*, but ſhould be rather the *brick-gate (Z)*, or of the brick-bats, it

[b] Jerem. xxxi. 38—40. [c] Zechar. xiv. 10. [d] Jerem. xxxvii. 13, &c. [e] Ibid. xix. 2.

a ſcull, and therefore well expounded by κρανίουτόπος (50), which from the *Latin Calvaria*, a ſcull, is called in our language *Calvary.* Mr. *Maundrell* ſays, the church of the holy ſepulchre is founded upon mount *Calvary*, which is a ſmall eminence, or hill: It was anciently ſhut out of the walls of the city, but ſince it hath attracted the city round about it, and ſtands now in the midſt of *Jeruſalem.* *Journey*, *p.* 68, & 69.

(Y) There is a gate called the *high gate of Benjamin* (51), which is ſaid to have been by the houſe of the Lord: It might alſo be tranſlated in the houſe. If this ſenſe be followed, the gate is none of the *ten* we are inquiring about; if the former, this is the gate that led into the land of *Benjamin*, and is further called the *higher gate, which lieth towards the north* (52).

(Z) It may be thus tranſlated, ſuppoſing only here (53) an eaſy and common permutation of letters, as appears in the pronunciation of *Sibboleth* for (54) *Shibboleth.* This is the more probable, becauſe there is already in the text a various reading of *Harſſorth* for *Harſſith*: However, *Heres*, in the *Hebrew* חרסים, is a *brick*, and *Heres*, in *Chaldee* חרס, the *ſun.* So we chooſe to take it here, as if it was written חרשיות, looking upon it as the dung-gate, that opened into the valley of *Hinnom*, and that of *aſhes.*

(50) *Matth.* xxvii. 33. (51) *Jer.* xx. 2. *In* Hebrew *it is* ב, *which is read in this ſenſe, Numb.* xxxvi. *Jerem.* xiii. 5. xxxii. 5. & *al.* (52) *Ezek.* ix. 2. (53) *Jerem.* xix. 2. (54) *Judg.* xii. 6.

being

being the ſame with the *dung-gate*, where was the valley of Aſhes [f]. But we do not take the *city-gate* [g] to be one of the ten of *Jeruſalem*, but rather a gate of the city of *David*, or *Zion*, to the north-weſt, leading to the valley-gate, and ſince called *Zion-gate* [h].

THE ſituation of (שער התוך *Shaar Hattavek*) the *middle-gate*, may be deduced from what is ſaid in *Jeremiah* [i]; *Nebuchadnezzar*'s army, after having entered into *Jeruſalem* by the north, advanced as far as this *middle-gate*, of which *Zedekiah* being informed, he made his eſcape, as has already been obſerved [k], through his garden to the ſouth. This plainly ſhews that this gate muſt have ſtood in the *midſt of the valley* between *Acra* and *Zion*.

Towers. A WORD or two more concerning *the towers*, as related by *Nehemiah*. They were four. Indeed, it is ſaid of *Uzziah* [l], "He built towers in *Jeruſalem*, at the corner-gate, "and at the valley-gate, and at the the turning of the wall;" but how many he built is not ſaid. However the names, of the ſaid four towers were *Meah*, eaſtward; *Hananeel*, north-eaſtward; *Hattanourim*, *of the furnaces*, weſtward; and *Ophel*, ſouth-eaſtward. The firſt named of theſe was alſo the firſt built [m]; near this they paſſed going to the ſheep-gate, in the dedication of the walls [n]; the ſecond, called *Hananeel*, lay more to the north; and the third quite to the weſt. From beyond this tower it is ſaid [o] they, in the dedication, went to the *broad wall*. Laſtly, from the fourth, *Ophel*, a ward ſo called [p], and the wall itſelf joining to it [q], took their name; but properly it is *a tower* [r], and ſuppoſed to be very high (A), and we ſhould think was made uſe of as a *watch tower* [s], from whence one might ſee and obſerve afar off. It is ſaid king *Manaſſeh* raiſed it up to a great height [t]; and of this tower *Joſephus* ſpeaks, when he ſays, that *the wall paſſing through* Ophlas *was carried on ſo as to join the eaſt portico of the temple* [u].

[f] Jerem. xxxi. 40. [g] 2 Chron. xxxii. 6. [h] See MAUND. ubi ſup. [i] xxxix. 3, &c. [k] See above. [l] 2 Chr. xxvi. 9. [m] Neh. iii. 1. [n] Ibid. xii. 39. [o] Ibid. xii. 38. [p] Ibid. iii. 26. [q] Ibid. 27. [r] 2 Kings v. 24. [s] See Iſai. xxxii. 14. in the margin. [t] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. [u] Bell. Jud. vi. 6.

(A) This ſeems to appear by the very etymology of the word; for which we are beholden to the prophet's ſaying *Opbla* (55), for what is in the tranſlation *lifted up*.

(55) *Hab.* ii. 4.

Or

Waters.

OF the *waters* and *ſprings* in or about *Jeruſalem* we have had occaſion to ſay ſomething before [w]; but for a further knowledge of the ſame, it will be proper here to add what Mr. *Maundrell* tells us concerning the *pool of Gihon*; "It "lies, ſays he, about two furlongs without *Bethleem* gate, "weſtward; it is a ſtately pool, 106 paces long, and 67 "broad, and lined with wall and plaiſter, and was, when "we were there, well ſtored with water." This helps to underſtand the better what is related of *Hezekiah* [x]; "He "ſtopped the upper water-courſe of *Gihon*, and brought it "ſtrait down to the weſt of the city of *David*." Theſe naturally ran to the ſouth and eaſt out of the city; but the king turned off the courſe of this ſtream, in order to make it run towards the weſt in *Zion*. According to the *Targum*, *Gihon* is the ſame as *Shiloh*; nevertheleſs it is plain, there were there two pools, ſince *Gihon* is named the *upper pool*. Now as there was a *lower pool*, this laſt might be *Shiloh*, of which the *upper* was the ſpring; notwithſtanding one might be apt to think, that *Gihon* was only a baſon or reſervoir, into which the water came from *En-rogel*, that is to ſay, the *fuller's fountain* where *Adonijah* offered his ſacrifice [y] at the time of his aſpiring to the throne. But, it is poſſible, this may have no other foundation than the ſituation given to *Gihon* in the *fuller's field*. And although the word *Rogel* may ſignify *a fuller*, yet the word [z] כובס, as is made uſe of more properly implies it. However, ſince in the time of *Hezekiah* the water of *Shiloh*, or *Gihon*, was brought into the city, and that in all appearance when the city roſe again from its ruins, it was reſtored to the ſame advantage; it is no wonder, that *Tacitus* [a] places here *fontem perennis aquæ*.

THE *king's pool* is mentioned in *Nehemiah* [b], as being near the fountain-gate, that is, to the ſouth-weſt of *Zion*: It is called by *Joſephus* [c] the *pool of Solomon*, and placed (which comes to one) winding towards the eaſt. *Iſaiah* [d] ſpeaks of the *old pool*, whoſe water had been made to run between the two walls, and might be the ſame as that made by *Hezekiah*, barely called *the pool made* [e], which might be named the *artificial pool*; not but that it was a natural ſpring, but becauſe art had been made uſe of in order to make it water the eaſtern parts of *Zion*: However, one of the moſt renowned waters in *Jeruſalem* was the *brook of Cedron*, whoſe

[w] See before, note E. [x] 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. [y] 1 Kings i. 19. [z] 2 Kings xviii. 17. [a] Hiſt. l. 5. c. 12. [b] Cap. ii. 14. [c] In Ecphraſi 1228. [d] Cap. xxii. 11. [e] Nehem. iii. 16.

head

head ſpring did not run very plentifully, for in ſummer it was generally dried up, but in rainy weather the quantity of waters falling from the mountains increaſed it ſo prodigiouſly, that it looked rather like a river than a brook. In the *Hebrew* its name is pronounced *Kidron*, as our tranſlation has expreſſed it, as where it is ſaid, "King *David* paſſed over the brook *Kidron*, toward the way of the wilderneſs [f]," What the word does ſignify ſeems not of great conſequence, yet it may be remarked, that according to St. *Jerome* [g], it is ſaid *a tenebris*, and truly קדר *Kadar*, is *to be dark* or *black*. Accordingly *Joſephus* [h], who often calls *Cedron* a valley, ſays it was very deep, and at the foot of the mount of olives, on the eaſt [i]; but in one place [k] he names it χειμάῤῥους, and ſo in the new teſtament we find it called [l].

To conclude; we dare flatter ourſelves we have faithfully repreſented *Jeruſalem* as it antiently ſtood, from about the times of *David* to the *Babyloniſh* captivity: For though it may be objected, that *Nehemiah*, from whom moſt of our proofs are borrowed, lived ſeveral years after the return of the *Jews* to the holy city, yet it muſt be allowed, that it was not raiſed upon any new plan, but only rebuilt upon its antient foundations. The walls indeed have been pulled down, the gates burnt to aſhes; but yet the remains, or at leaſt ſome marks or out-lines of them all, were ſtill to be ſeen, and parts of ſeveral of them were ſtill ſubſiſting. So as we read in *Nehemiah* [m], *the breaches were ſtopped up*, the buildings re-edified, and the whole city reſtored as much as poſſible, to its former condition.

[f] 2 Sam. xv. 23. [g] In Jerem. xxxi. 40. [h] Bell. Jud. 1231, 1251. [i] Ibid. 1216. [k] Antiq. viii. 335. [l] John xv. iii. 1. [m] Chap. iv. 7. coll. vi. 1.

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EXPLANATION *of the Plan of the City of* Jerusalem.

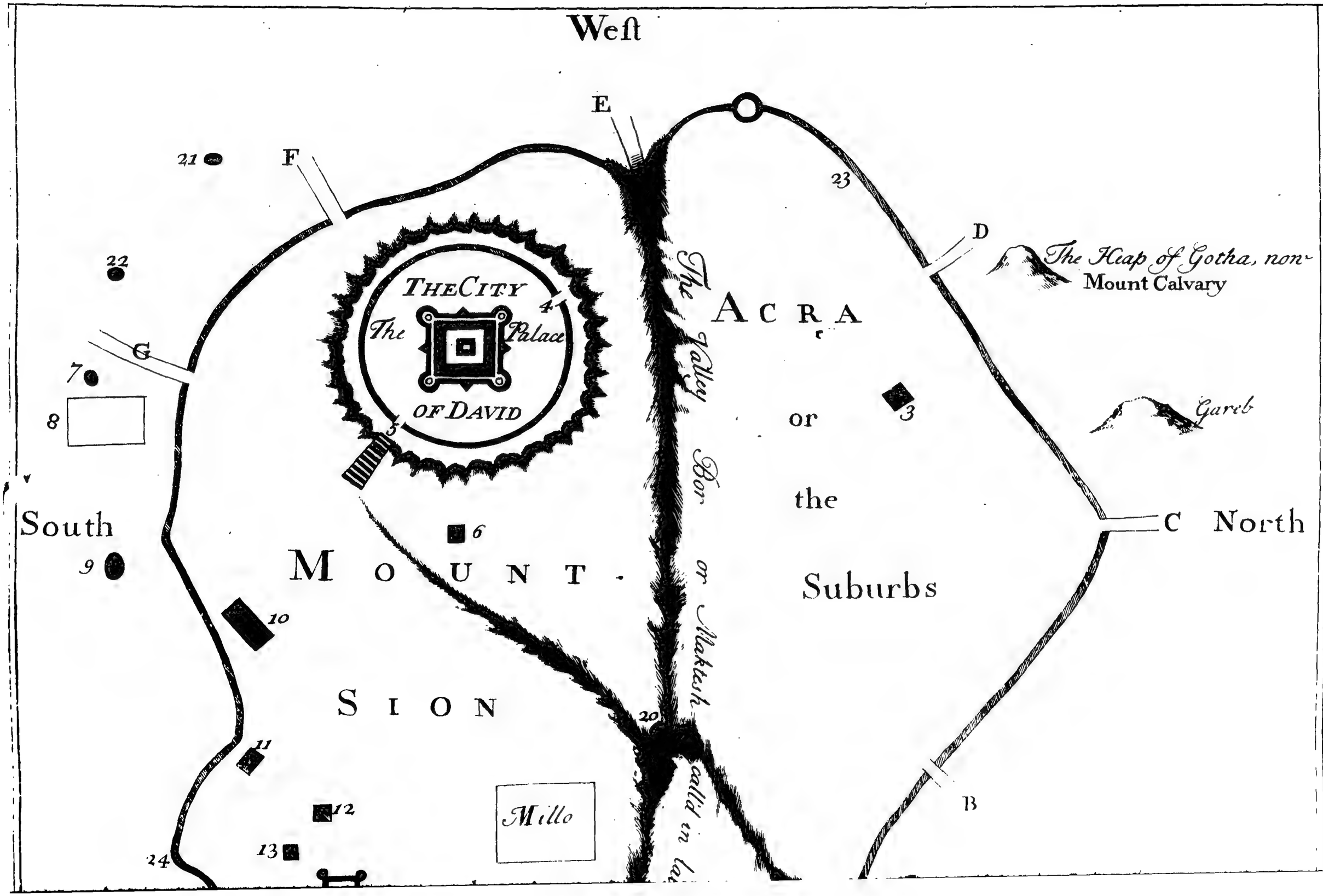
A THE *Sheep Gate*
B *The Fiſh Gate*
C *The old Gate, or Corner Gate*
D *The Gate of* Ephraim
E *The Valley Gate*
F *The Dung Gate*
G *The Gate of the Fountain*
H *The Water Gate*
I *The Horſe Gate*
K *The Gate* Miphkad
1 *The Tower of* Meah
2 *The Tower of* Hananeel
3 *The Governor's Houſe*
4 *The Gate from the City of David towards the Valley*
5 *Another Gate from the ſaid City againſt the Stairs*
6 *The Sepulchre of* David
7 *The Pool of* Shiloh
8 *The King's Garden*
9 *The Pool made by* Hezekiah
10 *The Houſe of the mighty, or the Guard Houſe*
11 *The Arſenal or Armory*
12 *The High-prieſt's Palace*
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20 *The middle Gate in the Valley*
21 *The Dragon's Well*
22 *The King's Pool*
23 *The Broad Wall*
24 *The* Miczoah, *or turning of the Wall*

N. B. *See the Particulars of the Temple in the foregoing Plan of it.*

A PLAN of the CITY of JERUSALEM

according to the Description thereof in the Books of the

OLD TESTAMENT but more especially in that of NEHEMIAH



South

9

ST DAVID

6

MOUNT

10

SION

11

12

13

24

14

Millo

The King's

House

H

15

16

The Brook Cedron

20

Bor or Allaktish called in later times

MOUNT

The Temple

Christian

19

MORIAH

17

18

I

K

East

or

3

the

Suburbs

Gareb

C North

B

2

Garden Grounds

or

Bezetha

1

A

Paces 25 50 75 100 125 200 250 300 375 500

Stades 1 2 3 4

D.P.S

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